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THE

CYROPÆDIA,

OR INSTITUTION OF CYRUS,

AND

THE HELLENICS,

OR GRECIAN HISTORY.

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK

OF

XENOPHON.

BY THE

REV. J. S. WATSON, M. A.

AND THE

REV. HENRY DALE, M. A.

LATE DEMY OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE, CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, AND INDEX.

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## P R E F A C E.

THE present forms the second volume of the "Classical Library" edition of Xenophon's Works, and contains the *Cyropædia* and *Hellenics*.

Of former versions of the *Cyropædia* the best is that of the Hon. Maurice Ashley Cooper, who studied to give the sense of his author with honesty and fidelity, but his pages are frequently disfigured by inelegant phraseology.

Of the *Hellenics* the best previous version is that of Dr. Smith, who, though he sometimes mistakes the sense, gives in general a correct representation of his author. But he is too fond of subdividing the sentences of the original, which breaks the current of the narrative, and often produces tameness.

The present versions are, it is believed, as verbally exact as is consistent with neatness and perspicuity. Some conjunctions, which, if preserved, would but offend the general reader, without being of any profit to the student, have been omitted; and the present tense has sometimes been changed into the past, as most suitable to English style.

The text of Dindorf has been followed both in the *Cyropædia* and *Hellenics*; and on all obscure passages the best commentators; Morus, Schneider, Weiske, Bornemann, and Dindorf, have been consulted.

The *Cyropædia* is translated exclusively by the Rev. J. S. Watson, as are also the last five books of the *Hellenics*. The first two books of the *Hellenics* are by the Rev. Henry Dale, the translator of Thucydides, whose avocations, conjoined with indisposition, prevented his completing the task he had undertaken.

H. G. B.

# CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
<b>BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF XENOPHON</b> . . . . .	v
<b>CYROPÆDIA, BOOK I.</b> . . . . .	1
————— II. . . . .	44
————— III. . . . .	72
————— IV. . . . .	101
————— V. . . . .	132
————— VI. . . . .	172
————— VII. . . . .	200
————— VIII. . . . .	234
<b>HELLENICS, BOOK I.</b> . . . . .	287
————— II. . . . .	316
————— III. . . . .	345
————— IV. . . . .	380
————— V. . . . .	429
————— VI. . . . .	472
————— VII. . . . .	517
<b>CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE TO THE HELLENICS</b> . . . . .	565
<b>INDEX</b> . . . . .	568



# BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF

## XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was born at Athens, in the *demos*, or borough, called Erchia. His father's name was Gryllus.<sup>1</sup>

The year of his birth is nowhere mentioned; but as he was upwards of ninety when he died,<sup>2</sup> and was alive B. C. 357, the year in which the assassination of Alexander of Pheræ, which he mentions,<sup>3</sup> took place, Krüger,<sup>4</sup> who has examined the subject with much attention, is inclined to place his birth about B. C. 444. If this date be correct, he was twenty years of age at the time of the battle between the Athenians and Bœotians at Delium, B. C. 424, in which he was present, and would probably have lost his life in the flight of the Athenians, had he not been rescued by Socrates, who, seeing him fall from his horse, took him upon his shoulders, and carried him for several stadia.<sup>5</sup>

What were the circumstances or rank of his father, we are not informed, but it may be reasonably conjectured, from his intimacy with Proxenus,<sup>6</sup> a man of consideration in Bœotia, and from the position which he held among the Greeks that followed Cyrus, that he was not of mean or poor parentage.

He had at an early age become acquainted with Socrates. Their first meeting is thus described by Laertius.<sup>7</sup> Socrates met him in a narrow passage, and being pleased with the modesty and beauty of his countenance, playfully put out his stick to prevent him from passing, and asked him, at the same time, where people could purchase provisions. Xenophon having given him an answer, he again asked where people might learn virtue and honour. Xenophon hesitating how to reply, Socrates said, "Follow me, then, and be taught." From that time he became firmly attached to Socrates.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. ii. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, Macrob. c. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Hellen. vi. 4. 35.

<sup>4</sup> De Xenoph. Vitâ Quæstt. Critt. Hal. 1822.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, lib. ix. c. 1. Diog. Laert. *ubi sup.*

<sup>6</sup> Xen. Anab. iii. 1. 4.

<sup>7</sup> ii. 48.

It is said by Philostratus,<sup>1</sup> that he was taken by the Bœotians, and lived for some time as a prisoner among them. If this be true, he must have been captured, as Krüger thinks, when the Bœotians treacherously recovered Oropus from the Athenian garrison left to defend it, B. C. 412. At this period he may have commenced his acquaintance with Proxenus, a man of cultivated mind and of some ambition. Philostratus relates that Xenophon and Proxenus attended the lectures of Prodicus the sophist together. Photius<sup>2</sup> also says that he was a pupil of Isocrates, who, however, if Xenophon was born B. C. 444, was eight years his junior.

It was by the persuasion of Proxenus<sup>3</sup> that Xenophon joined Cyrus in his expedition against Artaxerxes. Proxenus had engaged in the enterprise with the expectation of gaining honour and wealth, and, while the army was staying at Sardes, wrote to Xenophon to say that if he would come thither, he would introduce him to Cyrus. Xenophon showed the letter to Socrates, who advised him to consult the Delphic oracle, as it was a matter not to be hastily decided, since Cyrus was regarded as an enemy to Athens. Xenophon accordingly went to Delphi, but did not ask the god whether he ought to go or not, for he was probably too much inclined to go, but merely inquired to what gods he should sacrifice in order to commence and accomplish in safety the journey which he was contemplating. Apollo replied that he should sacrifice to the gods to whom he ought to sacrifice. Socrates, at his return, blamed him for having consulted the oracle in such a manner, but told him that, as he had received an answer, he had better go. Xenophon in consequence joined Cyrus at Sardes, and accompanied him in his expedition, but, as it appears, without any military or other rank.<sup>4</sup>

After Cyrus was killed, however, in the affair at Cunaxa, and the generals were cut off by the perfidy of Tissaphernes, he soon showed himself capable of exercising command. He stood forward to answer Phalinus, who came from the king to demand the arms of the Greeks; he was chosen general by the captains that had served under Proxenus; and he was quickly found able to take charge of the whole army. With what ability and success he conducted the Ten Thousand in their retreat through deserts and Barbarians, a march of many hundred miles, is fully related in the *Anabasis*.

The kind of connexion that subsisted between Xenophon and Proxenus might lead us to suppose that they were nearly of the same age. But Proxenus was only thirty when he was put to death; and Xenophon, by Krüger's computation, must have been forty-three or forty-four, not much younger than Clearchus, who was put to death at fifty. Yet Xenophon seems to speak of himself in

<sup>1</sup> 12. Krüger, Quæstt. p. 17.  
<sup>2</sup> A. ab. iii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Biblioth. cclx.  
<sup>4</sup> Anab. iii. i. 4.

the Anabasis as young, so young that his offer to take a command required an apology;<sup>1</sup> he is called *νεανίσκος*, according to some manuscripts, by Phalinus;<sup>2</sup> he says that himself and Timasion were the two youngest of the generals;<sup>3</sup> he takes, on every occasion, the more active duty, as being more appropriate to the young; and a general impression is certainly left upon the reader that he could not have reached middle age. Hence Mitford<sup>4</sup> concludes that he must have been between twenty-five and thirty at the time of the Anabasis. But if we suppose him to have been only twenty years old at the battle of Delium, he must have been at least forty-three when he joined Cyrus; and Seuthes addresses him<sup>5</sup> as a man apparently old enough to have a marriageable daughter. On the word *νεανίσκος*, even if applied to Xenophon, we may observe that much stress cannot be laid; for it was used, as well as *νέος*, with regard to men even of forty;<sup>6</sup> Xenophon, as Sturz observes, says that Agesilaus became king *ἐν νεότητι*, when it appears from Plutarch that he was forty-three; and Phavorinus says that *νεανίσκος* might be applied to a man of any age from twenty-three to forty-one. Besides, the best manuscripts, in the passage where *νεανίσκος* is used, read "Theopompus" instead of "Xenophon," and the mode in which he introduces himself in the first chapter of the third book, would almost lead to the conclusion, as has been observed, that his name ought not to occur in the first two books.

But whatever attempts we make, it is impossible to come to any satisfactory decision with regard to the age at which Xenophon joined Cyrus. Unless we set aside the anecdote of the battle of Delium, we must believe, with Krüger, that he was not under forty; yet from the way in which he speaks of himself, we can hardly help fancying him younger, and surmising that there must be more in favour of the arguments for his youth than we can substantiate.

An argument offered by Schneider,<sup>7</sup> to prove that Xenophon was more than forty at the time of the Anabasis, should not be left unnoticed. The entertainment given by Callias, which was the basis of Xenophon's "Symposium," occurred B. C. 421; and an allusion is made in the "Symposium"<sup>8</sup> to some familiarities of Critobulus with Cleinias, which, as appears from the "Memorabilia,"<sup>9</sup> must have taken place when Xenophon was a young man. If, accordingly, we suppose that Xenophon was somewhat more than forty at the time of the Anabasis, we make him somewhat more than twenty at the time of Callias's entertainment; a computation satisfactory enough; but if we consider him, with Mitford, to have been under thirty at the time of the Anabasis, we unfortunately make him under ten at the time of the entertainment.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anab. iii. 1. 16.<sup>2</sup> Anab. ii. i. 13.<sup>3</sup> iii. 2. 25.<sup>4</sup> Vol. v. p. 329, seqq.<sup>5</sup> Anab. vii. 2. 8.<sup>6</sup> Krüger, p. 12.<sup>7</sup> Ad Sympos. iv. 25.<sup>8</sup> iv. 25; ibique Schneider.<sup>9</sup> i. 3. 10.<sup>10</sup> See the Philological Museum, vol. i. p. 510.

Mitford says that the anecdote respecting the battle of Delium is overthrown by a passage in Athenæus, and that Xenophon is more than once called *νέος* and *νεανίσκος* in the *Anabasis*, but is wrong, as Mr. Clinton<sup>1</sup> observes, in both assertions; for there is nothing in Athenæus subversive of the evidence as to Delium, and the term *νέος* is not applied to Xenophon in the *Anabasis*. About *νεανίσκος* we have already settled. Mr. Clinton says that Xenophon was probably about forty-two when he joined Cyrus.

After the Greeks, on their return, had arrived at Trapezus or Trebisond, they were conducted from thence to Chrysopolis, opposite Byzantium, and some of them entered the service of Seuthes, a prince of Thrace, from whom, after performing what they had undertaken for him, they could with difficulty obtain a portion of the pay which he had promised them. Soon after they had settled matters with him, however, they were invited by the Lacedæmonians to join Thibron, a Spartan general, who was maintaining a contest with Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, and under whose command Xenophon left almost all that survived of the Ten Thousand, B. C. 399. But previously, as his finances were exhausted, he made an expedition, in order to recruit them, into the plain of the Caicus, where he stormed the residence of a Persian, named Asidates, and captured Asidates himself, his women, and all his treasures. Such a foray seems to have been scarcely creditable to Xenophon, but in his account of it he testifies no concern or shame.<sup>2</sup> As he had joined the Lacedæmonians, who were at war with Persia, he probably thought himself justified in treating any Persian as an enemy.

During Xenophon's absence from Athens Socrates was put to death, B. C. 399.

Soon after his return from Asia, and when he was intending to go to Athens, he learned that sentence of banishment had been passed against him by his countrymen, for the support which he had given to Cyrus, the friend of the Lacedæmonians, during the Peloponnesian war.<sup>3</sup> In consequence, it has been supposed that he remained in Asia, with Thibron and his successor Dercyllidas, and perhaps acted as leader of the *Κυρηῖοι*.<sup>4</sup> It is certain that in B. C. 396 he was in Asia with Agesilaus, in his campaign against the Persians, and that, when Agesilaus was recalled to defend his country, he accompanied him to the battle of Coroneia, in which the Thebans and Athenians were defeated by the Spartans, B. C. 394.<sup>5</sup> "How he is to be excused for siding with the enemies of his country," says Kühner, "is shown by H. Weilius in Zimmermanni Annal. antiq. discip. 1842, p. 144."

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti Hellenici*, B. C. 401.

<sup>2</sup> *Anab.* vii. 8. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Anab.* vii. 7. 57; *Pausan.* v. 6. 4; *Diog. Laert.* ii. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Kühner, *Prolegom. in Anab.* p. v.; Krüger, *Quæstt.* p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Anab.* v. 3. 6; *Plut.* Agesil. 18.

After this battle, the Lacedæmonians, perhaps at the instance of Agesilaus, presented Xenophon with a house and estate at Scillus,<sup>1</sup> a town of Elis near Olympia, where he was joined by his wife Philesia,<sup>2</sup> and his two sons, Gryllus and Diodorus, who, by the advice of Agesilaus, had been educated at Sparta.<sup>3</sup> Philesia is said to have been his second wife, but when or where he married her is unknown. Of his residence and grounds he has given a description in the *Anabasis*. Here he built a temple to Diana from the proceeds of some spoil which he had deposited at Ephesus when he accompanied Agesilaus from Asia to Bœotia.

He appears to have continued to reside here for more than twenty years, till B. C. 371, when, after the defeat of the Lacedæmonians at the battle of Leuctra, the Eleians regained possession of Scyllus, which had been wrested from them by that people some time before Xenophon settled there. Xenophon escaped with his sons, first to Lepreum, and afterwards to Corinth, where he fixed his abode for the remainder of his life.<sup>4</sup>

In B. C. 369, when the Athenians had resolved to assist the Spartans, whose territories had been invaded by the Thebans, Xenophon, says Laertius, sent his two sons to fight on the Spartan side. Gryllus was killed seven years after, at the battle of Mantinea, after having, as Pausanias relates, killed Epaminondas with his own hand. Xenophon received the news of his death as he was going to offer sacrifice, and immediately took the chaplet from his head; but on hearing that he had died fighting bravely, replaced it. Some relate that he did not shed a tear, but merely observed that he knew he had begotten him mortal.<sup>5</sup>

The decree for his banishment was repealed, it is said, on the motion of the same Eubulus by whom it had been proposed; but in what year is uncertain. Krüger<sup>6</sup> thinks that it was about B. C. 369. But it does not appear that he ever returned to Athens. Diogenes Laertius says that he died at Corinth. The only allusion, among the writers of antiquity, to the time of his death, is that in Diogenes Laertius, who cites Stesicleides as saying that he died in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, or B. C. 360; but as it is certain that he was alive three years later, B. C. 357, Krüger conjectures that he may have died about B. C. 355.

From a passage in Athenæus,<sup>7</sup> it appears that he paid a visit to the elder Dionysius in Sicily. A trifling remark is recorded by Athenæus which Xenophon made at the tyrant's table.

It is mentioned by Laertius, as a report, that he edited or published the History of Thucydides, when he might have suppressed

<sup>1</sup> *Anab.* v. 3. 7; *Diog. Laert.* l. d.

<sup>2</sup> *Diog. Laert.* ii. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Plut.* Agesil. 20; Kühner, *Prolegom.* in *Anab.*

<sup>4</sup> Krüger, *Quæstt.* p. 26; *Diog. Laert.* ii. 53.

<sup>5</sup> *Diog. Laert.* *ubi supra*; *Ælian.* V. H. iii. 3; *Stobæus* Tit. vii. p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Krüger, *Quæstt.* p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> *Lib.* x. p. 427.

it. Such publication is nowhere else mentioned; and that Xenophon could have suppressed the work of Thucydides seems incredible.

It was during his quiet residence at Scillus that most if not all of his works were written. Letronne, in the *Biographie Universelle*, endeavours to prove that he wrote the Symposium and the Hiero before he went into Asia to Cyrus, but his arguments are of very little weight.

Diogenes Laertius says that Xenophon wrote about forty books; an expression by which he does not mean forty works, but comprehends in that number the several books or divisions of the larger works, and the treatises that consist of a single book. By this mode of computation the number of books is thirty-seven.

Of all his works the *Anabasis* has been the most popular. It narrates in a clear, animated, but unpretending style, the march of the Ten Thousand up the country under the conduct of Cyrus, and the difficulties which they surmounted in their retreat after Cyrus's death. It showed Greece the weakness of the Persian empire, and the inefficiency alike of its troops and their officers; and fully justified the remark of Cyrus before the battle of Cunaxa, that he was ashamed to say how little resistance the Greeks would find in the immense numbers of his countrymen. This notion, that Persia might easily be subjugated by Greeks, continued to prevail, and was at length amply proved by Alexander to be no mere fancy.

Of the descriptions of the military movements of the Greeks in their retreat, it has been justly remarked that they are not always clear. On the authorship of the *Anabasis*, and its ascription to Themistogenes, some remarks have been already given. The probability is, that Xenophon published it, or part of it, for some reasons of his own, under the name of Themistogenes.<sup>1</sup> "Xenophon and Cæsar," says Ascham,<sup>2</sup> "wrote their own acts so wisely, and so without all suspicion of partiality, as no man hitherto by mine opinion hath borne himself so uprightly in writing the histories of others."

The *Hellenics* is a history of affairs in Greece from B. C. 410, the twenty-first of the Peloponnesian War, to the battle of Mantinea, B. C. 362, a period of forty-eight years, commencing at the point where the History of Thucydides terminates. One event is mentioned in it, however, as we have noticed, that occurred five years later, B. C. 357. Niebuhr supposed that the *Hellenics* consists of two works, the second commencing with the third section of the third book, *Ἐπει μέντοι Τισσαφέρους*, &c.; and his opinion is perhaps just. The point is discussed by Breitenbach in his *Prolegomena* to the *Hellenics*,<sup>3</sup> who thinks that the work should certainly be divided into two parts; that the first, consisting of the first two books, is a

<sup>1</sup> Breitenbach, *Prolegom.* in *Hellen.* p. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Astely, *Works*, p. 6, ed. Bennet.

<sup>3</sup> Gothæ, 1853. in *Biblioth. Gr.*

continuation of Thucydides; and that the latter, of a more miscellaneous character, and composed with less regard to chronology, narrating events that occurred subsequently in Xenophon's own time, is intended to show how much more successful are acts consistent with prudence and piety, than those which are the offspring of presumption, dishonesty, or contempt of religion. This notion, with respect to the latter portion, may perhaps be thought fanciful; yet it receives some confirmation from the remarks with which Xenophon commences the fourth chapter of the fifth book. It is however of little moment whether we read the *Hellenics* as one work, or as two. It has been censured as a dry narrative: it is indeed plain and simple, and destitute of the animation of Thucydides; but is nevertheless not without merit. It is much to the credit of Xenophon that he did not attempt, with inferior force, to rival the more vigorous and ambitious narration of his predecessor.

The *Cyropædia*, says Cicero,<sup>1</sup> was written *non ad historię fidem, sed ad effigiem justı imperii*, not in conformity with the truth of history, but to exhibit a representation of an excellent government. That it does not adhere to the truth of history is eminently true; scarcely any historical romance has departed farther from it; time is set at utter defiance, and things are often, apparently, done in a few days, which it must have taken months or years to accomplish. It is strange that Xenophon should have ventured to make Cyrus die in his bed, when the true account of his death was before the public in the pages of Herodotus. The speech given to Cyrus on his death-bed, however, is one of the finest parts of the book; Cicero has shown his estimation of it by adopting much of it in his *De Senectute*, and Sallust has borrowed from it. His picture of Persian manners and education is imaginary, or based on the discipline of Sparta, which he so greatly admired. The title of the work is often regarded as applicable only to the first book, which relates the education of Cyrus himself, but Fischer<sup>2</sup> extends it to signify the whole discipline and order of things which Cyrus instituted throughout his dominions when he became a ruler. The work is less interesting than the *Anabasis*, inasmuch as fiction must always be less interesting than truth. That the last chapter is probably spurious I have remarked in a note upon it.

The *Memorabilia of Socrates* defends the character of the philosopher against the two charges on which he had been condemned, that of rejecting the gods of his country, and that of corrupting the youth. It exhibits Socrates as he appeared to the Athenian public, and makes it evident that the accusations brought against him were utterly unfounded. Socrates is shown to have been a philosopher who retained, to all appearance, his belief in the existence of the gods worshipped by his country, and who paid them

<sup>1</sup> Ad Q. Fratr. i. 1. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Præfat. ad Comment. in Cyrop.

respect, and looked to them for guidance in difficult circumstances.

Socrates at an early period felt convinced that his business in life was to acquire knowledge, and to instruct others; to ascertain what, in human affairs, was to be esteemed and pursued, and what to be despised and avoided; and to stimulate men to practise the good and to shun the evil. But first he proceeded to ascertain how far he was qualified for the task which he meditated. He began, accordingly, by questioning some who had the highest reputation for wisdom, and found that, however knowing they might be in particular departments, they were not superior to himself, but rather inferior in general power and compass of intellect; and hence it was that the oracle, perhaps at the instigation of his friend Chærephon, declared him the wisest of men; he could see the way in which others ought to walk, better than they saw it themselves. He made it his object to overthrow all false conceit of knowledge; to awaken a consciousness of ignorance where ignorance existed; and to inculcate the Delphic admonition, "Know thyself." He endeavoured to draw men's attention from mathematical and physical studies, as they were then pursued, directed to vain inquiries and speculations, ending in no useful result, to the contemplation of what was good or evil in human life and conduct; and was accordingly said to have brought philosophy from heaven down to earth. He interrogated men as to what they were doing, and excited them to think of what they ought to do. He said that men should have as exact a knowledge of ethica, and of the great duties of human life, as that which artists or mechanics possessed in their respective crafts. It was from him that induction, and the careful definition of general terms, had their origin.<sup>1</sup> For the objects which he pursued, he was qualified, not only intellectually, but physically; he had, though of a physiognomy that people were obliged to call ugly, a winning address; he had a strong frame, not to be exhausted by the longest discussion; he could control his natural wants, and content himself with such humble clothing and fare as showed him proof against ridicule. He sought no share in political occupations; for he said that he was divinely dissuaded from doing so. He talked with all kinds of persons; he asked no money for the instruction which he gave; he had no disciples, but all who would might profit by his conversation. By such as were able to profit by it he was followed and honoured; of such as were unable to value it, some quietly deserted him, while others, by his confutations or admonitions, were humiliated or exasperated, and became his enemies. Some of these accused him of corrupting the youth, because he made them wiser than their fathers; and of introducing strange gods, because he said that he had within him a *dæmo-*

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *Metaphys.* i. 6. 3; xiii. 4, 6—8; Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, ch. lxviii. vol. viii. p. 583.



nium, or divine influence, which restrained him from doing what was wrong or inexpedient; and he was put to death because he refused to make undue submission, or to acknowledge himself in error, before his judges.<sup>1</sup> He left a name to be venerated; and his influence upon human reasoning has been greater, perhaps, than that of any man who ever lived; an influence wonderful as proceeding from one who left nothing written.

The picture of Socrates given by Xenophon represents him as discoursing chiefly on those plain topics of every-day life, which, as it would appear, he was generally inclined to discuss; that given of him by Plato exhibits him descanting on sublimer and more speculative subjects, in the contemplation of which he was doubtless accustomed at times to indulge.

The *Œconomicus* has been called by Weiske a fifth book of the *Memorabilia*; but without the least reason; for a conclusion is put to the *Memorabilia* at the end of the fourth book; and the *Œconomicus* is not similar in character to the books of that work. It contains instruction on agriculture, on the management of farms, and on the duties and value of a wife in the conduct of a household. The observations made in it on this last point refute, as Mr. Long<sup>2</sup> justly observes, the notion "that the attachment of husband and wife, independent of the sexual passion, and their permanent love after both have grown old, is a characteristic of modern society, and that the men of Greece and Rome were not susceptible of that affection which survives the decay of a woman's youth and beauty." The translation of this treatise by R. Bradley, F. R. S., Professor of Botany at Cambridge, 1727, 8vo, is ridiculously unfaithful, full of wanton insertions, omissions, and falsifications of every kind; and the reader who compares it with the original must feel astonished that such perversions of Xenophon's matter could have proceeded from a man in such a position.

The *Symposium*, or Banquet, shows the humours of an entertainment at the house of Callias, a rich Athenian, Socrates, Critobulus, Charmides, Antisthenes, and others, being the speakers, and love and friendship being the subjects of discussion. It is said to have been written after the *Symposium* of Plato.<sup>3</sup> It has been translated into English by Dr. Welwood, but with variations, in many passages, from the original.

The *Hiero* is a short dialogue between Hiero, king of Syracuse, and the poet Simonides, in which Hiero states the disadvantages of an exalted station, and Simonides specifies its blessings, adding some suggestions as to the best mode of employing power for the public good. It is thought by Letronne that Xenophon may have been induced to write this piece by what he saw at the court of Dionysius. It has been very well translated by Graves.

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, Ep. Diss. ii. 2. 18.  
Biog. art. Xenophon.

<sup>2</sup> Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom.  
<sup>3</sup> Smith's Dict. *ibid.*

The *Agésilas* is a panegyric on the great Agésilas, king of Sparta, Xenophon's friend. Cicero speaks of him as the instructor of Agésilas, and says, "The single little book of Xenophon," "in praise of that king, is worth all the pictures and statues in honour of all other princes."<sup>1</sup> Modern readers are apt to make the same complaint of it that Charles II. made of the praises offered him by Cowley, that it is rather tame and insipid.

The two treatises *On the Athenian and Lacedæmonian Commonwealths*, which, though not always regarded, even by the ancients, as genuine works of Xenophon, have nothing in their matter or style to prove that he was not the author of them, show that the writer evidently preferred the polity of Sparta to that of Athens. The treatise on the Republic of Athens has been translated into English by James Morris, 1794. Of that on the State of Sparta there is, I believe, no English translation.

The little work *On the Revenues of Athens*, is intended to show how the public revenues of Athens might be improved. Its matter and merits are fully discussed in Boeckh's "Public Economy of Athens." It was translated into English by Walter Moyle, Esq., 1697.

The *Hipparchicus* is a treatise on the duties of a cavalry officer. It contains a variety of directions on the equipment, evolutions, and general management of cavalry.

The treatise *On Horsemanship*, though placed by Schneider before the *Hipparchicus*, was written after it, there being a reference to the latter at the end of the former. It gives a number of precepts on the management, choice, and training of horses; precepts which the writer considers that from long experience in horses he is well entitled to give.

The *Cynegeticus* is a little work on hunting, the breeding and qualities of dogs, and the various modes of taking hares, foxes, boars, and other game. The last chapter contains some strictures on the sophists, as distinguished from the philosophers, which have little to do with the subject.

The *Nine Epistles* printed with the works of Xenophon were not written by him, but are mere forgeries or scholastic essays.<sup>2</sup>

Of Xenophon's style his own countrymen must be allowed to be the best judges; and they found such charms in it that they called him the Athenian Muse,<sup>3</sup> and the Attic Bee.<sup>4</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus<sup>5</sup> extols him for the purity and clearness of his periods, and for the judicious selection and elegant collocation of his words. Nor were the critics of Rome less ready to accord him similar praise; Quintilian<sup>6</sup> attributes to him "an unaffected sweetness, which no

<sup>1</sup> De Orat. iii. 34; Ad Fam. v. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Schneider, Epist. ad Schaef. præmiss. Œconom. p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas, v. ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ.

<sup>5</sup> De Præcip. Histor. vol. vi. p. 778, ed. Reisk.

<sup>6</sup> x. i.

affectation could attain," and says that "what Pericles observed of the ancient comedy may be justly transferred to him, that the goddess of persuasion dwelt upon his lips;" and Cicero<sup>1</sup> says that "his language is sweeter than honey," and "that the Muses spoke with his mouth." His style is indeed simple, perspicuous, and agreeable. He never rises above a certain level, but beneath that level is always pleasing, elegant, and consistent with himself. He sometimes borrows a poetical expression, but never disfigures his page with purple patches. The piece in which he displays most animation of style is the *Anabasis*; in the *Cyropædia*, the sentences, though far more laboured, are sometimes long and heavy. In the *Hellenics*, Kühner<sup>2</sup> charges him with being often dry and jejune. His brevity, in many passages of that work, certainly renders him obscure, and leaves his reader dissatisfied.

It is said by Lord Monboddo<sup>3</sup> that the language of Cæsar's Commentaries is perhaps the best "memoir-style" that ever was written. I know not why it should be preferred to that of Xenophon in the *Anabasis*.

Dr. Johnson has justly observed, that the characters of the deceased generals drawn in the second book of the *Anabasis* are the earliest specimens of that kind of portraiture.

Xenophon, as a man, if we form our opinion of him from his writings and the voice of antiquity, was of a highly honourable character; just, generous, and humane. In paying reverence to the gods, as worshipped by his countrymen, he was a disciple of Socrates, and went beyond his master, apparently, in what was to him a religious respect, but what we are inclined to call a superstitious fondness, for omens, dreams, and other supposed signs from heaven. He shows this propensity through all his works, and is ready to admit the providence and agency of the gods on every occasion. Hume<sup>4</sup> has noticed many instances of his superstition. He could tell a plain story, or discuss ordinary topics, with fluency and clearness, but had not an intellect, like that of Plato, for the consideration of abstruse or sublime metaphysical questions. He encourages his readers to the cultivation of virtue, and the study of what he thought useful and likely to contribute to their happiness. He has been censured for his approbation of the Lacedæmonian polity, and his dislike and depreciation of that of his country; but he was certainly at liberty, like any other man, to form a judgment on a comparison of the two, and, if he preferred the ancient Spartan severity to the disorder, corruption, and laxity of morals, which in his time prevailed in Athens, to express his opinion to that effect. Though the ground for his banishment seems hardly just, it does not appear that, while he was in exile, he took any part in hostilities against his country; if he was present

<sup>1</sup> Orat. c. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Prolegom. in *Anab.* p. x.

<sup>3</sup> Or. and Pr. of Language, vol. iv. p. 293.

<sup>4</sup> Essays, vol. ii. note DDD.

<sup>5</sup> Prolegom. in *Anab.* p. xvii.

at the battle of Coroneia, there is no proof that he gave the Lacedæmonians any assistance in it. The attack upon the Persian Asidates is the only known act of his life in which we can charge him with having deviated from strict morality. In drawing the character of Menon, it is thought that he must have been unjust, as it could hardly have been so black as it is painted; since Menon is represented by Plato, in the Dialogue which bears his name, as a man of better character; but "Xenophon," as Kühner<sup>1</sup> observes, "might have known his morals better than Plato; Plato introduces him as a young man, and he had plenty of time to grow worse before he joined Cyrus; and even from Plato himself it appears that he was of a proud and insolent temper."

A notion was in early times more or less prevalent among the learned, that there was great rivalry and enmity between Xenophon and Plato.<sup>2</sup> The chief arguments for that supposition, as given by Aulus Gellius, are, that Plato, in all his works, makes no mention of Xenophon, and Xenophon in his makes no mention of Plato,<sup>3</sup> though each had ample opportunities of alluding to the other; that Xenophon, on reading the first two books of Plato's Republic, proceeded to write the Cyropædia in opposition to it, and that Plato, annoyed at Xenophon's conduct, took occasion to observe, in speaking of Cyrus, that he was a brave and active man, but had not been happy in his discipline and government; and that Xenophon, in his *Memorabilia*, represents Socrates as discountenancing physical speculations, in order to throw discredit on Plato, who was inclined to indulge in them. But Gellius himself thinks that these arguments are not sufficient to establish the fact of their enmity, and inclines to suppose that the report of it arose from the subsequent disputes between their partisans, as to which of the two was the wiser or greater philosopher, from which disputes it came to be believed that there had existed jealousy and ill-feeling between the two philosophers themselves. Athenæus and Laertius observe that one of them wrote a Symposium in emulation of the other, but do not say which of the two wrote first; it is generally supposed, however, that the Symposium of Plato was the first to make its appearance.<sup>4</sup> Menage<sup>5</sup> thinks that Gellius was deceived, and that jealousy did exist between the two; Heusde<sup>6</sup> and Ast,<sup>7</sup> the commentators on Plato, are of the same opinion. On the whole, the general voice seems to be too strong against Gellius. But whence the enmity, if it existed, arose, there is among the ancients neither account nor conjecture.

J. S. W.

<sup>1</sup> Prolegom. in Anab. p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert. ii. 57; iii. 34; A. Gell. xiv. 3; Athenæus, lib. xi. p. 504; Marcellin. Vit. Thucyd.

<sup>3</sup> See note on Mem. Soc. iii. 6. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Smith's Dict. of Biog. and Mythol., art. Xenophon.

<sup>5</sup> Ad Diog. Laert. iii. 34.

<sup>6</sup> Ad Plato, Protag. § 91.

<sup>7</sup> Ad Plato Republ. i. init.

# XENOPHON'S

## CYROPÆDIA,

OR,

## INSTITUTION OF CYRUS.

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### BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

Remarks on the several forms of government. On the government of inferior animals, and the difficulty of governing men. The great power of Cyrus, and his excellence as a ruler.

1. THE reflection once occurred to me, how many democracies have been dissolved by men who chose to live under some other government rather than a democracy; how many monarchies, and how many oligarchies, have been overthrown by the people; and how many individuals, who have tried to establish tyrannies, have, some of them, been at once entirely destroyed, while others, if they have continued to reign for any length of time, have been admired as wise and fortunate men. I had observed, too, I thought, many masters, in their own private houses, some indeed having many servants, but some only very few, and yet utterly unable to keep those few entirely obedient to their commands. 2. I considered also that herdsmen are the rulers of oxen, and horse-feeders of horses; and that, in general, all those called overseers of animals may properly be accounted the rulers of the animals of which they have the charge. I thought that I perceived all these herds more willing to obey their keepers than men their governors; for the herds go the way that their keepers direct them; they feed on those lands to which their keepers drive them, and

abstain from those from which they repel them ; and they suffer their keepers to make what use they please of the profits<sup>1</sup> that arise from them. Besides, I never saw a herd conspiring against its keeper, either with a view of not obeying him, or of not allowing him to enjoy the advantages arising from them ; for herds are more refractory towards strangers than they are towards their keepers, and those who make profit of them ; but men conspire against none sooner than against those whom they perceive attempting to rule them. 3. While I was reflecting upon these things, I came to this judgment upon them ; that to man, such is his nature, it was easier to rule every other sort of creature than to rule man. But when I considered that there was Cyrus the Persian, who had rendered many men, many cities, and many nations, obedient to him, I was then necessitated to change my opinion, and to think that to rule men is not among the things that are impossible, or even difficult, if a person undertakes it with understanding and skill. I knew that there were some who willingly obeyed Cyrus, that were many days' journey, and others that were even some mouths' journey, distant from him ; some, too, who had never seen him, and some who knew very well that they never should see him ; and yet they readily submitted to his government ; 4. for he so far excelled all other kings, as well those that had received their dominion from their forefathers, as those that had acquired it by their own efforts, that the Scythian, for example, though his people be very numerous, is unable to obtain the dominion over any other nation, but rests satisfied if he can but continue to rule his own ; so it is with the Thracian king in regard to the Thracians, and with the Illyrian king in regard to the Illyrians ; and so it is with other nations, as many as I have heard of ; for the nations of Europe, at least, are said to be independent and detached from each other. But Cyrus, finding, in like manner, the nations of Asia independent, and setting out with a little army of Persians, obtained the dominion over the Medes by their own choice, and over the Hyrcanians in a similar manner ; he subdued the Syrians, Assyrians, Arabians, Cappadocians, both the Phrygians, the Lydians, Carians, Phœnicians, and Babylonians ; he had under his rule the Bactrians, Indians,

<sup>1</sup> Milk, wool, labour in the plough, and any other profits that men can derive from them.

and Cilicians, as well as the Sacians, Paphlagonians, and Magadidians, and many other nations of whom we cannot enumerate even the names. He had dominion over the Greeks that were settled in Asia ; and, going down to the sea, over the Cyprians and Egyptians. 5. These nations he ruled, though they spoke neither the same language with himself nor with one another ; yet he was able to extend the fear of himself over so great a part of the world that he astonished all, and no one attempted anything against him. He was able to inspire all with so great a desire of pleasing him, that they ever desired to be governed by his opinion ; and he attached to himself so many nations as it would be a labour to enumerate, which way soever we should commence our course from his palace, whether towards the east, west, north, or south. 6. With respect to this man, therefore, as worthy of admiration, I have inquired what he was by birth, what qualities he possessed from nature, and with what education he was brought up, that he so eminently excelled in governing men. Whatever, accordingly, I have ascertained, or think that I understand, concerning him, I shall endeavour to relate.

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## CHAPTER II.

**Birth of Cyrus.** His excellent qualities of mind and body. His education among the Persians. Account of their laws and institutions, and mode of training youth.

1. CYRUS is said to have had for his father Cambyzes, king of the Persians. Cambyzes was of the race of the Perseidæ, who were so called from Perseus. It is agreed that he was born of a mother named Mandane ; and Mandane was the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. Cyrus is described, and is still celebrated by the Barbarians, as having been most handsome in person, most humane in disposition, most eager for knowledge, and most ambitious of honour ; so that he would undergo any labour and face any danger for the sake of obtaining praise. 2. Such is the constitution of mind and body that he is recorded to have had ; and he was educated in conformity with the laws of the Persians.

These laws seem to begin with a provident care for the common good; not where they begin in most other governments; for most governments, leaving each individual to educate his children as he pleases, and the advanced in age to live as they please, enjoin their people not to steal, not to plunder, not to enter a house by violence, not to strike any one whom it is wrong to strike, not to be adulterous, not to disobey the magistrates, and other such things in like manner; and, if people transgress any of these precepts, they impose punishments upon them. 3. But the Persian laws, by anticipation, are careful to provide from the beginning, that their citizens shall not be such as to be inclined to any action that is bad and mean. This care they take in the following manner. They have an Agora,<sup>1</sup> called The Free, where the king's palace and other houses for magistrates are built; all things for sale, and the dealers in them, their cries and coarsenesses, are banished from hence to some other place; that the disorder of these may not interfere with the regularity of those who are under instruction. 4. This Agora, round the public courts, is divided into four parts; of these, one is for the boys, one for the youth, one for the full-grown men, and one for those who are beyond the years for military service. Each of these divisions, according to the law, attend in their several quarters; the boys and full-grown men as soon as it is day; the elders when they think convenient, except upon appointed days, when they are obliged to be present. The youth pass the night round the courts, in their light arms, except such as are married; for these are not required to do so, unless orders have been previously given them; nor is it becoming in them to be often absent. 5. Over each of the classes there are twelve presidents, for there are twelve distinct tribes of the Persians. Those over the boys are chosen from amongst the elders, and are such as are thought likely to make them the best boys; those over the youth are chosen from amongst the full-grown men, and are such as are thought likely to make them the best youth; and over the full-grown men, such as are

<sup>1</sup> An open forum or square, free from buyers and sellers. Aristotle, Polit. 7. 12, suggests that a city should have such a forum: *λευθέραν ἀγοράν, ἣν δεῖ καθαρὰν εἶναι ὀνίων πάντων*. He also says there was one at a place in Thessaly; but Muretus supposes that he took the idea from Xenophon.



thought likely to render them the most expert in performing their appointed duties, and in executing the orders given by the chief magistrate. There are likewise chosen presidents over the elders, who take care that these also perform their duties. What it is prescribed to each age to do, we shall relate, that it may be the better understood how the Persians take precautions that excellent citizens may be produced.

6. The boys attending the public schools, pass their time in learning justice; and say that they go for this purpose, as those with us say who go to learn to read. Their presidents spend the most part of the day in dispensing justice amongst them; for there are among the boys, as among the men, accusations for theft, robbery, violence, deceit, calumny, and other such things as naturally occur; and such as they convict of doing wrong, in any of these respects, they punish; 7. they punish likewise such as they find guilty of false accusation; they appeal to justice also in the case of a crime for which men hate one another excessively, but for which they never go to law, that is, ingratitude; and whomsoever they find able to return a benefit, and not returning it, they punish severely. For they think that the ungrateful are careless with regard to the gods, their parents, their country, and their friends; and upon ingratitude seems closely to follow shamelessness, which appears to be the principal conductor of mankind into all that is dishonourable.

8. They also teach the boys self-control; and it contributes much towards their learning to control themselves, that they see every day their elders behaving themselves with discretion. They teach them also to obey their officers; and it contributes much to this end, that they see their elders constantly obedient to their officers. They teach them temperance with respect to eating and drinking; and it contributes much to this object, that they see that their elders do not quit their stations to satisfy their appetites, until their officers dismiss them, and that the boys themselves do not eat with their mothers, but with their teachers, and when the officers give the signal. They bring from home with them bread, and a sort of cresses<sup>1</sup> to eat with it; and a cup to drink from, that,

<sup>1</sup> "ὄψον δὲ κάρδαμον.] "ὄψον signifies anything that was eaten with bread. Κάρδαμον was either the herb which we call cresses, or one

if any are thirsty, they may take water from the river.<sup>1</sup> They learn, besides, to shoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin. These exercises the boys practise till they are sixteen or seventeen years of age, when they enter the class of young men.

9. The young men pass their time thus: For ten years after they go from the class of boys, they pass the night round the courts, as I have said before, both for the security and guard of the city, and for the sake of practising self-restraint; for this age seems most to need superintendence. During the day they keep themselves at the command of their officers, in case they want them for any public service; and when it is necessary they all wait at the courts. But whenever the king goes out to hunt, he takes half the guard out with him, and leaves half of it behind; and this he does several times every month. Those that go out must have their bow, with a quiver, a bill or small sword in a sheath, a light shield, and two javelins, one to throw, and the other, if necessary, to use at hand. 10. They attend to hunting as a matter of public interest, and the king, as in war, is their leader, hunting himself, and seeing that others do so; because it seems to them to be the most efficient exercise for all such things as relate to war. It accustoms them to rise early in the morning, and to bear heat and cold; it exercises them in long marches, and in running; it necessitates them to use their bow against the beast that they hunt, and to throw their javelin, wherever he falls in their way, their courage must, of necessity, be often sharpened in the hunt, when any of the strong and vigorous beasts present themselves; for they must come to blows with the animal if he comes up to them, and must be upon their guard as he approaches; so that it is not easy to find what single thing, of all that is practised in war, is not to be found in hunting. 11. They go out to hunt provided with a dinner, larger, indeed, as is but right, than that of the boys, but in other respects the same; and during the hunt perhaps they may not eat it; but if it be necessary to remain on the ground to watch for the beast, or if for any other reason they wish to spend more time in the hunt, they sup upon this dinner, and very similar to it; the expression *κάρδαμον βλέπειν* signified to look sharp or malicious.

<sup>1</sup> The Araxes, on which Persepolis stood. Cellar. Geog. ii. 680.

hunt again the next day till supper-time, and reckon these two days as but one, because they eat the food of but one day. This abstinence they practise to accustom themselves to it, so that, should it be necessary in war, they may be able to observe it. Those of this age have what they catch for meat with their bread ; or, if they catch nothing, their cresses. And, if any one think that they eat without pleasure when they have cresses only with their bread, and that they drink without pleasure when they drink only water, let him recollect how pleasant barley cake or bread is to eat to one who is hungry, and how pleasant water is to drink to one who is thirsty.

12. The parties that remain at home pass their time in practising what they learned while they were boys, as well as other things, such as using the bow and throwing the javelin ; and they pursue these exercises with mutual emulation, as there are public contests in their several accomplishments, and prizes offered ; and in whichever of the tribes there are found the most who excel in skill, in courage, and in obedience, the citizens applaud and honour, not only the present commander of them, but also the person who had the instruction of them when they were boys. The magistrates likewise make use of the youth that remain at home, if they want them, to keep guard upon any occasion, to search for malefactors, to pursue robbers, or for any other business that requires strength and agility. In these occupations the youth are exercised.

But when they have completed their ten years, they enter into the class of full-grown men ; 13. who, from the time they leave the class of youth, pass five and twenty years in the following manner. First, like the youth, they keep themselves at the command of the magistrates, that they may use their services, if it should be necessary, for the public good, in whatever employments require the exertions of such as have discretion, and are yet in vigour. If it be necessary to undertake any military expedition, they who are in this state of discipline do not march out with bows and javelins, but with what are called arms for close fight, a corslet over the breast, a shield in the left hand, such as that with which the Persians are painted, and, in the right, a large sword or bill. All the magistrates are chosen from this class, except the teachers of the boys ; and, when they have completed five and twenty years in this class, they will then be something more than

fifty years of age, and pass into the class of such as are elders, and are so called. 14. These elders no longer go on any military service abroad, but, remaining at home, have the dispensation of public and private justice; they take cognizance of matters of life and death, and have the choice of all magistrates; and, if any of the youth or full-grown men fail in anything enjoined by the laws, the several magistrates of the tribes, or any one that chooses, gives information of it, when the elders hear the cause, and pass sentence upon it; and the person, that is condemned remains infamous for the rest of his life.

15. But that the whole Persian form of government may be shown more clearly, I shall go back a little; for, from what has been already said, it may now be set forth in a very few words. The Persians are said to be in number about a hundred and twenty thousand;<sup>1</sup> of these no individual is excluded by law from honours and magistracies, but all are at liberty to send their boys to the public schools of justice. Those who are able to maintain their children without putting them to work, send them to these schools; they who are unable, do not send them. Those who are thus educated under the public teachers, are at liberty to pass their youth in the class of young men; they who are not so educated, have not that liberty. They who pass their term among the young men, discharging all things enjoined by the law, are allowed to be incorporated amongst the full-grown men, and to partake of all honours and magistracies; but they who do not complete their course in the class of youth, do not pass into that of the full-grown men. Those who make their progress through the order of full-grown men unexceptionably, are then enrolled among the elders; so that the order of elders stands composed of men who have pursued their course through all things good and excellent. Such is the form of government among the Persians, and such the care bestowed upon it, by the observance of which they think that they become the best citizens. 16. There remain to the present day proofs of the spare diet used among them, and of their carrying it off by exercise; for it is yet unbecoming among them to spit or to blow the nose, or to appear troubled with flatulency; it is unbecoming for any one

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon means that this was the number of those of the better class, educated in the way here described.

to be seen going aside to make water, or for any similar cause; and to these habits they could not possibly adhere, unless they used a very temperate diet, and exhausted their moisture by exercise, so that it may pass off some other way.

These particulars I had to state concerning the Persians in general. I will now relate the actions of Cyrus, upon whose account this narrative was undertaken, beginning from his boyhood.

### CHAPTER III.

Cyrus, when he is twelve years old, accompanies his mother on a visit to his grandfather Astyages. His behaviour and conversation with his grandfather. His erroneous decision in a cause. His discourse with his mother on justice.

1. CYRUS, till twelve years of age, or a little more, was educated under this discipline, and evidently excelled all his equals, both in quickly learning what was necessary, and in doing everything in a becoming and manly way. At that time Astyages sent for his daughter and her son; for he was desirous to see him, having heard that he was a handsome and excellent child. Accordingly Mandane went to her father, and took her son Cyrus with her. 2. As soon as she arrived, and Cyrus knew Astyages to be his mother's father, he instantly, as being a boy naturally affectionate, embraced him, just as if he had been previously brought up with him, and had long loved him; and, observing him adorned with paint about his eyes<sup>1</sup> and colour<sup>2</sup> applied to his face, and with artificial hair, things that are customary amongst the Medes, (for purple coats, cloaks, collars about the neck, and bracelets on the wrists, are all Median decorations; but amongst the Per-

<sup>1</sup> The Medes used to tinge the lower part of the eye-lids (hence the propriety of the word *υπογραφή*) with *stibium*, antimony, which had an astringent and contracting quality, and thus made the eyes seem larger than they would naturally have appeared; and large full eyes were accounted a beauty. *Fischer*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cerussa*, white lead, to give whiteness to the skin, Plin. H. N. xxiv. 54; and *anchusa*, a kind of herb, to give it redness, Plin. H. N. xxii. 20. See also Bod. ad Theophr. H. P. vii. 9, p. 835. *Fischer*. See viii. 1. 41.

sians at home, even at this day, their habits are much coarser, and their diet more simple,) observing this dress of his grandfather, and fixing his eyes on him, he said, "O mother, how handsome my grandfather is!" His mother then asking him which he thought the more handsome, his father or his grandfather, Cyrus answered, "Of the Persians, mother, my father is much the most handsome; but of all the Medes that I have seen, either upon the road or at the gates of the palace, my grandfather is far the most handsome." 3. Astyages, then, embracing Cyrus in return, put on him a fine robe, did him honour, and decorated him with collars and bracelets; and, whenever he went abroad, took him with him on a horse with a bridle of gold, just as he himself used to go about. Cyrus, being a boy fond of what was fine and honourable, was pleased with the robe, and extremely delighted at learning to ride; for, amongst the Persians, from its being difficult to breed horses, and difficult even to ride in a country so mountainous, it is a rare thing to see a horse.

4. Astyages, when he was supping with his daughter and Cyrus, and wished the boy to sup as agreeably as possible, that he might the less regret what he had left at home, had several dishes set before him, with sauces and meats of all kinds; when, as they relate, Cyrus said, "How much trouble, grandfather, you have at your meals, if you must stretch out your hands to all these dishes, and taste of all these kinds of meat!" "What, then," said Astyages, "do you not think this entertainment much finer than what you have in Persia?" To this question Cyrus is said to have replied, "No, grandfather; for with us the way to be satisfied is much plainer and straighter than with you; since among us plain bread and meat conduct us to that object; you indeed pursue the same object with us, but, after rambling in many windings up and down, you at last scarcely reach the point at which we have arrived long before you." 5. "But, child," said Astyages, "it is not with pain that we ramble through these windings; if you taste," said he, "you will find that these things are pleasant." "But, grandfather," said Cyrus, "I observe you

<sup>1</sup> The men of the court were accustomed to attend at the gates, that they might be ready, if the king wished to use their services in any way. So Mordecai sat at the king's gate, *Esth. ii. 19. Hutchinson.*

yourself show an aversion to these dishes." "From what do you guess," inquired Astyages, "that you express such an opinion?" "Because I remark," said he, "that when you touch your bread, you do not wipe your hand upon anything, but, when you touch any one of these dishes, you immediately wipe your hand upon your napkin, as if you were quite uneasy that it had touched them."<sup>1</sup> 6. On receiving this answer Astyages said, "If you think so, then, at least eat heartily of plain meat, that you may return home a stout youth;" and as he said this, he directed various kinds of flesh, both of tame and wild animals, to be presented to him. Cyrus, when he saw this variety of meats, is reported to have said, "And do you give me all these meats, grandfather, to do with them what I please?" 7. "Yes, indeed," said Astyages; "I make you a present of them." Then Cyrus, taking of the several meats, is said to have distributed them to the servants about his grandfather, saying to each, "I give this to you, because you take pleasure in teaching me to ride; this to you, because you gave me a javelin, for I have it still; this to you, because you serve my grandfather well; this to you, because you honour my mother;" and to have proceeded thus, till he had distributed all the meat that he had received. 8. Astyages then said, "And do you give nothing to this Sacian, my cup-bearer, whom I value above all?" This Sacian was a handsome person, and had the honour to introduce to Astyages any that wanted to see him, and to exclude such as he did not think it seasonable to admit. Cyrus upon this is said to have answered rather flippantly, as a boy not yet grown bashful, "For what reason is it, grandfather, that you value this Sacian so much?" Astyages replied, jestingly, "Do you not see," said he, "how properly and gracefully he pours out my wine?" For these cup-bearers to kings perform their business very cleverly; they pour in the wine without spilling, and give the cup, holding it on three fingers, and presenting it in such a manner as to put it most conveniently into the hand of the person who is to drink. 9. "Bid the Sacian give me the cup, grandfather," said Cyrus, "that I also, by gracefully pouring in wine for you to drink, may gain your favour if I can." Astyages bade the Sacian give him the cup; and

<sup>1</sup> "Οτι πλῆρα σοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο.] "That it was full for you from them." *Full*, in the sense of *darubed*, *besmeared*.

Cyrus, taking it, rinsed the cup so well, as he had observed the Sacian to do, settled his countenance so gravely, and brought and presented the cup to his grandfather so prettily, as to afford much laughter to his mother and Astyages. Cyrus then, laughing out, leaped up to his grandfather, and, kissing him, cried out, "O Sacian, you are undone; I will turn you out of your office; for I will pour out wine better than you in other respects, and I will not drink the wine myself." For these cup-bearers to kings, when they give the cup, dip a little out with a smaller cup, which they pour into their left hand and swallow; so that, in case they mix poison in the cup, it may be of no profit to them. 10. Upon this, Astyages said, joking, "And why, Cyrus, when you imitated the Sacian in everything else, did not you swallow some of the wine?" "Because, to say the truth," said he, "I was afraid there might have been poison mixed in the cup; for, when you entertained your friends upon your birth-day, I plainly perceived that he had poured in poison for you all." "And how, child," said he, "did you know this?" "Because," said he, "I saw you all disordered both in mind and body; for, in the first place, what you do not allow us boys to do, that you did yourselves; for you all cried out together, and yet could not understand each other; next you fell to singing very ridiculously; and, without attending to the singer, you swore that he sung admirably; then, though each told stories of his own strength, when you rose up and fell to dancing, you were not only unable to dance properly, but were unable even to stand upright; at length, you all entirely forgot yourselves, you, that you were king, and they, that you were their ruler; and then, for the first time, I discovered that it was equal liberty of speech that you were practising; for you never ceased to speak." 11. Astyages then said, "Is your father, child, never intoxicated when he drinks?" "No, indeed," said he. "What does he, then?" "Why, he quenches his thirst, and suffers no further harm; for I believe, grandfather," says he, "it is not a Sacian that pours out wine for him." His mother then said, "But why, child, do you thus make war upon the Sacian?" Cyrus is said to have replied, "Why, indeed, because I hate him; for, very often, when I am desirous to run to my grandfather, this disagreeable fellow hinders me. But pray, grandfather," said he,



"allow me to have the government of him for three days." "How would you govern him?" said Astyages. Cyrus replied, "Why, standing as he does, just at the entrance, when he had a mind to go in to dinner, I would tell him that it is not yet possible for him to get his dinner, because 'he was busy with certain people:' then, when he came to supper, I would tell him that 'he was bathing:' and, if he was very eager to eat, I would tell him that 'he was with the women:' and so on, till I had tormented him as he torments me when he keeps me from you." 12. Such amusement did he afford them at meals; at other times of the day, if he perceived his grandfather or his mother's brother in want of anything, it was difficult for any one to be beforehand with him in doing it; for Cyrus was extremely delighted to gratify them in anything that lay in his power.

13. But when Mandane was preparing to return home to her husband, Astyages requested her to leave Cyrus with him. She made answer, that she was willing to gratify her father in everything; but that she should think it unkind to leave the child against his will. 14. Upon this Astyages said to Cyrus, "Child, if you will stay with me, in the first place, the Sacian shall not have the command of your access to me; but, whenever you wish to come in, it shall be in your own power to do so; and the oftener you come," said he, "the more I shall think myself obliged to you. You shall also have the use of all my horses, and of as many more as you please; and, when you go away, you shall take as many of them as you please with you. At meals, too, you shall take whatever way you please to what appears to you to be sufficient. As for the animals that are now in the park, I give them to you; and will collect others of all kinds, which you shall hunt when you have learned to ride, and shall strike them down with your bow and javelin, as grown men do. Boys I will find you for playfellows; and, whatever else you may desire, if you tell me of it, you shall not fail to have it." 15. When Astyages had said this, Cyrus's mother asked him whether he would stay or go. He did not at all hesitate, but at once said that he would stay. And being asked by his mother for what reason, it is said that he answered, "Because, mother, at home, I am, and am accounted, superior to my equals in age both in throwing the javelin and in shooting with the

bow ; but here, I well know that, in horsemanship, I am inferior to the boys of my age ; and be assured, mother, this grieves me very much. But if you leave me here, and I learn to be a horseman, I conceive that when I am in Persia, I shall easily master them there, who are so good at all exercises on foot ; and, when I come amongst the Medes, I shall endeavour, by becoming the best of good horsemen for my grandfather's sake, to be a support to him."

16. His mother is then reported to have said, "But how, child, will you be instructed here in the knowledge of justice, when your masters are there?" "Oh, mother," said Cyrus, "I understand that accurately already." "How do you know that?" said Mandane. "Because my teacher," said he, "appointed me to give judgment to others, as being very exact in the knowledge of justice myself. But yet," added he, "for not having decided rightly, in one case, I received some stripes. 17. The case was this: A bigger boy, who had a little coat, taking the coat off a little boy, that had a larger one, put on him his own coat, and put on himself the little boy's coat. I, therefore, giving judgment between them, decided that it was best that each should keep the coat that best fitted him. Upon this, the master beat me, telling me that, when I should be constituted judge of what fitted best, I might determine in this manner ; but that when I was to judge whose the coat was, I must consider what just possession is ; whether he that took a thing from another by force should have it, or he who made it or purchased it should possess it ; and then he told me what was according to law was just, and that what was contrary to law was an act of violence ; and impressed upon me accordingly, that a judge ought to give his opinion in conformity with the law. So, mother," said he, "I understand what is just in all cases very exactly ; or, if I am at all deficient, my grandfather here will teach it me." 18. "But, child," says she, "the same things are not accounted just with your grandfather here, and yonder in Persia ; for among the Medes, your grandfather has made himself master of all ; but amongst the Persians, it is accounted just that each should have equal rights with his neighbours. Your father is the first to execute what is appointed by the whole state, and submits to what is appointed ; his own inclination is not his standard of action, but the law

Take care, then, that you are not beaten to death at home, if you come thither having learned from your grandfather not what belongs to a king, but what belongs to a tyrant; an ingredient in which is, to think that you yourself ought to have more than all others." "Oh, mother," said Cyrus, "your father is much better able to teach one to have less than to have more. Do you not see," said he, "that he has taught all the Medes to have less than himself? Be well assured, therefore, that your father will not dismiss me, nor any one, from about him, instructed to encroach upon others."

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## CHAPTER IV.

Cyrus remains with Astyages. His conduct, and discourses, and exercises. His ardour in hunting. His fear of displeasing his grandfather. His freedom from envy. He assumes arms for the first time. His sagacity in the field when the king of Assyria's son was ravaging the country. He is recalled to Persia. His concern at leaving his grandfather and his other friends.

1. MANY remarks of this kind did Cyrus utter. At last, his mother went away; while he stayed, and was there brought up. He soon began to associate with those that were his equals in age, so as to be upon very familiar terms with them; and he quickly attached their fathers to him, both by visiting them, and by giving evidence that he loved their children; so that, if they wanted any favour of the king, they desired their boys to ask Cyrus to obtain it for them; and Cyrus, from his benignity and love of esteem, did his utmost to effect their object. 2. Astyages, also, whatever Cyrus asked, was unable to refuse to gratify him; for Cyrus, when his grandfather fell ill, never quitted him, nor ever ceased from tears; and it was clearly seen by all, that he was in the utmost fear lest he should die. In the night, if Astyages wanted anything, Cyrus was the first to perceive it, and started up, more nimbly than any one else, to serve him in anything that he thought would gratify him; so that he gained the entire love of Astyages.

3. Cyrus was, perhaps, a little over-talkative; but this was

partly from education ; because he was obliged by his master to give a reason for what he did, and to require reasons from others, when he had to give his opinion in judgment ; and partly, because, from being very eager after knowledge, he was always putting questions to those about him on many subjects, to ascertain how such and such things were ; and, upon whatever subjects he was questioned by others, he gave, from being of a quick apprehension, very ready answers ; so that, from all these circumstances, loquacity was contracted by him. But, as in the persons of those who, while still young, have attained an extraordinary stature, there yet appears something childish, which betrays the fewness of their years, so, in the talkativeness of Cyrus, there was no forwardness to be observed, but a certain simplicity, and affectionateness of disposition ; so that a person was desirous rather to hear yet more from him than to be in his company in silence.

4. But when time, with increase of stature, advanced him to the age to become a young man, he then used fewer words and a gentler tone of voice ; he became remarkably bashful, so as to blush when he came into the company of men of years ; and that playful dog-like habit, of running up to everybody alike, he no longer retained. Thus he became more quiet, but was still in society extremely agreeable ; for in whatever exercises he and his equals used to emulate each other, he did not challenge his companions to those in which he knew himself superior, but in those in which he felt himself inferior, he was the first to commence declaring that he would perform better than they. Accordingly, he would begin vaulting upon the horse, shooting with the bow, or hurling the javelin on horseback, while he was yet scarcely able to sit on a horse ; and, when he was outdone, he was the first to laugh at himself ; 5. and as, on being unsuccessful, he did not shrink from attempting again the things in which he had failed, but assiduously employed himself in endeavouring to do them better, he soon attained an equality with his companions in horsemanship, and, by his love of the exercise, soon left them behind. He rapidly, too, exhausted all the beasts in the park, pursuing, throwing at them, and killing them, so that Astyages could no longer collect animals for him. Cyrus, perceiving that, though he was desirous, he was unable to procure many living creatures for him, said to him, “ Why need you take so

much pains, grandfather, in seeking these animals? If you will but send me out a hunting with my uncle, I shall consider that whatever beasts I see are maintained for my use." 6. But though he was very desirous to go out to hunt, yet he could not now be importunate, as when he was a hoy; but became more backward in going to his grandfather; and as to what he had previously blamed in the Sacian, that he did not admit him to his grandfather, he became in this a Sacian to himself; for he never went in, unless he had ascertained whether it was convenient, and begged the Sacian, by all means, to signify to him when it was convenient and when not; so that the Sacian now loved him extremely, as did all other people.

7. When Astyages, therefore, knew that he was extremely desirous to hunt abroad, he sent him out with his uncle, and sent some older persons on horseback with him, as guards upon him, to take care of him in the rugged parts of the country, and in case any beasts of the fiercer kind should show themselves. Cyrus, in consequence, was very earnest in inquiring of those that attended him, what beasts he was not to approach, and what sort of animals he might confidently pursue. They told him, that bears had destroyed many that had ventured to approach them, as well as lions, wild boars, and leopards, but that stags, antelopes, wild sheep, and wild asses, were harmless creatures. They told him, likewise, that he must guard against rough places not less than the beasts; for that many men, with their horses, had been carried headlong over precipices. 8. Cyrus attended to all these instructions very readily; but, as soon as he saw a stag leap forth, forgetting all that he had heard, he pursued, regarding nothing but which way the animal fled; and his horse, taking a leap with him, fell somehow upon his knees, and very nearly threw him over his neck. However Cyrus, though with difficulty, kept upon his back, and the horse got up again. When he reached the open ground he hurled his javelin, and struck the stag down, a fine large animal; and he was most highly delighted. But his guards, riding up to him, reproved him, told him into what danger he had run, and said that they must complain of him. Cyrus, having alighted from his horse, stood and listened to this with much uneasiness; but, hearing a shout, he sprang on his horse, as in a sort of enthusiasm,

and seeing before him a boar advancing, he rode forward to meet it, and taking a good aim with his javelin, struck the boar in the forehead, and brought it down. 9. But now his uncle, seeing his rashness, began to reprove him. Cyrus however, notwithstanding his uncle was finding fault with him, begged that he would allow him to carry off the beasts that he had taken, and to present them to his grandfather. To this, they say, his uncle replied, "But, if he learn that it is you that have taken them, he will not only blame you, but me, for allowing you to do it." "Let him even beat me," says he, "if he will, when I have given them to him; and do you, if you will, uncle," says he, "correct me as you please; gratify me only in this." Cyaxares at last said, "Do as you please; for you seem now to be our king."

10. Cyrus accordingly, carrying home the beasts, presented them to his grandfather, and told him that he himself had hunted them for him. The javelins he did not show him, but laid them down, covered with blood, where he thought that he certainly would see them. Astyages said, "Child, I receive with pleasure whatever you give me; yet I am not in such want of any of these animals, as that you should run into danger for them." "If, then, you do not want them, grandfather," said Cyrus, "pray give them to me, that I may distribute them to my companions." "Child," said Astyages, "take them, and distribute them to whom you please, and of everything else whatever you will." 11. Cyrus, taking the beasts, carried them off and gave them to the boys; and said to them at the same time, "Boys, what very triflers were we when we hunted the beasts in the park! It seems to me the same as if one had hunted animals tied by the leg; for, first, they were within a narrow compass of ground; then the creatures were lean mangy things; one was lame, another maimed; but the beasts in the mountains and plains, how fine, how large, and how sleek did they appear! The stags, as if they had wings, leaped to the very sky; the boars, as they say brave men do, came to close quarters; and, by reason of their bulk, it was impossible to miss them. These, even when they are dead," says he, "appear to me finer than those other wall-ed-up creatures when alive. But," added he, "would your fathers, think you, allow you to go out a hunting?" "Yes, very readily," said they, "if Astyages desired it." 12. Cyrus

then said, "Who is there, then, that would mention it for us to Astyages?" "Who more able," said they, "to persuade him than yourself?" "By Jupiter," said he, "for my part, I know not what kind of person I am become; for I am neither able to speak, nor look up to my grandfather in the same manner as formerly; and, if I go on at this rate, I fear," says he, "I shall become a mere dullard and fool; yet, when I was a little boy, I was thought a wonderful talker." The boys then said, "You tell us a sad piece of news, if you will be able to do nothing for us in case of need, but, as far as depends on you,<sup>1</sup> we must make our requests to someone else."

13. Cyrus, on hearing this remark, was annoyed, and retiring in silence, encouraged himself to venture; and, having considered how he might speak to his grandfather in the least offensive manner, and obtain for himself and the boys what they desired, went in, and began thus: "Tell me," said he, "grandfather, if one of your domestic servants should run away, and you should take him again, what would you do with him?" "What else," said he, "but put him in chains, and force him to work?" "But if he should of himself return to you, how would you act?" "What else should I do," said he, "but have him whipped, that he may do so no more, and make use of him as at first?" "It is time for you, then," said Cyrus, "to prepare a scourge to whip me, as I am contriving how to run away, and take my companions with me, to hunt." "You have done well," said Astyages, "to tell it me beforehand; for I now order you not to stir from home. It would be a fine thing, indeed," added he, "if, for the sake of a little venison, I should send out my daughter's son to ramble at his pleasure."

14. Cyrus, hearing this, obeyed, and stayed at home; but he continued afflicted, melancholy-looking, and silent. Astyages, finding that he was so extremely distressed, and being willing to please him, took him out to the chase; and, assembling abundance of people, both foot and horse, and also the boys, and driving the beasts into that part of the country which was suited for riding, he made a great hunt, and being himself present, royally attended, gave orders that none should throw till Cyrus had had enough of the exercise. Cyrus how-

<sup>1</sup> Τὸ ἐπὶ σέ.] Most of the old editions have τὸ ἐπὶ σοί, "what is in your power," which is inconsistent with the context.

ever would not let him hinder them, but said, "If you have a mind, grandfather, that I should hunt with pleasure, let all those with me engage in the pursuit, and strive each to do his best." 15. Astyages then gave them permission, and, taking his stand, saw them engage with the beasts, striving to outdo each other, pursuing and throwing their javelins. He was delighted with Cyrus, who, from excess of joy, could not hold his tongue, but, like a young and generous dog, cried out when he approached a beast, and encouraged every one by name. He was pleased to see him laughing at one; another he observed him to praise cordially, and without the least feeling of envy. At last Astyages, having taken abundance of game, retired; and, in other respects, was so pleased with that hunt, that he always went out with Cyrus whenever he could, and took abundance of people with him, as well as the boys, for the sake of Cyrus. Thus, for the most part, did Cyrus pass his time, contributing much pleasure and service to every one, without doing the least harm.

16. But, when he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, the king of Assyria's son,<sup>1</sup> who was about to marry, had a mind at that time to hunt; and, hearing that there was plenty of game upon the borders of his own people and those of the Medes, having not been hunted because of the war,<sup>2</sup> he de-

<sup>1</sup> The king of Assyria at that time was Nabuchodonosor, or Nebuchadnezzar, whose empire, besides Assyria and Babylonia, included Chaldæa, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine; for on the death of Sardanapalus, the king of Assyria, three other kingdoms were formed out of his dominions, the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Median. Astyages was then king of Media; but Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, united under his rule the other two kingdoms, and Nebuchadnezzar was the fourth king from him, his father having destroyed Nineveh with the assistance of Astyages, who had betrothed his daughter Amyitis to Nebuchadnezzar. He is therefore called by Xenophon the king of Assyria, as he is also by John Malala, Chronogr. 190; while in the Book of Daniel he is called king of Babylon. The son of this Nebuchadnezzar was Evilmerodach, who succeeded his father. See Prideaux's Hist. of the O. and N. Test. p. 109. Fischer. Usher places this hunt, and the commencement of the war to which it gave rise, in the year B. C. 581.

<sup>2</sup> The commentators understand the war that Nebuchadnezzar carried on with the Jews; just as if Palestine had been on the confines of Media, or as if the Medes, being united in close alliance with the Assyrians, might not have hunted on those borders. Bornemann. What war is meant, is uncertain.



sired to go thither. That he might hunt, therefore, without danger, he took with him a body of horse and another of light-armed foot, who were to drive the beasts for him out of the thickets into the parts that were cultivated and easy to ride over. Having come, therefore, to the place where their garrisons were, and a guard attending, he took supper there, with the intention of hunting early the next morning. 17. But, when it was evening, a guard of horse and foot arrived from the city,<sup>1</sup> to relieve those who were there before; and he accordingly thought that he had now a considerable army with him; for the two parties of guards were united in a body, and he himself had brought with him a large number of both horse and foot. He conceived it best, therefore, to carry off some plunder from the Median territory, as this would be a nobler exploit than a hunt; and he thought he should thus procure great abundance of beasts for sacrifice. Rising, in consequence, early in the morning, he led out his army. The foot he left in a body upon the borders; while he himself, advancing up to the Median garrisons with the horse, and keeping the best and greatest number of them with him, halted there, that the Medes in garrison might not give assistance to their countrymen against those who were to overrun the country; and such as were suited for the purpose, he sent out in parties, some to ride one way and some another; and ordered them to surround and seize whatever booty they met with and bring it to him. These did as they were directed.

18. But notice being given to Astyages, that the enemy was in the country, he marched himself, with what forces he had at hand, to the borders, and his son, likewise, with such cavalry as were with him; and he sent word to all his other forces to come and support him. When they caught sight of a great number of Assyrians, drawn up in a body, and their horses standing still, the Medes likewise came to a halt.

Cyrus, seeing others marching out in troops to support their friends, went out to join the expedition himself, putting on his arms then for the first time; having thought that the time would never come for doing so, such was his eagerness to equip himself with them; for they were very fine, and fitted him very well, being those which his grandfather had

<sup>1</sup> Babylon is supposed to be signified. *Bornemann.*

had made to suit his size. Having thus armed himself, he rode up to the rest on his horse. Astyages wondered by whose encouragement he came; however, he told him to remain near him. 19. Cyrus, seeing a great number of horsemen in front of him, "Grandfather," asked he, "are these men enemies, that sit there quietly on their horses?" "They are indeed enemies," said he. "And are those enemies, too, that are riding up and down?" "Yes, and those also." "By Jove, then, grandfather," said he, "they seem to be wretched fellows, and mounted upon wretched horses, that are carrying off our property; and ought not some of us to march against them?" "But do you not see, child," said he, "what a body of horse stands there in close order, who, if we advance against the others, will intercept us? And our full strength is not yet come up." "But," said Cyrus, "if you wait here, and attach to yourself those that are marching to support us, those of the enemy that are here will be under apprehension, and will not stir; but the plunderers, should they see any troops marching against them, will soon relinquish their booty." 20. As he said this, he appeared to Astyages to say something to the purpose; and, wondering to see how sagacious and vigilant he was, he ordered his son to take a troop of horse and march against the plunderers. "And I," said he, "will bear down upon these men that are here, if they offer to move towards you; so that they shall be obliged to watch our motions."

Cyaxares, accordingly, taking some of the strongest and best, both of men and horses, set forward; and Cyrus seeing them start, pushed on with them, and soon, at a quick pace, got to the head of them. Cyaxares followed, and the rest were not left behind. As soon as the plunderers saw them approaching, they immediately quitted their booty and fled. 21. Those that were with Cyrus intercepted them, and fell at once to blows with such as they overtook, and Cyrus was the first to attack. Those who had got the start, and were beyond them, they pursued in the rear, and made no pause, but captured several of them. As a generous dog that has no experience hurries headlong without caution upon a boar, so Cyrus pressed forward, minding only to strike whomsoever he overtook, and heedless of anything else. The enemy, when they saw their people in distress, moved forward their main body, judging that the pursuers would discontinue their

chase as soon as they should see them advancing. 22. Cyrus, notwithstanding, did not give over, but calling out to his uncle for joy, continued the pursuit, and, pressing on, put the enemy to an entire rout. Cyaxares followed, (perhaps being in awe of his father,) and the rest kept up behind, even those who would not have shown themselves very brave against men that had opposed them, being, on such an occasion, more than ordinarily eager in pursuing. Astyages, when he saw the one party so incautiously pursuing, and the enemy, in a close and regular body, marching to meet them; fearing for his son and for Cyrus, lest they, in disorder, should fall in with the enemy prepared to receive them, and suffer some harm, immediately advanced against the enemy. 23. The enemy, as soon as they saw the Medes move forward, halted, presenting some their javelins, and some their bows, in expectation that they would halt when they came within bow-shot, as they generally had been accustomed to do; for within such a distance, when they approached nearest,<sup>1</sup> they would ride towards one another, and frequently skirmish till evening. But when they saw their own men in full flight towards them, and those with Cyrus following close upon them, and Astyages, with his horse, advancing within bow-shot, they gave way and fled before the enemy, who pursued them at full speed, and killed several; they fell upon all that they overtook, whether man or horse, and whoever fell they killed. Nor did they stop till they came up with the Assyrian foot; but here, fearing lest some greater force than was seen might be lying in ambuscade, they desisted. 24. Astyages then led back his troops in much joy at this victory obtained by his cavalry, but knew not what to say to Cyrus, for he knew him to be the cause of the action, and saw him almost mad with excess of spirit; for while the rest were retiring home, he alone, by himself, did nothing but ride round and gaze upon those that had fallen in the action. And they who were sent for the purpose could with difficulty tear him away and bring him to Astyages, while he kept his conductors constantly before him, because he saw the countenance of his grandfather grow extremely stern at the sight of him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, their nearest approach to each other was only within bow-shot.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπὶ τῇ θίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ.] I have given these words the sense in

25. These things passed among the Medes, and not only all other people had Cyrus in their mouths, both in their conversation and songs, but Astyages, who before had a great esteem for him, was now struck with extraordinary admiration of him. Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, was pleased to hear these things of him; but when he heard that he was taking upon him the duties of a man, he recalled him home, that he might complete the customary education among the Persians. Cyrus is reported to have said on this occasion, "That he was desirous to return, lest his father should be dissatisfied and his country should blame him." It appeared necessary, therefore, for Astyages to send him home; and he accordingly let him depart, presenting him with such horses as he desired to have, and bestowing on him many other presents, both because he had a great affection for him, and because he entertained the strongest hopes that he would prove a man thoroughly able to do service to his friends, and give trouble to his enemies.

All the people waited upon Cyrus at his departure, both boys, youth, men, and those in years, on horseback; as did also Astyages himself; and they said that not one turned back without shedding tears. 26. It is said, too, that Cyrus himself shed many tears at parting; that he distributed many presents among his companions and equals in age, out of the gifts which Astyages had given him; and that, at last, taking off the Median robe that he had on, he gave it to a certain youth, thus showing that he loved him the most of all. It is told that those who had taken and accepted of these presents, returned them to Astyages, and that Astyages on receiving them, sent them to Cyrus, but that he sent them back again to the Medes, with a message to this effect: "O grandfather! if you would have me return hither again to you without shame, let every one keep what I have given him;" and that Astyages, hearing this, did as Cyrus had entreated him to do.

27. But, if I may be allowed to relate an amusing occurrence, it is said, that when Cyrus was going away, and they were parting from one another, his relations took leave of which they are usually taken. Weiske and Bornemann think that they refer to *Cyrus's contemplation* of the dead bodies of the Assyrians, just before mentioned.

him with a kiss, according to the Persian custom ; for the Persians retain the practice to this day ; and that a certain Mede, a person of handsome figure and excellent character, stood for a long time astonished, as it were, at the beauty of Cyrus ; and that, when he saw Cyrus's relations kiss him, he stayed behind, and when the rest were gone, accosted Cyrus, and said to him, " And am I, Cyrus, the only one of all your relations that you do not know ? " " What ! " said Cyrus, " and are you a relation ? " " Yes," said he : " This was the reason, then," said Cyrus, " that you used to gaze at me ; for I recollect that you frequently did so." " For I was very desirous," said he, " to salute you, but, by the gods, was always ashamed to do it." " But," said Cyrus, " you, that are a relation, ought not to have been so," and at the same time went up to him and kissed him. 28. The Mede having received the kiss, is said to have asked this question : " And is it a custom also among the Persians to kiss relations ? " " It is," said Cyrus, " when they see one another after some length of time, or are going away from one another." " It must be certainly time, then," said the Mede, " for you to kiss me again ; for, as you see, I am going away." So Cyrus, kissing him again, took leave of him, and went his way. They had not gone very far before the Mede came up with him again, with his horse in a sweat ; and Cyrus, observing him, said, " Have you forgotten anything that you intended to say to me ? " " No. hy Jove ! " said he, " but I am returning after some length of time." " Dear kinsman," said he, " it is certainly a very short length." " How a short one ? " said the Mede : " do you not know, Cyrus," added he, " that the very time I am winking appears to me extremely long, because I do not then see you, who are so lovely ? " Here Cyrus, from being before in tears, burst out into laughter, and bade him go his way cheerfully, as in a short time he would be with them again ; so that he would be at liberty to look at him, if he pleased, without winking.

## CHAPTER V.

Cyrus, on returning to Persia, continues another year in the class of boys. His conduct in the class of youth. His superiority over his companions. His appointment to command against the Assyrians. His troops assembled. His address to his officers.

1. CYRUS, returning thus into Persia, is said to have continued a year longer amongst the boys. At first they made jests upon him, as if he had returned to them after learning to be luxurious among the Medes. But when they saw that he dressed as they did; that he drank as they did, and with pleasure; and observed that whenever, at a festival, there were any delicacies, he was more ready to give part of his share away than to wish for any addition to it, and perceived him also in other respects superior to themselves, they then, such as were of his own age, paid him great deference. And when he had passed through the discipline of these years, and entered the class of youth, he appeared among them again superior to the rest, both in practising what was fit, in steady perseverance, in respect to his elders, and in obedience to his governors.

2. In process of time, Astyages died in Media, and his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's mother, succeeded to the throne of the Medes. The king of Assyria, at the same time, having overthrown all the Syrians, a numerous nation, and having made the king<sup>1</sup> of the Arabians his subject, having also the Hyrcanians under his dominion, and being employed in reducing the Bactrians, considered that, if he could break the power of the Medes, he should easily obtain the dominion of all the people around; for the Medes seemed to be the strongest of all the neighbouring nations. 3. He accordingly sent to all those that were subject to him, to Cræsus king of Lydia, to the king of Cappadocia, to both the Phrygians, to the Paphlagonians, Indians, Carians, and Cilicians, not only loading the Medes and Persians with reproach, but saying<sup>2</sup> how great, how powerful, and how united in interest,

<sup>1</sup> He is called Aragdus, ii. 1. 5.

<sup>2</sup> It seems necessary to insert with Bornemann *τὰ δὲ καὶ* before *λέγων* in this passage; the words are found in one manuscript, as

these two nations were, and how they had made intermarriages with each other, and were likely, if he did not prevent them and break their power, to subdue all the neighbouring nations by attacking them one after another. Some, being persuaded by these arguments, entered into an alliance with him; and others were prevailed upon by money and presents; for of these he had abundance.

4. Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, when he became aware of this design, and the preparations of those uniting against him, immediately made the utmost preparations that he was able, to oppose them. He sent to the Persians, both to the public council, and to Cambyses who was married to his sister, and was king of Persia; and he sent likewise to Cyrus, desiring him to endeavour to come as commander of the forces, if the public council of the Persians should send any; for Cyrus, by this time, had completed ten years amongst the youth, and was now ranked among the full-grown men.

5. As Cyrus was willing to undertake the charge, the elders, in council, chose him commander of the expedition into Media. They gave him power to choose two hundred from amongst the Equals-in-honour;<sup>1</sup> and to each of these two hundred they gave power to choose four of their own order. These altogether made a thousand; and to each of these thousand they gave permission to choose, from amongst the common people of Persia, ten peltasts, ten slingers, and ten archers. Thus there were ten thousand archers, ten thousand peltasts, and ten thousand slingers; and there were the thousand besides. So great was the army that was given to Cyrus. 6. But as soon as he was chosen, he began by addressing himself to the gods; and, having sacrificed with good omen, he then chose the two hundred; and, when these had afterwards chosen each their four, he assembled them together, and spoke to them, for the first time, to the following effect:

7. "Friends, I have chosen you, not as having now first

Fischer observes. To make οἱ δὲ, καὶ δάροις the apodosis to τὰ μὲν διαβάλλων, when οἱ μὲν intervenes, seems much too forced.

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν ὁμοτίμων.] The ὁμότιμοι were sons of the higher class of Persians, who could afford to have their children well educated; they are opposed here to ὁ δῆμος τῶν Περσῶν. Xenophon, when he adopted this term, seems to have had in his mind (as Schneider observes ad Hellen. iii. 3. 5) the Lacedæmonian ὅμοιοι.

had proof of your worth, but as having seen you, from boyhood, performing, with ardour, all things that the state judges honourable, and avoiding entirely whatever it considers disgraceful. I would now make known to you, for what reasons I, not unwillingly, have devoted myself to this undertaking, and why I have called you together. 8. I have considered that our forefathers were in no respect inferior to ourselves. They passed their time, at least, in the constant practice of what are thought virtuous employments; but what benefit, with such a character, they acquired either for the commonwealth of Persia, or for themselves, I cannot yet discover. 9. Yet I conceive that no virtue is practised by mankind, with a view that those who thus become deserving characters may have no advantage over the worthless. They who abstain from present pleasures, do not abstain that they may never have any enjoyment, but order their conduct thus, that, by means of their present abstinence, they may, in future, have manifold more enjoyments. Those who are desirous to be able speakers, do not exercise themselves in the art, that they may never cease haranguing, but in hopes that, by prevailing upon men by the power of their eloquence, they may effect many objects of great consequence. They who exercise themselves in martial affairs, do not labour in them that they may never cease fighting; but they judge that, by making themselves skilful in military matters, they shall acquire great riches, great happiness, and great honours, to themselves and to their country. 10. And, if any have taken pains in such pursuits, and have allowed themselves to become disabled by old age before they reaped any fruits from them, they appear to me to have acted like a person, who, desiring to be a good husbandman, and sowing and planting with skill, should, when the time came for gathering the fruits, let them fall ungathered to the ground again. Or if a wrestler, after long exercise, and becoming qualified for victory, should pass his days without entering the lists, he could not, I think, justly be acquitted of folly. 11. Let us not, friends, incur such a fate; but, since we are conscious to ourselves that from boyhood we have exercised ourselves in honourable and worthy pursuits, let us march against the enemy, whom I well know, from having myself seen them, to be far too unskilled to contend with us. For those are not very powerful antagon-



ists, who, though they may manage their bows, their javelins, and their horses with skill, yet, if they have to undergo toil, sink beneath it; and these men, with respect to labour, are utterly inexperienced. Nor are those powerful antagonists, who, when they have to submit to want of sleep, are overcome by it; and, with respect to want of sleep, these men are wholly unpractised. Nor are those powerful antagonists, who, though able in all these respects, yet are ignorant how to deal with allies or enemies; and these men are evidently ignorant of these most important arts. 12. But you can make use of the night, as others of the day; you regard toils as guides to a life of pleasure; you make hunger the sauce to your food; you drink water more readily than lions;<sup>1</sup> and you have cherished in your minds the noblest and most warlike quality in the world; for you rejoice in obtaining praise more than in all other things beside; and they that are lovers of praise, must of necessity possess the qualities for attaining it,<sup>2</sup> and must therefore submit to every labour, and every danger, with pleasure.

13. If I should express myself thus concerning you, while I apprehend that the case may be otherwise, I should but be guilty of self-deception; for whatever point in your character shall fail of being such as I represent, the deficiency will be felt by me. But I trust that, through your experience, your good-will towards me, and the folly of our enemies, these good hopes will not deceive me. Let us then set forward with confidence, since the appearance of desiring to possess other men's property unjustly is far from us; for our enemies are coming upon us, being themselves the aggressors in wrong; and our friends call us to their assistance. What then is more just than to repel injuries, or more noble than to assist friends? 14. I consider, too, that you ought to derive courage from this circumstance, that I do not enter upon this expedition with neglect of the gods; for you, who have conversed much with me, know that I endeavour to begin not great affairs only, but even small ones, with the sanction of the deities." In conclusion he said, 'What more need I add? Make choice of your men, take them under your care, and making all other necessary arrangements, proceed to join the Medes; I, after having returned to my father, will go before

<sup>1</sup> Lions are said seldom or never to pass water without drinking.

<sup>2</sup> *Krāoθai rà aīria.*] These words are wanting in many editions.

you, that having learned, as soon as possible, the condition of the enemy, I may make preparations for you as well as I can, that, under the favour of heaven, we may carry on this war with the highest honour." The men did as Cyrus suggested.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Cyrus's prayers for a prosperous expedition. He is accompanied by his father to the borders of Media. His father's discourse with him on the art of war.

1. CYRUS, after returning home, and making his supplications to Vesta, to Jupiter Patrius, and to the other deities, set out upon the expedition, and his father attended him on his way. As soon as they were out of the house, propitious lightning and thunder is said to have occurred. When this had taken place, they went on without seeking further auguries, as if these signals of the greatest of the gods could be misunderstood by no one. 2. As Cyrus proceeded on his journey, his father began to discourse with him in this manner :

"That the gods send you forth propitiously and favourably, is evident, my son, both from the sacrifices and from the signs from heaven ; and you yourself know it to be so ; for I have purposely taught you these things, that you might not learn what the gods advise from other interpreters ; but that you yourself, seeing what is to be seen, and hearing what is to be heard, might understand for yourself, and not be in the power of augurs, if they should wish to deceive you by telling you something different from what is signified by the gods ; and that moreover, in case you should be without an augur, you might not be at a loss how to profit by the divine signals, but understanding, by your knowledge in divination, the advice given you by the gods, you might follow it." 3. "And I will continue to take care, father," said Cyrus, "as far as I can, according to your instructions, that the gods, being propitious to us, may be willing to give us their advice ; for I remember to have once heard you remark, that the most likely person to obtain favour from the gods, as well as from men, is not he, who, when he is in distress, flatters them servilely, but he who, when he is most prosperous, is most mindful of them.

And you used to say, that it was in the same manner that we ought to cultivate friends." 4. "Accordingly, my son," said he, "in consequence of this care, you now approach the gods to make your requests with the more pleasure, and have better hopes of obtaining what you ask, because you feel conscious that you have never neglected them." "Certainly, father," said he, "I feel so disposed towards the gods, as to account them my friends." 5. "And do you remember those other opinions, my son," said he, "in which we heretofore agreed? that, in all things that the gods bestow, such men as have acquired knowledge of them succeed better in them than they who are ignorant; that the laborious succeed better than the idle; that the diligent live with more security than the careless; and that, therefore, first rendering ourselves such as we ought to be, we should then make our prayers to the gods for their blessings." 6. "Yes, indeed," said Cyrus, "I remember to have heard such remarks from you; and I was forced to assent to your reasoning; for I know you used to say, that it was absolute impiety, for such as had never learned to ride, to supplicate the gods for victory in a battle of cavalry; or for such as had not learned the use of the bow, to ask for superiority, in archery, over those who understood it; or for such as knew not how to steer, to pray that they might preserve ships as pilots; or for such as have not sown corn, to pray that they might have a good crop of it; or for such as are not watchful in war, to pray for safety; for that all such things were contrary to the laws of the gods; and you said, that such as made impious prayers, would probably meet with disappointments from the gods, as those would fail of success with men, who should desire things contrary to human laws."

7. "And have you forgotten, my son," said he, "those other matters on which you and I used once to discourse? As, that it was a great and noble work for a man to be able to take care that he himself should be a good and honourable character, and that both himself and his family should have plenty of all things necessary; and this being allowed to be a great work, that to understand how to govern other men, so that they may have all things necessary in abundance, and so that they may all be such as they ought to be, this seemed to us to be indeed an astonishing work!" 8. "Yes, truly, father," said he, "I remember that you said this, and it appeared also to me, that

to govern well was a work of the highest nature." "And I continue now," added Cambyses, "to hold the same opinion, when I turn my thoughts to consider the duty of a ruler. But when I look to other men, and contemplate what sort of characters they are that continue to rule, and what kind of men are to be our antagonists, I think it altogether disgraceful to fear such people, and to be unwilling to go forth and engage them; men," said he, "who, to begin with these friends of ours, think that a governor ought to be distinguished from those that he governs, by faring more sumptuously, by having more gold in his house, by sleeping longer, and by living, in all respects, more at ease than those whom he governs. But my opinion is," continued he, "that a governor ought to differ from the governed, not by a life of ease, but by forethought, and by his readiness to undergo labour. 9. There are some points, however, my son, in which you will not have to contend with men, but with circumstances, which it may not be easy satisfactorily to overcome. You are aware, for instance, that if the army have not provisions, your command will be immediately at an end." "Accordingly, father," said he, "Cyaxares says, that he will supply them to all that go from hence, however great the number be." "You go then, my son," said he, "trusting in these matters to Cyaxares's riches?" "I do," said Cyrus. "Do you know then," said he, "what those riches are?" "No, truly," said Cyrus, "I do not." "You trust then," said he, "to what is unknown to you. But do you not know that you will be in want of many things, and that you must now expend many additional sums?" "I do know it," said Cyrus. "If money, then," said he, "should fail him, or he should purposely deal falsely by you, how will the affairs of the army stand? It is plain that they will not stand very well." "But, father," added he, "if you know any means of obtaining supplies, and such as may depend upon myself, make them known to me, whilst I am yet upon friendly ground." 10. "Do you ask, my son," said he, "if there be any means of supply depending upon yourself? And upon whom are supplies more likely to depend, than upon one who has power in his hands? You go from hence with a body of foot in exchange for which I know that you would not take any other many times as numerous; and you will have the Median cavalry, who are an excellent body of men, to support you.

What nation is there then, of all those round about, that is not likely to serve you both from a desire to gain your favour, and for fear of receiving harm? These matters you ought to settle with Cyaxares, that nothing of what is necessary for you may ever be wanting; and, for the sake of habit, you ought to devise means of obtaining supplies. But, above all things, remember never to delay procuring supplies till necessity forces you; but, while you have the greatest plenty, and before you come to want, contrive methods of replenishing; for you will obtain more readily from those, from whom you ask, when you seem not to be in want; and you will besides be blameless in the eyes of your own men. By this means, likewise, you will gain more respect from others; and if you wish to do good or harm to any, your men, while they are supplied with all that they want, will do you better service; and you will be able, be assured, to utter far more persuasive words, when you can show that you are able to do service or injury."

11. "You appear to me, father," said Cyrus, "to make all these remarks with justice, both for other reasons, and because none of the soldiers will feel gratitude to me, for what they are now to receive; for they know upon what terms Cyaxares takes them as allies; but whatever any of them may receive in addition to what is stipulated, they will esteem a favour; and it is natural that they should pay the greatest gratitude to the bestower of it. Indeed, that a man should have a force, by means of which, through doing service to his friends, he may receive benefit in return, and endeavour to take vengeance on his enemies, and should then be careless in securing supplies,—do you think," said he, "that such conduct would be at all less disgraceful, than it would be for a man to have lands, and servants by whose labour he might keep them in a state of cultivation, and yet to suffer the soil to lie fallow and unprofitable? Be assured, therefore," added he, "that both in the territory of friends and of enemies, I shall never neglect to devise means of supplying my men with everything necessary."

12. "Do you also remember certain other points, my son," said he, "that it once appeared to us necessary not to neglect?" "Do I not remember," replied Cyrus, "when I came to you for money to give a man, who pretended to have taught me the art of commanding an army, and you, as you gave me

the money, asked me, 'Child,' said you, 'did this man, to whom you carry this remuneration, ever, amongst the qualifications of a general, mention anything of military economy to you? for soldiers in an army,' you observed, 'are not less in want of necessary supplies, than domestics in a family;' and when, telling you the truth, I said that he had not made the least mention of it, you asked me again, 'Whether he had said anything to me concerning the health and strength of the men? as a general ought to attend to these things, as well as to the conduct of troops in the field.' 13. When I answered this question in the negative, you again asked me, 'Whether he had taught me any arts by which my allies<sup>1</sup> might be rendered excellent at their several military duties?' and when I said 'No' to this too, you inquired again, 'Whether he had given me any instruction how I might put spirit into an army?' for you said, 'that, in every undertaking, spirit differed in the greatest possible degree from despondency.' When I answered this too in the negative, you inquired again, 'Whether he had said anything to instruct me about obedience in an army, and how a commander might best contrive to produce it.' 14. When this also appeared to have been entirely omitted, you at last inquired of me, 'what then he had taught me, that he should say that he had taught me the art of commanding an army?' I then replied that 'he had taught me tactics;' when you, laughing, remarked to me, recapitulating each particular that you had mentioned, what benefit could there be to an army from tactics without provisions, or without health, or without a knowledge of the arts invented for conducting a war,<sup>2</sup> or without obedience? When you had thus made it evident to me, that tactics were but a small part of generalship, and I asked you, whether you were able to teach me any of these matters, you bid me go and discourse with men that were reputed knowing in military affairs, and inquire of them how all such things were managed. 15. Upon this, I conversed with such as I had heard were experienced in these particulars. With regard to provisions, I

<sup>1</sup> Σύμμαχοι.] Or this word may rather mean *commilitones*, fellow-soldiers, such as were not of the *ὁμότιμοι*, but of the lower order.

<sup>2</sup> Poppo suspects that the words *τι δ' ἀνευ τοῦ προθυμίας ἔχειν*, "or what (benefit) without spirit (or alacrity)," have been lost out of the text, as they seem to be requisite in order to make the passage fully correspond to what precedes. Bornemann agrees with him.

was persuaded that what Cyaxares was going to give us would be sufficient. With respect to health, having heard and observed, that cities that want health choose physicians; and that commanders, for the sake of their men, take physicians with them; so I, when I was placed in this command, immediately attended to this point, and, I believe, father," said he, "that I have men with me that are very skilful in the art of physic." 16. To this the father replied: "But, my son, these men that you mention are like menders of torn clothes; for so, when people are sick, physicians cure them; but your care of health is to be of a nobler kind than this; for you ought to make it your study that the army may never be diseased at all."

"By taking what course, then, father," said he, "shall I be able to do this?" "Why," replied Cambyses, "if you are to stay some time in the same place, you ought not to be careless in choosing a healthy spot for a camp; and in this you will not be deceived if you but give your attention to it; for men are continually talking of unhealthy and healthy places, and in each kind of places the persons and complexion of the inhabitants are sure indications of their nature. But it will not be sufficient for you to look to places only, but you must remember by what means you have endeavoured to take care of yourself, so as to continue in health." 17. Cyrus then observed, "In the first place, I study never to overload my stomach, for it is hurtful; and what goes into me I work off by exercise. By this means, health seems to me to be better retained, and vigour to be acquired." "In the same manner therefore, my son," said he, "you must take care of others." "And will the soldiers have leisure," said he, "father, to exercise themselves?" "There will not only be leisure," said the father, "but necessity; for an army that will do its duty must never be unemployed, either in distressing the enemy or securing some advantage for itself. It is a difficult matter for a single man to be maintained idle, and yet more difficult for a whole family; but most difficult of all is it to maintain an army in idleness. For in an army there are many eaters, who go out with very small supplies, and consume most lavishly whatever they may capture; so that an army ought never to be idle." 18. "You say, father, as it seems to me," said he, "that as there is no good in an idle husbandman, so there is

no good in an idle general. But, unless some god render vain my endeavours, I take it upon me to show you a diligent and active general, and soldiers well supplied with all things necessary, and to take care that they shall be in the best condition. But, with respect to the practice of the several military arts, father, it appears to me," said he, "that he who should establish games for the several sorts of troops, and propose prizes, would make them exercise themselves best, so that he would be able to make use of men practised in every department whenever he had need of them." "You say very well, my son," said he, "for by doing so, you will, be assured, see the several divisions of your men, like sets of dancers, always performing their proper parts."

19. "And then," said Cyrus, "with respect to putting spirit into the soldiers, nothing seems to me more effectual, than to be able to give the men great hopes of advantage." "But," said he, "my son, this expedient is just as if any one in hunting should always encourage the dogs with the call which he uses when he has the beast in view; for at first, I know, he would find them very ready to attend to him, but, if he often deceived them, they would at last give no attention to him even when he called them with the beast in sight. It is the same with respect to these hopes; if any one should disappoint men often, after raising in them expectations of advantage, he would at last be unable to prevail over them, even when he spoke to them of hopes ever so well grounded. But, my son," continued he, "you must be cautious of saying anything that you do not certainly know; sometimes others, saying it, may produce the same effect; your own encouragement you must preserve in credit as much as possible for the greatest emergencies." "Indeed, father," said Cyrus, "in my opinion, you say well, and to act thus is to me the more agreeable method."

20. "But, as to rendering the soldiers obedient, I think myself, father, not wholly unskilled in that particular; for from my boyhood you taught me discipline, obliging me to be obedient to you; you then committed me to teachers, and they acted similarly; and when I was classed among the youth, our officer took strict care as to that point; and the greater number of laws appear to me to teach chiefly these two things, how to govern, and how to obey; and, on reflect-



ing upon these matters, I think I understand that what excites most to obedience among all men is to praise and honour the obedient, and to disgrace and punish the disobedient."

21. "This is indeed the way, my son," said he, "to make them obey you through necessity; but to what is far better than this, to have them obey you willingly, there is another readier way; for whomsoever men think to be more knowing than themselves in what is for their good, him they obey with the utmost pleasure. You may see that this is so in the case of many other people, and particularly in that of the sick, for you observe how readily they call in such as may prescribe what they ought to do; how readily at sea, too, the people that are on board obey their pilots; and how anxious people are not to be left behind by such as they think know roads better than themselves; but when men think that they shall incur any harm by obedience, they are not at all willing either to submit to punishments or be encouraged by rewards; for no one willingly takes even a reward to his own prejudice."

22. "You say, then, father," said he, "that nothing is more effectual to render men obedient than to appear to be wiser than those under command." "I do say so," said he. "And how, father," said he, "will a person be best able to raise such an opinion of himself?" "My son," replied he, "there is no readier way to appear wise in things in which you desire to appear so, than to be in reality wise in those things; and if you look to particulars, you will find that what I say is true. For if you would appear a good agriculturist, a good horseman, a good physician, a good player on the flute, or anything else whatsoever, when you really are not so, consider how many contrivances you must use in order to make such an appearance. And if you should prevail with a great many people to commend you, that you may gain a reputation, and should procure fine instruments belonging to each of those arts, you would but deceive for a time, and soon after, when you came to give proof of your skill, you would be exposed, and appear a mere boaster." 23. "But how can a person become really knowing in what will be of future advantage?" "Plainly, my son," replied Cambyses, "by learning everything that he can acquire by learning, as you have learned tactics; but, with respect to what is not to be learned with the aid of men, or ascertained by human foresight, you

would become more knowing than others, by inquiring of the gods by means of augury, and whatever you find most proper to be done, taking care that it be done; for to see to the execution of what is proper, is the part of a man of superior prudence, rather than to neglect it."

24. "But," said Cyrus, "as to being beloved by those that are under command, a point which seems to me to be among those of most importance, it is evident, that the way is the same which any one would take who should desire to be loved by his friends; for I know very well that he ought plainly to appear of service to them." "But, my son," said he, "it is a matter of great difficulty to be always able to serve those that we would wish to serve; but to be observed to rejoice with them if any good fortune befalls them, and to grieve with them if anything ill happens; to appear zealous to assist them in their distresses, afraid lest they should miscarry in anything, and anxious to provide that they may not miscarry, these are the respects in which you should show sympathy with them.<sup>1</sup> 25. And, in action, if it be summer, the commander ought to be observed to bear more heat, and if it be winter, more cold, and in great fatigues, more exertion, than others; for all these things contribute to his being beloved by those that are under his government." "You say then, father," said he, "that a commander ought in everything to show himself more capable of endurance than those whom he commands." "I do say so," said he; "but be of good courage, my son, as to this particular; for, be assured that, with like bodies, the same labours do not equally affect the commander and the private man; glory, and the consciousness that, whatever he does, his acts are not concealed, make toils lighter to the commander."

26. "But when the soldiers, father, are supplied with all things necessary, when they are in health, and able to undergo labour, when they are well exercised in all the military arts, when they are ambitious to appear brave men, and when obedience is more pleasing to them than the contrary; would not that commander be wise, in your opinion, who should then desire, upon the first opportunity, to bring them to an engagement with the enemy?" "Yes, truly," said he, "provided

<sup>1</sup> Συμπαρομαρτεῖν.] "To go along with."

that he was likely to have the superiority ; but if otherwise, the better I thought of myself, and the better I thought of my men, the more should I guard my advantages ; just as we endeavour to secure other things, which we think of the greatest value to us, in the safest manner."

27. "By what means then, father," said he, "would a commander be best able to get the advantage of the enemy?" "Truly, my son," said he, "this is no contemptible or simple business about which you inquire. But be assured that he who is to do this must be full of wiles, a dissembler, crafty, deceitful, a thief, and a robber, and an encroacher upon the enemy in every way." Cyrus, laughing, cried out, "O Hercules ! what sort of a man, father, do you say that I must be ?" "Such a one, my son," said he, "as may yet have the strictest regard to justice and law." 28. "Why, then," said he, "while we were boys, and while we were youths, did you teach us the direct contrary?" "So indeed we do still," said he, "with respect to friends and fellow-citizens. But were you not aware that you learned a great many mischievous arts in order that you might be able to do harm to your enemies?" "I was not, father," said he. "For what purpose, then," said he, "did you learn to use the bow, and to throw the javelin ? For what purpose did you learn to deceive wild boars with nets and trenches, and stags with snares and gins ? What is the reason that, in your encounters with lions, bears, and leopards, you did not put yourself upon an equal footing with them, but endeavoured to contend against them with every advantage ? Do you not know that these are all mischievous artifices, deceits, subtleties, and circumventions?" 29. "Yes, certainly," said Cyrus, "against beasts ; but if I were discovered attempting to deceive a man, I remember that I used to receive a good many stripes for it." "Nor did we, I think," said he, "allow you to shoot with the bow, or hurl a javelin, at a man ; but we taught you to throw at a mark, that you might not, at that time, do mischief to your friends, but that if war should happen, you might be able to take your aim at men. We instructed you, also, to practise deceit, and to take advantage, not upon men, but upon beasts, that you might not hurt your friends by these means, but that, if a war should ever happen, you might not be unpractised in them." 30. "Then," said he, "father, if it be of use to know both

how to do men good, and how to do them harm, you should have taught us how to practise both these arts upon men." 31. "My son," said he, "in the time of our forefathers, there is said to have been a certain teacher of youth, who, just as you desire, taught the boys both justice and injustice;<sup>1</sup> to lie and not to lie; to deceive and not to deceive; to calumniate and not to calumniate; to take advantage and not to take advantage. And he distinguished which of these was to be practised towards friends, and which towards enemies, and, proceeding yet further, taught that it was even just to deceive friends for their good, and to steal the property of friends for their good. 32. In giving these instructions, he was obliged to exercise the boys one against another in the practice of them, as they say that the Greeks teach boys to deceive in wrestling, and exercise them in it one against another, so that they may be able to put it in practice. Some, accordingly, being naturally qualified to deceive artfully, and artfully to take advantage, and, perhaps, not naturally unqualified to pursue profit for themselves, did not refrain from using their endeavours to take advantage even of their friends. 33. In consequence, a decree was made, which we yet observe, that we should teach the boys simply, as we teach our servants in their behaviour towards us, to tell truth, not to deceive, not to take advantage; and that if they transgress in these things, we should punish them, in order that, being accustomed to this conduct, they may become more tractable citizens. 34. But when they arrived at the age to which you are now come, it appeared to be safe to teach them also what is lawful with respect to enemies, for, having been bred together with a regard for each other, you did not seem likely to break out afterwards so as to become lawless citizens; just as before very young people we avoid discoursing on amatory subjects, lest license being added to strong desire, they should indulge their passions to excess." 35. "To me, therefore," said he, "father, as being a very late learner of these artifices, do not refuse to communicate them, if you know means by which I may take advantage of the enemy." "As far as is in your power, then," said he, "contrive, with your own men in the best order, to

<sup>1</sup> The words *kai ádikian* are inserted in Hutchinson's text, from a conjecture of Leunclavius. Subsequent editors have omitted them, but I have thought it well to express them in the translation.

take the enemy in disorder ; the enemy unarmed, with your own men armed ; the enemy sleeping, with your own men waking ; the enemy exposed to you, yourself being concealed from them ; and you will then, while you are yourself in security, surprise them in the midst of difficulties." 36. "And how," said he, "can a leader possibly surprise the enemy making such mistakes as these ?" "Because, my son," replied Cambyses, "both the enemy and yourself must of necessity afford many opportunities of this kind ; for you must both get provisions ; you must both necessarily have rest ; in the morning you must almost all, at the same time, retire on necessary occasions ; and in your marches, you must make use of such roads as there happen to be : considering all these things, in whatever part you know yourself to be the weakest, in that you must be the most watchful ; and in whatever part you observe the enemy to be most assailable, in that you must attack him."

37. "Is it then in these things only," said Cyrus, "that it is possible to take advantages, or may it be done in others ?" "Much more in others, my son," said he, "and more effectually ; for, in reference to these things, all men, for the most part, take strict precautions, knowing that they require them. But those who would deceive the enemy, may possibly, by rendering them confident, surprise them unguarded ; or, by letting themselves be pursued, may throw them into disorder, and alluring them on, by flight, into disadvantageous ground, may there attack them. 38. But it becomes you, my son, who are fond of understanding all these affairs, not to adopt such plans only as you have been taught, but to be yourself a contriver of stratagems to put in force against the enemy ; just as musicians play not only such tunes as they have been taught, but endeavour to compose other new melodies ; and as, in music, such pieces as are new, and as it were in flower, are held in esteem, so, in affairs of war, new contrivances are much more approved, for they are more effective in deceiving the enemy. 39. But, my son," continued he, "if you do no more than transfer to men those contrivances which you have used to ensnare small animals, do you not think that you will go a great way in the art of taking advantage of your enemy ? For, in order to catch birds, you used to rise and go out in the night, in the severest winter ; and before the birds were

stirring your snares were laid ready for them ; the moveable platform was made like the unmoved ground ; birds were taught by you to serve your purposes, and to deceive those of their own kind ; you yourself lay hid, so as to see them, but not to be seen by them ; and you practised drawing your nets before the birds could escape. 40. For the hare, too, because she feeds in the dusk, and conceals herself by day, you kept dogs, to find her by the scent ; and, because she ran off as soon as she was found, you had other dogs prepared to overtake her on her track ; and if she escaped these, then, having before discovered her paths, and to what sort of places hares flee, and are caught,<sup>1</sup> you would lay, in these places, nets difficult to be seen, and the hare, in the impetuosity of flight, would fall into them and entangle herself. And that she might not escape from hence, you would set people to watch what passed, who, from some place near at hand, would presently be upon her ; you yourself shouting behind, with noise that never quits her, would overwhelm her with amazement, so that in this distraction she would be taken : and you would make those that are set to watch lie concealed, having instructed them beforehand to be silent. 41. As I said before, therefore, if you would form such contrivances against men, I do not know that you would leave one of the enemy alive. But if it ever be necessary to fight upon even terms with respect to situation, openly, and both parties being fully armed, in such a case, my son, those advantages, that have been long before secured, are of great weight ; those which I mean are, when the bodies of your men are duly exercised, their minds keen, and all military arts well studied. 42. Besides, it is very necessary that you should understand, that whomsoever you desire to be obedient to you, they, on their part, will all desire you to be provident for them ; never be remiss, therefore, but consider at night what your men shall do when it is day ; and consider in the day how matters may be best settled for the night. 43. But as to the mode in which you should arrange your troops for battle ; how you should lead them, by day or night, through narrow or open ways, through mountains or plains ; how you should encamp ; how you should place sentinels by night and day ; how you should advance towards the enemy, or re-

<sup>1</sup> Αἰποῦνται.] "Circumveniuntur : " compare Eur. Hel. 1621. *Bornemann*.

treat from them ; how you should march past a city belonging to the enemy ; how you should advance up to a rampart, or retreat from it ; how you should pass through woods or rivers ; how you should guard against cavalry, or javelin-men, or archers ; how, if, when you are marching in columns, the enemy should appear, you should form a front against them ; how, if, when you are marching in phalanx, the enemy appear in some other part than in front, you should advance upon them ; how you may get the best intelligence of the enemy's affairs, and how the enemy may be best kept in ignorance of yours ; what, on all these subjects, can I say to you ? What I know of them, you have often heard from me ; and whoever else appeared knowing in any such matters, you have not neglected to get information from them ; nor are you ignorant of them ; according to circumstances, therefore, you must turn these acquirements to advantage, as it may seem fit.

44. "Take my instruction, my son," said he, "likewise, on the following points, which are of the greatest importance : Never run into danger, either in your own person, or with your army, contrary to the sacrifices and auguries ; reflecting how men engage in undertakings on conjecture, and without knowing in the least from what course of conduct benefits will result to them. 45. This you may see from the things themselves that happen ; for many men, and such, too, as were thought to be very wise, have persuaded people to undertake war against those by whom those that were persuaded to be the aggressors have been destroyed. Many, also, have exalted both private men and cities, from whom, when exalted, they have suffered the greatest misfortunes. Many, too, having chosen rather to treat those as slaves than as friends, whom they might have treated as friends, giving and receiving reciprocal benefits, have met with retaliation at their hands. To many, likewise, it has not been sufficient to live in pleasure, possessing their own proper share of things ; but, desiring to be lords of all, they have by this means lost what they had ; and many, who have acquired the much wished for metal, gold, have perished by means of it. 46. Thus human wisdom knows no more how to choose what is best, than a man who, casting lots, should do whatever might chance to fall to him. But the ever-living gods, my son, know all things that have been, all things that are, and everything

that shall happen from every other thing;<sup>1</sup> and of such as consult them, they foreshow to those to whom they are propitious, what they ought and what they ought not to do. If they will not give advice to all, it is by no means wonderful; for no necessity obliges them to take care of those of whom they are unwilling to take care."

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## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER I.

Cyrus arrives with the army in Media. His conversations with Cyaxares. He prevails with Cyaxares to allow new arms to be given to the Persians, who all receive the same equipments as the Equals-in-honour.

1. DISCOURSING on such subjects, they arrived at the borders of Persia; and as an eagle, appearing to the right, led the way before them, they made their supplications to the gods and heroes who presided over the land of Persia, to send them away favourably and propitiously, and crossed the borders. When they had crossed them, they again made supplication to the gods who preside over the land of Media, to receive them propitiously and favourably; and, having done so, and embraced each other, according to custom, the father returned into Persia,<sup>2</sup> and Cyrus marched on into Media to join Cyaxares.

2. When Cyrus came to Cyaxares in Media, they first embraced each other, according to custom, and Cyaxares then asked Cyrus, "How large a force he was bringing him." He replied, "Thirty thousand of such as used to come to you before as mercenary troops, but there are others coming who have never served out of their own country, of the order of the Equals-in-honour." "How many?" said Cyaxares. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐξ ἑκάστου αὐτῶν.] From everything, both of things past and of things present.

<sup>2</sup> Εἰς Πέρσας.] Dindorf reads εἰς πόλιν, but I have thought it better to desert him on this occasion, and read εἰς Πέρσας with Schneider, Bornemann, and most other editors.



"The number of them," replied Cyrus, "will scarcely please you, when you hear it; but consider," said he, "that those who are called the Equals-in-honour, though but few, rule with ease the rest of the Persians, who are very numerous. But," added he, "are you in any real want of these men, or are you under a vain alarm, and the enemy not coming?" "Assuredly they are," said he, "and in great numbers." 4. "How does this appear?" "Because a great many people, who come from that quarter, some one way and some another, all tell the same tale." "We must then," said Cyrus, "engage with these men." "We must of necessity," replied Cyaxares. "Why do you not tell me then," said Cyrus, "if you know, what the number of these forces is, that are coming upon us, and what is the number of our own, that, knowing the strength of both, we may consult how to carry on the war in the best manner?" 5. "Hear, then," said Cyaxares: "Crœsus, the Lydian, is said to be bringing with him ten thousand horse, and upwards of forty thousand peltasts and archers; they say, too, that Arsamas, governor of Greater Phrygia, is bringing horse to the number of eight thousand, and lancers and peltasts not less than forty thousand; that Aribæus, king of the Cappadocians, brings horse to the number of six thousand, and archers and peltasts not less than thirty thousand; and that Aragdus, the Arabian, is bringing cavalry as many as ten thousand, a hundred chariots, and a very large body of slingers. As to the Greeks that are settled in Asia, there is no certain intelligence as yet whether they have joined the expedition or not. But they say that Gabæus has assembled in the Caystrian plain,<sup>1</sup> from Phrygia on the Hellespont, six thousand horse, and peltasts to the number of ten thousand. The Carians, Cilicians, and Paphlagonians, though summoned, they say, do not join the expedition. The Assyrian king, who possesses Babylon and the rest of Assyria, will, as I conjecture, bring not less than twenty thousand horse; chariots, I am well aware, not fewer than two hundred; and, I believe, a vast body of foot; at least he was accustomed to do so when he invaded this country." 6. "The enemy then," said Cyrus, "you say, amount to sixty

<sup>1</sup> Either that plain of Caystrus which is mentioned in the *Anabasis*, i. 2. 11, or, as is more probable, the plain through which the river Cayster flowed. *Bornemann*.

thousand horse, and more than two hundred thousand peltasts and archers. But what then do you say is the number of your own forces?" "Of the Medes," said Cyaxares, the cavalry are above ten thousand; the peltasts and archers may be, perhaps, from such a territory as ours,<sup>1</sup> about sixty thousand; and of the Armenians, our neighbours, there will be with us four thousand horse and twenty thousand foot." "You say then," said Cyrus, "that our cavalry will be less than a third part of the enemy's, and our foot about half the number of theirs." 7. "What, then," said Cyaxares, "do you think that those Persians, whom you say you bring, are but an inconsiderable number?" "Whether we want more men," said Cyrus, "or not, we will consider hereafter; at present, pray tell me what is the mode of fighting that is in use with those several people." "It is nearly the same amongst them all," said Cyaxares; "there are archers and lancers among them, just like ours." "Then," said Cyrus, "since such are their arms, they must necessarily skirmish at a distance." "Necessarily," said Cyaxares. 8. "In this case, therefore," said Cyrus, "the victory will fall to the greater number; for the few will be much sooner wounded and destroyed by the many, than the many by the few." "If such be the case, Cyrus," said he, "what better expedient can we find than to send to the Persians, acquaint them that, if the Medes sustain any harm, the danger will extend to themselves, and, at the same time, request of them a greater force?" "Be well assured," said Cyrus, "that even if all the Persians should come, we should not exceed the enemy in numbers." 9. "What plan have you in view, then, that is better than this?" "Why," said Cyrus, "if I had the power, I would immediately make, for all the Persians that are coming, such arms as those with which the Equals-in-honour come provided; and these are, a corslet over the breast, a shield for the left hand, and a bill, or short sword,<sup>2</sup> for the right. If you provide these arms, you will make it safest for us to come to close fight with the enemy, and better for the enemy to flee than to stand their ground. Ourselves," said he, "we

<sup>1</sup> Ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας.] *Ut in nostrâ terrâ*, i. e. pro ratione et tenuitate nostræ terræ. *Bornemann.*

<sup>2</sup> Κοπίς—ἡ σάγαις.] I have chosen the two English words that appear to correspond most nearly to the Greek.

range against those that stand; those that flee we leave to you and your horse, that they may have no time either to make their escape or to turn again." 10. Thus Cyrus suggested; and Cyaxares was of opinion that what he said was reasonable, and thought no longer of sending for more men, but proceeded to provide the arms already mentioned; and they were scarcely ready when the Equals-in-honour arrived from Persia, bringing the Persian army with them.

11. Soon after, Cyrus is said to have called them together, and to have addressed them thus: "My friends, I, who saw that you were armed, and prepared in mind for close combat with the enemy, and knew that the Persians who attend you were armed only in such manner as to skirmish from a distance, was afraid that, being but few in number, and destitute of others to support you, you might, when you fell in with the great number of the enemy, incur some misfortune. Now, therefore, you are come," said he, "you bring with you men whose bodies are not to be despised; and they are to be supplied with arms like our own; but to raise their courage will be our part. For it is the duty of an officer not only to be brave himself, but to take such care of those that he commands, that they may be as brave as is possible."

12. Thus spoke Cyrus; and they were all much pleased, seeing they should now engage the enemy with more to support them; and one of them spoke to this effect: 13. "Perhaps," said he, "I may be thought to talk strangely, if I advise Cyrus to say something on our behalf, when these men, who are to be our fellow-combatants, receive their arms; for I know," said he, "that the words of those who have the most power to do service or injury, sink deepest into the minds of the hearers; and if such men make presents, though they may happen to be less than those which men receive from their equals, yet the receivers value them more. Accordingly," said he, "our Persian supporters will be much more pleased on this occasion, if they receive an exhortation from Cyrus, than if they receive one from us. And when they are placed in the degree of the Equals-in-honour, they will think that they occupy it more securely, if the honour is conferred by the son of our king, and our commander-in-chief, than if they receive it from us. Nor ought endeavours to be wanting on our part; but we should, ourselves, by every possible means

excite these men's courage; for the more courageous they become, the more will it be for our advantage."

14. Cyrus, therefore, causing the arms to be arranged in a place open to view, and calling together all the Persian soldiers, spoke to the following effect: 15. "Men of Persia, you were born and bred in the same country with ourselves; you have hodies in no respect inferior to ours, and you ought to have souls not inferior. But though you are such in yourselves, you were not, in our own country, upon an equal footing with us. It was not by us that you were excluded from it, but by the necessity that you were under of providing yourselves with subsistence. But now, with the help of the gods, it shall be my care that you be supplied with these; and it is permitted you, if you think proper, by accepting these arms, which are such as we have ourselves, to engage in the same enterprises with us; and, if anything honourable and advantageous result from them, to be honoured with the same distinctions as ourselves. 16. Hitherto you have used the bow and the javelin as we have; and if you were inferior to us in the exercise of these weapons, it is not at all wonderful; for you had not the leisure that we had, to improve yourselves in them. But, with these arms, we shall have no advantage over you, for every one will have a corslet fitted to his breast, a shield for the left hand, which we are all alike accustomed to carry; and, for the right, a bill or short sword, which we are to use against the enemy, guarding against nothing but that we may not miss our blow. 17. With these arms, then, what difference can there be between one and another of us, unless it be in courage, which you ought to cherish not less than we? As to the desire of victory, which gains and secures all that is honourable and advantageous, how can it concern us more than you? As to superior power in arms, which gives all the possessions of the conquered to the conquerors, how is it possible that we should long for it more than you?" 18. In conclusion, he said, "You have heard all; you see the arms before you; let him that thinks fit take them, and enrol himself under his officer in the same rank with us. But he that is content to be in the condition of a mercenary, let him continue in servile arms." 19. Thus he spoke; and the Persians that heard him were of opinion, that if, when they were invited to an equal share of

advantages, by sharing in like labours, they should not accept the offer, they would justly pass all their days in a low condition. They all accordingly enrolled themselves, and all took the arms.

20. During the time that the enemy was said to be approaching, but had not yet arrived, Cyrus endeavoured to exercise his men so that they might acquire vigour ; to teach them military evolutions, and to excite their minds to warlike enterprise. 21. In the first place, being supplied with servants by Cyaxares, he ordered them to furnish all the soldiers, liberally, with everything that they wanted, ready prepared. By providing for them in this way, he left them nothing to do but to exercise themselves in such things as related to war, appearing to have convinced himself of the truth of this maxim, that those men become most skilful in anything, who, abstaining from giving their attention to many occupations, apply themselves to one employment only. And of exercises relating to war, he relieved them from practice with the bow and javelin, and left them only one object of attention, to fight with sword, shield, and corslet. He accordingly soon brought their minds to this state, that they found they must either engage the enemy hand to hand, or confess that they were allies of no value ; and this was hard to be owned by such as knew they were maintained for nothing else hut to fight for those that maintained them. 22. Having considered, too, that in whatever things there are emulations among mankind, they are much more willing to exercise themselves in them, he appointed contests among his men in whatever he knew was of importance to be practised by soldiers.

The particulars which he specified were these : for the private man, to render himself obedient to his commanders, ready to undergo labour, willing to face dangers consistently with good order, skilful in military exercises, fond of having his arms in good condition, and desirous of praise in all such matters. For the captain of five, to make himself such as it became an able private man to be ; and to do his utmost to make his five likewise such. For the captain of ten, to make his ten such ; for the captain of twenty-five, to do the same for his twenty-five ; and for the centurion, to be himself unexceptionable in conduct, and to keep watch over those who commanded under him, that they might make those whom

they commanded fulfil their duties. 23. The rewards that he proposed were, for the centurions, that those who appeared to have brought their companies into the best condition, should be made commanders of a thousand; for the captains of twenty-five, that those who appeared to exhibit the best companies, should be promoted to the places vacated by the centurions; for the captains of ten, that such as were most meritorious should be put into the places of the captains of twenty-five; for the captains of five, in like manner, to be advanced to the places of the captains of ten; and for the private men that behaved best, to be promoted to the rank of captains of five. It happened to all these officers, accordingly, that they were well served by those whom they commanded, and that all the honours suitable to each were readily paid to them. Greater hopes, too, were held out to such as deserved praise, in case any more than ordinary advantage should hereafter present itself. 24. He offered also rewards, in case of victory, to whole companies of a hundred and of twenty-five, as well as to those of ten and five, if they proved themselves eminently obedient to their officers, and zealous in performing the duties above mentioned. These rewards were such as were proper to be bestowed in common upon a number of men. Such were the things which were proclaimed, and in which the soldiers were exercised.

25. Tents he likewise provided for them, as many in number as were the centurions, and of such a size that each would contain a company; a company consisting of a hundred men. Thus they were quartered in tents by companies. The men seemed to him to be benefited, with a view to the war that was coming on, by thus dwelling together, inasmuch as they saw each other maintained alike; and there was no pretence of lying under a disadvantage, so that any one should be remiss, or that one should be inferior to another for acting against the enemy. They appeared to him likewise to be benefited by this joint habitation in knowing one another; for, from being known, a greater feeling of self-respect seems to be produced in all men; and they who are unknown appear to act with less restraint, like persons in the dark. 26. They seemed to him also to be improved by this cohabitation, in having an exact knowledge of their places and companies; for thus the centurions had their several companies in order under them,

just as much as when the company was going one by one upon a march; so the captains of twenty-five their twenty-fives; the commanders of tens their tens; and the commanders of five their fives: 27. and this exact knowledge of their places seemed to him to be of great service, both to prevent their being put into disorder, and, if they should be disordered, to enable them to rally more readily; as in the case of stones and pieces of wood, that are to be fitted together, it is possible, if they have certain marks to make it evident to what place each of them belongs, to fit them together again with ease, however confusedly they may have been thrown down. 28. They seemed to him, moreover, to be benefited by living together, inasmuch as they would be less likely to desert one another; because he observed that beasts, which were fed together, were in great trouble if any one separated them from each other.

29. Cyrus also took care that they should never go in to their dinner or supper without previous exercise; for he either led them out to hunt, and gave them exercise in that way, or contrived such sports for them as would make them exert themselves; or, if he happened to want anything done, he so managed it, that they should not return without hard exercise; for this he judged to be of service, in order to make them eat with pleasure, and to render them healthy and able to undergo labour; and labour he judged to be of use in making them more gentle one towards another, because even horses, that labour jointly together, stand likewise more contentedly together. And certainly with regard to facing the enemy, those who are conscious of having duly exercised themselves, are inspired with more boldness.

30. Cyrus likewise provided himself with such a tent as would be large enough to contain those that he invited to sup with him. He invited, for the most part, such of the centurions as he thought proper; but he sometimes invited some of the captains of twenty-five, some of the captains of ten, and some of the commanders of five; sometimes some of the private soldiers, and sometimes a whole company of five, a whole one of ten, a whole twenty-five, or a whole hundred together. He invited likewise, and rewarded, such as he saw practise anything that he wished all the others to imitate. And the dishes that were set before himself, and before those that he

invited to supper, were always alike. 31. The attendants on the soldiers, too, he always made equal sharers in everything; for he thought it not less becoming him to distinguish those who served in the concerns of the army, than to honour heralds and ambassadors; as he was aware they ought to be faithful, skilled in military affairs, and intelligent, as well as zealous, quick of despatch, diligent, and orderly. Besides, whatever good qualities those had who were accounted the better class, Cyrus thought that the attendants should have those qualities likewise; and that they should bring themselves, by practice, to refuse no work, but to consider it becoming them to do everything that their commander should enjoin.

## CHAPTER II.

The plans of Cyrus for improving the army are adopted. His conversations with the officers and soldiers at entertainments. His proposals respecting the distribution of the spoil which should be taken in war.

1. CYRUS always took care that, when he entertained any of the men in his tent, the most agreeable subjects of discourse, and such as might excite them to good conduct, should be introduced. On one occasion, therefore, he began to speak thus: "Friends," said he, "do the newly-attached<sup>1</sup> appear inferior to us for this reason, that they have not been disciplined in the same manner as we have? Or are they likely not to differ from us at all, either in their converse with us, or in action against the enemy?" 2. Hystaspes, in answer to him, said, "What they will prove to be in action against the enemy, I do not yet know; but, by the gods, some of them have shown themselves ill-bred enough in company. Yesterday, for instance," continued he, "Cyaxares sent certain animals to be killed for each company of a hundred; and there were three or more pieces of flesh carried round for each of us. The cook began the first round with me, and when he came in to go round the second time, I bid him begin with the last man, and carry round the contrary way." 3. One, therefore, in the

*Oi ίσαῖοι.*] Those whom Cyrus had lately promoted to the rank of the Equals-in-honour.



middle of the circle of soldiers, as they sat, cried out, 'By Jove there is no fairness in this, if nobody ever begins with us here in the middle.' I, hearing this, was uneasy that any of them should think they lay under a disadvantage, and immediately bid him come to me; in this he, in a very orderly manner, obeyed me; but when the portions carried round came to us who were to take last, only the least were left; and upon this he plainly showed himself very much dissatisfied, and said to himself, 'O, ill fortune! that I should happen now to have been called hither!' 4. I then said to him, 'Never mind; he will begin presently with us, and you shall help yourself first to the largest piece. Just at this moment the cook began to carry round the third time what was left for distribution, and he took next after me; but as soon as the third person had taken, and seemed to have taken a larger portion than himself, he threw down that which he had taken, intending to take another; but the cook, supposing that he wanted no more meat, carried it past him before he could take a second piece. 5. He now bore so ill the misfortune of losing what he had taken, that from forgetting his self-command, and being angry at his ill-fortune, he overturned in his impatience what sauce he had remaining. The captain, who was next us, seeing this, clapped his hands, and laughed out, much amused; I," added Hystaspes, "made as if I coughed, for I was not able to refrain from laughing. Cyrus," said he, "such a man do I show you one of our new companions<sup>1</sup> to be." Upon this, as was natural, they all laughed.

6. Another of the centurions then said, "Hystaspes, it seems, Cyrus, has met with one of a very perverse temper. For my part, after you had taught us the discipline of our companies, and had dismissed us with commands to teach every one his company what he had learned from you, I, as the others did, went away and began to teach one of the companies. Having placed the captain first, a young man immediately behind him, and the rest as I thought proper, I then, standing in front, and looking towards the company, gave the order, when I thought it time, to advance. 7. This young man, advancing before the captain, marched on first; I, seeing him do thus, said to him, 'Young man, what are you doing?' He said, 'I am advancing, as you order.' But,

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν ἑταίρων.] See sect. 1.

said I, 'I did not order you only to advance, but all;' when he, turning to his companions, said, 'Do you not hear him finding fault? He tells you all to advance.' 8. Upon this, all the men, passing by the captain, came up to me; but when the captain made them go back again, they were offended, and said, 'Whom are we to obey? for one tells us to advance, and another will not allow us to do so.' Bearing all this patiently, and placing them as at first, I told them, that none of those behind should move till he that was before him led the way, and that they should all mind only to follow the leader. 9. But as a person, that was going to Persia, happened then to come to me, and ask me for a letter that I had written home, I told the captain, (for he knew where the letter was lying,) to run and fetch the letter; he then began to run; and the young man that was next him, armed as he was, with corslet and sword, followed after the captain; and the rest of the company, seeing him run, ran off with him; and so they came back, bringing me the letter. So exact," said he, "is this company of mine in executing all the instructions they receive from you." 10. The rest, as was natural, laughed at this armed procession with the letter; but Cyrus said, "O Jove, and all ye gods! what sort of men have we for our companions! Men so easily pleased, that we may render numbers of them our friends with the aid of a small piece of meat; and so obedient, that they obey before they understand what they are ordered to do. For my part, I do not know what sort of soldiers we should wish to have, rather than such!" 11. Cyrus thus, laughing, commended the soldiers.

There happened at that time to be in the tent a certain centurion whose name was Aglaitadas, an austere sort of man in his manners, who spoke thus: "Do you think, Cyrus," said he, "that these men tell truth in these stories?" "Why, what end," said Cyrus, "can they have in telling falsehood?" "What other end," said he, "but to make you laugh? For this reason, they tell you these stories like boasters, as they are." 12. "Speak civilly, pray!" said Cyrus: "and do not say that these men are boasters; for the term boaster seems to me applicable to such as feign themselves richer or braver than they really are, and undertake to do what they are not able to do, and evidently show that they act thus with a view to gaining something and making profit. But why may not

those who move their companions to laughter, neither for their own gain, nor to the hearers' loss, nor for any ill purpose, be more justly called polite and agreeable than boastful?" 13. Thus did Cyrus apologize for such as afforded matter of laughter. The captain, who had told the pleasant story of the company of soldiers, then observed, "Assuredly, Aglaitadas, you would have blamed us most severely if we had endeavoured to make you weep, (like some who, in songs and discourses, speaking of certain melancholy subjects, try to move people to tears,) when you now, though you know that we are desirous to give you pleasure, and do you no harm, lay us under so much censure!"

14. "By Jove," said Aglaitadas, "I do lay you under censure, and justly; because he that makes laughter for his friends, seems to me, frequently, to do them much less service than he who makes them weep; you will therefore find, if you consider rightly, that I speak with reason. Fathers, for instance, instil discretion into their sons, and teachers useful instruction into their pupils, by exciting tears; and the laws lead citizens, by making them weep, to the observance of justice. But can you say that movers of laughter either do any service to the bodies of men, or render their minds fitter for the conduct of private or public affairs?" 15. Upon this, Hystaspes remarked, "Aglaitadas, if you will follow my advice, you will boldly expend this very valuable commodity upon our enemies, and endeavour to set them to weep; but that worthless thing, laughter, you will by all means spend upon us, your friends here. I know you have a great deal of it lying by you in store; for you neither expend it by using it on yourself, nor do you, willingly at least, bestow it either on your friends or on strangers; so that you have no pretext for refusing to communicate it to us." "Do you think then," said Aglaitadas, "to extract laughter out of me?" "By Jove," exclaimed the centurion, "he would be a fool indeed if he did; for I believe one may with greater ease strike fire out of you, than draw laughter from you." 16. At this the others laughed, knowing the temper of the man; and Aglaitadas himself smiled; while Cyrus, seeing him look pleased, said, "Indeed, centurion, you are wrong to corrupt the most serious man we have, by tempting him to laugh; especially when he is so great an enemy to laughter!" 17. Such was the conversation that took place on this subject.

18. Chrysantas then said, "Cyrus, I, and all that are here present, consider that though, of the men who have come out with us, some are of greater and some of less merit, yet that, if any advantage fall to our lot, they will all think themselves entitled to an equal share of it; but, for my part, I think that nothing among men can be more unfair, than that the good and the bad should claim an equal share of benefits." To this observation Cyrus rejoined, "It would be best, then, by the gods, my friends, to propose this matter as a subject of debate to the army, whether it be proper, if the gods give us any profit from our labours, that we should make all equal sharers in it; or that, taking into consideration the actions of each, we should give rewards to each accordingly?" 19. "But why," said Chrysantas, "should you propose this as a subject of debate, and not announce that you will have it so? Did you not thus announce emulation and promotion?" "But by Jove," said Cyrus, "these matters are not like those; for what the men may acquire by their service, they will, I conceive, be apt to regard as their common property; but the command of the army they naturally allow to be mine, even from the time when we set out from home; so that in regulating the grades of the officers, I believe they do not think that I act at all wrong." 20. "And do you think," said Chrysantas, "that the multitude, when assembled, will ever resolve that every one shall not have an equal share, but that the best shall have the advantage in honours and profit?" "I do think so," said Cyrus; "partly because we shall express our assent to it, and partly because it is infamous to assert, that he who labours most for the public, and does it most service, is not to be thought entitled to the greatest rewards; and I believe that it will appear advantageous even to the worst of our men, that the best should have the advantage."

21. Cyrus was desirous that such a resolution should be passed, even for the sake of the Equals-in-honour themselves; for he thought that they would be yet better men, if they knew that they themselves would be judged by their actions, and rewarded accordingly. This, therefore, seemed to him to be the proper opportunity to put the subject to the vote, whilst the Equals-in-honour were dissatisfied with the claim of the multitude to equality of shares. It was therefore thought right by those in the tent to propose a discussion of

the subject; and they said, that every one who thought it his part to act like a man ought to assist in settling the question. 22. Upon this one of the centurions said with a laugh, "I know a man, one of the common soldiers, who will agree with us, that this equality of shares, without distinction, ought not to be." Another asked him, "Whom he meant?" He replied, "Truly, he is one of my own tent, who is, on every occasion, seeking to get the advantage of others." Another then asked, "What! in labours?" "No, by Jove!" said he; "here I have been caught in a falsehood; for, in labour and everything of that kind, he very contentedly allows any one to get the advantage of him that will."

23. "Friends," said Cyrus, "my judgment is, that such men as our friend here mentions, ought to be removed from the army, if we intend to keep it vigorous and obedient. For the greater part of the soldiers appear to me to be such as will follow whither any one shall lead them; honourable and good men certainly endeavour to lead to what is honourable and good; but vicious men to what is vicious; 24. and corrupt men have often more abettors than the well-disposed; for vice, that pursues its course amidst present pleasures, has these pleasures to persuade the multitude to favour her; but virtue, that leads along an arduous path, has not power sufficient for the present, to draw men at once<sup>1</sup> after her, especially if there are others, in opposition to her, inviting them to follow the prone and easy track. 25. Accordingly, when men are vicious from sloth and indolence, I regard them, like drones, as injuring their companions only in the expense of maintaining them; but those who are unfair sharers in labour, but forward and shameless in taking advantage of others, lead men to vicious practices; for they can often show vice to be successful in gaining advantages; so that such men must be entirely removed from among us. 26. Nor must you think of filling up your companies only from your own countrymen; but as, in selecting horses, you look for those that are the best, and not for those that are of your own country, so you must choose, from among men of all kinds, such as seem most likely to add to your strength, and do you honour. That such a course will be for our advantage, I have these examples to bear me testi-

<sup>1</sup> Εἰκῇ.] 'Εν τῇ παντρίκῃ εἰκῇ is equivalent to οὕτως ἐξαίφνης  
Bornemann ad sect. 22.

mony, that a chariot cannot be swift, if slow horses be attached to it, nor can it be fit for work, if vicious ones be yoked to it; nor can a house be well regulated that has bad servants; it even takes less harm by being left without servants, than by being disordered by dishonest ones. 27. And be assured, my friends, that the removal of the vicious will not only be of advantage to you inasmuch as they will be out of the way, but, of those that remain, they who have been imbued with vice will free themselves from it again; and the good, seeing the vicious dishonoured, will adhere to rectitude with much more earnestness." 28. Thus spoke Cyrus, and all his friends agreed with him in opinion, and acted accordingly.

After this, Cyrus began again to jest with them; for, observing that one of the captains had made a man excessively rough and ugly his guest and companion at table, he called the captain to him by name, and spoke to him thus: "Sambaulas, do you take that young man that sits next you, about with you, according to the Greek custom, because he is handsome?" "No, by Jove," said Sambaulas; "and yet I am pleased with his conversation, and even with looking at him." 29. They that were in the tent, upon hearing this remark, looked at the man, and, seeing that his face was exceedingly ugly, all began to laugh; and one of them said, "In the name of all the gods, Sambaulas, by what service has this man so attached himself to you?" 30. He said, "By Jove, friends, I will tell you; whenever I have called upon him, either by night or by day, he never pretended want of leisure, never obeyed lazily, but always with the utmost despatch; whenever I have ordered him to do a thing, I never saw him execute it without activity; and he has made the whole twelve<sup>1</sup> such as himself, not showing them in word, but in action, what sort of men they ought to be." 31. Somebody then said, "And, being such as he is, do not you kiss him as people kiss relations?" Here the ugly-looking soldier interposed, "No, by Jove, for he is not fond of making great efforts; and if he were to kiss me, it would be equivalent to the greatest efforts."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Τοὺς δεκαδίας πάντας.] The δεκάς is supposed to have consisted of twelve men, that is, two companies of five, and a captain of each company.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄντι πάντων γυμνασίων.] "Instead of all exercises" or labours.

## CHAPTER III.

Discussion concerning the distribution of the spoil. It is decided that the most deserving shall receive the largest share. Cyrus entertains whole companies of soldiers in his tent, to do honour to them for their merit in their exercises.

1. SUCH kind of things, both merry and serious, were said and done in the tent. At last, having performed the third libation,<sup>1</sup> and prayed to the gods for blessings, they separated and went to rest.

2. The next day, Cyrus assembled all the soldiers, and spoke to them to this effect: "Friends, the conflict is at hand; for the enemies are approaching; the prizes of victory, if we conquer, (for this we ought to say and suppose,<sup>2</sup>) are evidently our enemies themselves, and their possessions; and so, on the other hand, if we are conquered, the property of the conquered stands exposed as the reward of the conquerors.

3. Thus then," said he, "you must consider that, if when men are united as associates in war, they have each this feeling in their breasts, that nothing will be as it ought to be, unless each individually act with resolution, they readily accomplish many honourable achievements; for nothing that ought to be done is then neglected. But when every one imagines that there will be another to act and fight, though he himself be remiss, he assured," said he, "that on such men all kinds of difficulties fall at once. 4. The gods themselves have so ordered the course of things; to those who will not impose upon themselves the task of labouring for their own advantage, they give other task-masters. Now, therefore," said he, "let some one stand up, and give his opinion on this point; whether he think that virtue will be the better practised amongst us, if he, who will voluntarily meet the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon seems to have in his mind the custom of the Greeks, who, at their banquets, used to make libations to their deities, the first being offered, at the commencement of the feast, to Olympian Jupiter, the second to the heroes, and the third, at the close of the entertainment, to Jupiter the Preserver, or to Mercury the bestower of sleep. See Hesychius sub Σωτήρος Διὸς and τρίτος κρατήρ: Alex. ab Alex. v. 22. Fischer.

<sup>2</sup> Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν δεῖ.] I follow Hutchinson and Bornemann in giving ποιεῖν the sense of *ponere*. Zeune makes it equivalent to "endeavour to do," i. e. endeavour to gain victory.

toils and dangers, obtain the greatest reward, or if we all see that the worthless man lies under no disadvantage, as we are all to have an equal share?"

5. Here Chrysantas, one of the Equals-in-honour, a man neither tall nor strong in appearance, but of excellent understanding, rose up and spoke: "I cannot but think, Cyrus," said he, "that you do not propose this subject for our debate, as intending that the worthless should have equal advantages with the deserving, but as desiring to ascertain whether there be a man amongst us that will venture to declare himself of opinion, that though he perform nothing honourable or serviceable, he ought to have an equal share of what is gained by the bravery of others. 6. I am myself," said he, "neither swift of foot nor strong of arm; and, from what I can perform in my own person, I am sure that I cannot be judged to be the first man, nor yet the second, and I suppose not the thousandth, perhaps not the ten thousandth; but of this I am certain, that if those who are men of strength set themselves vigorously to work, I shall have such a share in some advantage or other, as is justly due to me; but if worthless men shall do nothing, and men of bravery and vigour shall be quite out of heart, I am afraid that I shall have a greater share than I desire of something else rather than advantage." 7. Thus spoke Chrysantas.

After him stood up Pheraulas, a Persian, one of the common people; a man intimately known to Cyrus, and greatly in his favour whilst they were yet in Persia, one who was not uncomely in person, and in mind not at all like a man of low birth; and he spoke to this effect: 8. "O Cyrus," said he, "and all ye Persians here present, I consider that we are all now proceeding to contend with each other in merit on an equal footing; for I see that we all exercise our bodies on like food; that we are all deemed worthy of like society; and that the same honours are set before all of us; for obedience to our commanders is enjoined upon us in common, and I observe that whoever is found sincerely to practise it, obtains honour at the hands of Cyrus; while to act with bravery against the enemy is not a thing belonging to one, and not to another, but stands recommended as most honourable to us all. 9. A mode of fighting,<sup>1</sup> too, is now plainly taught us, which I see

<sup>1</sup> Namely, of defending ourselves, and assailing our enemies,



indeed that all men naturally know ; as all other animals know some method of fight, and without having learned it from anything else but nature ; as the bull to attack with his horn, the horse with his hoof, the dog with his mouth, the boar with his tooth ; and all of them know," continued he, " from what animals it is most necessary for them to defend themselves, although they have never had recourse to any teacher. 10. I understood, even from my childhood, how to hold out something before that part of my body on which I thought that I should be struck ; and, if I had nothing else, I endeavoured, as well as I was able, by holding out my hands, to obstruct the person that sought to strike me ; and this I did not only without being taught, but even though I were beaten for holding out anything before me. When I was a child, wherever I saw a sword, I presently seized it ; nor was I taught how to take hold of it by anything else than by nature. This, therefore, I did, not only untaught, but even when hindered ; as there are many other things which, though checked in them both by my father and mother, I was necessarily prompted by nature to do. Then, by Jove, I hacked with my sword whatever I could hack secretly ; for it was not only natural to me, like walking and running, but, besides its being natural, I thought it a pleasure to do it. 11. Since, therefore," added he, " this kind of fighting<sup>1</sup> is now assigned us, in which there is employment for courage rather than art, how can we contend otherwise than with pleasure against these noble persons the Equals-in-honour, when the rewards of merit lie equally before us, and when we do not go to the trial with equal risk ? For they have at stake a life of honour, which is the only truly pleasant life ; we only a laborious and ignoble one, which, I think, is one of unhappiness. 12. It greatly animates me, too, my friends, to enter the lists against these men, that Cyrus is to be our judge ; a man who judges not partially and invidiously ; but I aver, and swear by the gods, that Cyrus certainly seems to me to love those that he finds deserving not less than he loves himself. Accordingly, I observe that he bestows what he has upon such men, with more pleasure than he takes in keeping it himself. 13. However," continued

with those weapons which are put into our hands, as bulls use their horns, &c.

<sup>1</sup> See note on sect. 9.

he, "I observe that these men are greatly elevated with having been disciplined to bear hunger, thirst, and cold; not knowing that we have been disciplined to endure the same things, under a much abler teacher than they have been; for there is no more effectual teacher of such matters than necessity, which has taught us to understand them fully. 14. They have exercised themselves in the labour of bearing arms, which have been so contrived by all men as to be borne with the greatest ease; but we," added he, "have been obliged, by necessity, to walk and run under heavy burdens; so that the weight of the arms which we now bear seems to me rather like the lightness of wings than a burden. 15. Consider, therefore," said he, "O Cyrus, that I shall both heartily engage in this struggle, and that I shall think it sufficient, whatever character I may acquire, if you reward me according to my merit. And I exhort you, my friends of the people, to exert yourselves in this military contention, against these men of discipline; for they are now involved in this popular dispute." 16. Thus spoke Pheraulas; and many others stood up to support them both in their opinion. It was thought fit, therefore, that every one should be rewarded according to his desert, and that Cyrus should be the judge. Thus were these matters brought to a decision.

17. Cyrus, on one occasion, invited an entire company, together with their centurion, to sup with him. This invitation he gave him, from having seen him forming half the men of his company against the other half,<sup>1</sup> in order to attack each other; both parties having their corslets on, and their shields in their left hands; but to one half he had given thick sticks in their right hands, and the others he had ordered to pick up clods of earth to throw. 18. When they stood thus ready prepared, he gave them a signal to engage; when some of those who threw the clods hit the corslets or shields of the opposite party, others their thighs or legs; but when they came to close quarters, they who had the sticks applied their blows to the thighs of some, the hands and legs of others, and the necks and backs of such as were stooping for clods; and, at last, those that had the sticks put the others to the rout, and pursued them, laying on their blows with much laughter and

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκατέρωθεν.] "On each side," placing one half on one side and the other half on the other, face to face.

diversion. Then the others, in their turn, taking the sticks, assailed in the same manner their opponents, who took their turn in throwing the clods. 19. Cyrus was much struck with these proceedings, with the contrivance of the officer, and the obedience of the men, and was glad that they were at the same time both exercised and diverted, and that those men gained the victory who were armed in a manner like that of the Persians. Being delighted, therefore, at their exercise, he invited them to supper; and observing some of them with their shins and some with their hands tied up, he asked them what had happened to them. 20. They replied that they had been struck with the clods of earth. He then asked them again, whether they were hit when they were close together, or while they were at a distance. They said, while they were at a distance; but those who had the sticks said that, when they closed, it was the finest sport imaginable; while those who had been wounded by the sticks cried out that it seemed no sport to them to be thrashed in such close encounter. They showed the blows at the same time that they had received from the sticks, both upon their hands and necks, and some in their faces; and then, as was natural, they laughed at one another. The next day, the whole field was full of soldiers imitating this company; and, whenever they had nothing more serious to do, they applied themselves to this diversion.

21. Cyrus, observing another centurion, on a certain occasion, leading his men from the river, one by one, away to the left; and, when he thought proper, ordering the last twenty-five to advance to the front, then the third, and then the fourth; and, when the captains of twenty-five were all in front, ordering each twenty-five to double their files, upon which the captains of tens advanced in front; and also, when he thought proper, ordering each twenty-five to form four deep, when the captains of five advanced to the head of the men four deep; and, when they arrived at the door of the tent, ordering them to enter, one by one, he first led in the first company, directing the second to follow in their rear, and the third and fourth in like manner, and so led them all in; and introducing them in this manner, he made them all sit down to dinner in the order in which they entered; he so much admired the mildness of the man's discipline and his

care, that he invited the whole company, together with the centurion, to sup with him. 22. But another captain, who was present at the dinner, said, "My company, Cyrus, you do not invite to your tent; yet, when they go to dinner, they perform all these manœuvres; and, when the business in the tent is over, the rear leader of the last twenty-five leads out that twenty-five, keeping those in the rear who are ranged in front when in order of battle; then the rear leader of the next twenty-five follows after these; and the third and fourth in the same manner; in order that, when it is proper to lead off from the enemy, they may know how to retreat. And when we draw up in the course where we exercise, when we march to the east, I lead the way, and the first twenty-five moves first, the second in order, and the third and fourth, and the tens and fives of the several companies, until I give orders to the contrary; but," said he, "when we march to the west, the rear leader, and the last men, lead the way in front, and yet obey me who march in the rear, so that they may be accustomed both to follow and to lead with equal obedience." 23. "And do you always do thus?" said Cyrus. "As often," said he, "as we take our meals." "I will invite you, then," said he, "because you practise your exercise both in advancing and retiring, both by day and by night, and both exercise your bodies by marching, and benefit your minds by the discipline. And since you do in everything twice as much as others, it is but just that I should give you double entertainment." 24. "By Jove," said the centurion, "not in one day, unless you also give us double stomachs." Thus they made an end of that conversation in the tent. The next day Cyrus invited this company, as he had said that he would, and also on the day following. The rest of the soldiers, perceiving this, all imitated that company for the future.

## CHAPTER IV.

An embassy to Cyaxares from the Indians. The answer given to it. Cyrus persuades Cyaxares to oblige the king of Armenia, who had revolted, to return to his allegiance. Cyrus proceeds with a body of troops to make an attack on him, under the disguise of a hunting expedition.

1. As Cyrus, upon a certain occasion, was making a general review and muster of his men under arms, there came a messenger from Cyaxares, acquainting him, that an embassy from the Indians<sup>1</sup> had arrived. "Cyaxares, therefore," said the messenger, "desires that you would come as soon as possible, and I bring you from him a beautiful robe; for he wishes that you should present your men in the handsomest and most splendid dress, as the Indians will see how you make your approach." 2. Cyrus, hearing this, gave command to the centurion who stood first in order, to place himself in front, bringing up his men in single file behind him, and keeping himself on the right. He ordered him to deliver the same directions to the second, and thus to transmit them along through the whole number. The officers, in obedience to Cyrus, soon communicated the orders, and soon put them in execution. In a very little time, they formed a front of three hundred, for that was the number of the centurions, and the men were a hundred in depth. 3. When they had placed themselves thus, he commanded them to follow as he should lead them, and immediately led them on at a quick pace. But when he found that the avenue, which led to the palace, was too narrow to allow all those in front to move on as they were, he commanded the first thousand to follow in their present order, and the next thousand to follow in their rear, and so throughout the whole, and he himself led on without stop-

<sup>1</sup> Many commentators, and among them Hutchinson, have thought that these Indians dwelt in a part of Colchis, which the Æthiopians, oftener called Indians, inhabited. But the manners and wealth, which Xenophon attributes to them, leave us little room to doubt that he meant that people who, in the age of Darius, were either subject to the Persians, or at least attached to them by some bond of alliance, and who inhabited the northern parts of India bordering on the Bactrians; a people whom Alexander, at a later period, attempted to subdue. See Heeren, *Ideen*, T. i. P. i. p. 337, seqq.; Sainte Croix, *Nouvell. Obs.* p. 666, apud Schneid.; and Bähr ad Ctes. *Reliq.* p. 52, 262, 344. Bornemann.

ping, while the other thousands followed, each in the rear of that which went before. 4. He sent also two officers to the opening of the avenue, in order that, if any should be at a loss, they might tell them what they were to do. When they came to the gate of Cyaxares, he commanded the first centurion to form his company twelve in depth, and to range the captains of twelve in front around the palace; he directed him likewise to transmit these orders to the second, and so throughout the whole army. 5. These manœuvres the soldiers executed; and he himself went in to Cyaxares, in a Persian robe, void of all ostentation. Cyaxares, when he saw him, showed pleasure at his expedition, but testified dissatisfaction at the plainness of his dress, and said, "Why is this, Cyrus? what have you done in appearing thus before the Indians? I wished you," said he, "to appear as splendid as possible; for it would have been an honour to me, for you, who are my sister's son, to have appeared with the utmost magnificence." 6. To this remark Cyrus replied, "In which way, Cyaxares, should I have honoured you most, whether if, clothing myself with a purple robe, putting on bracelets, and encircling my neck with a collar, I had obeyed you but slowly, or whether when I now obey you with such despatch, at the head of so numerous and efficient a force, and distinguish myself, for the purpose of honouring you, by such exertion and haste on my own part, and exhibit others so ready to obey you?"

Thus spoke Cyrus. Cyaxares, judging that he spoke reasonably, gave orders to introduce the Indians. 7. The Indians, having come in, said, "That the king of the Indians had sent them, and had commanded them to ask, from what cause the war had arisen between the Medes and Assyrians? and he has desired us," added they, "when we have heard your answer, to go to the Assyrian king and ask him the same question; and, in the end, to tell you both, that the king of the Indians declares, that, after having ascertained what is right, he will take the side of the injured party." 8. Cyaxares to this said, "Hear then, from me, that we do no injury to the king of the Assyrians; and now go and inquire of him what he says." Cyrus, who stood by, asked Cyaxares, "May I," said he, "say what I think?" Cyaxares bid him do so. "Give the king of the Indians this message, then," said he, "(unless Cyaxares disapprove,) that, if the Assyrian say he has

been in any way injured by us, we declare that we choose the king of the Indians himself to be arbitrator between us." The ambassadors, on hearing this, went their way.

9. When the Indians were gone, Cyrus commenced an address to Cyaxares, to this effect: "I came from home, Cyaxares, without having much money of my own; and, whatever I had, I have but very little of it left; for I have spent it," said he, "upon the soldiers. Perhaps you wonder how I have spent it on them, when it is you that maintain them. But be assured," said he, "that I have employed it in nothing else but in bestowing rewards and gratuities whenever I have been pleased with any of the soldiers. 10. For it appears to me," said he, "much more agreeable to incite all those whom a man wishes to make serviceable co-operators in any business, of whatever kind it be, by using fair words, and doing them good, than by trying severe treatment and force. But those that a person would render zealous fellow-labourers in the business of war, I think that he must absolutely court to it both by words and deeds; for such as are to be sincere fellow-combatants, who shall neither envy the good fortune of their commander, nor betray him in adversity, ought to be friends, and not enemies. 11. Having determined thus with myself on these points, I think myself in want of money. Yet to look to you upon every occasion, whom I see already involved in great expenses, appears to me unreasonable. But I think that you and I should consider jointly by what means money may be prevented from failing you; for, if you have plenty, I know that I may take it whenever I have need; especially if I take for such a purpose as, when the money is spent upon it, will be for your advantage. 12. I remember, therefore, having lately heard you say, that the king of Armenia now contemns you, because he hears that the enemy is coming upon us, and neither sends you forces, nor renders you the tribute that he ought to pay." "Indeed, Cyrus," said he, "he is acting thus, so that I am in doubt whether it would be better for me to make war upon him, and force him to compliance, or whether it would be for our interest to let him alone for the present, lest we add him to the number of our enemies." Cyrus then asked, 13. "Are his habitations in places of strength, or in such as are accessible with ease?" Cyaxares replied, "Their habitations are in places that are

not very strong, for I have not been inattentive in that particular;<sup>1</sup> but there are mountains to which he may retire, and be in safety for a time, so that neither he, nor anything that he may carry off thither, may fall into our hands, unless we sit down and besiege him there, as my father once did." 14. Cyrus then said, "But, if you will send me, assigning me such a number of horse as may appear sufficient, I think that, with the assistance of the gods, I can make him send you forces, and pay you the tribute. Besides, I have hopes that he will be made more our friend than he is at present." 15. "And I have hopes," said Cyaxares, "that they will sooner come to you than to me; for I have heard, that some of his children were your companions in hunting; so that, perhaps, they may join you again; and if they once fall into our power, everything may be settled as we wish." "Do you not think then," said Cyrus, "that it will be for our advantage to keep it secret that we are forming any such plan?" "Yes," said Cyaxares, "for by this means some or other of them may come into our hands; or if any force should fall upon them, they may be taken unprepared." 16. "Listen then," said Cyrus, "whether what I am going to say be of any moment: I have often hunted upon the borders of your territory: and that of the Armenians, with all those that were of my company; and I used to go thither also with several horsemen from among my companions here." "By acting in a similar manner now, therefore," said Cyaxares, "you may escape suspicion; but if the force should appear much greater than that with which you used to hunt, it would soon give rise to suspicion." 17. "But it is possible," said Cyrus, "to frame a very plausible pretence among ourselves; and if somebody should carry a report thither, that I intend to undertake a great hunting match, then," added he, "I might openly request of you a body of horse." "You say very well," said Cyaxares, "but I shall consent to give you but a very moderate number, as I intend to march myself to our garrisons that lie towards Assyria; and indeed," added he, "I want to go thither, to make them as strong as possible. But when you have gone before with the force which you will have, and have hunted for about two days, I can send you a sufficient reinforcement, both of horse

<sup>1</sup> That is, I did not allow them to build strong fortresses. See: iii. 1. 10.



and foot, out of those that have been assembled under me; with this you may at once set forward, and I, with the other forces, will endeavour to keep not far from you, that, if there be occasion, I may make my appearance."

18. Cyaxares accordingly soon collected horse and foot for the garrisons, and sent on waggons with provisions by the road that led to them. Cyrus offered a sacrifice with reference to the march; and, at the same time, sent to Cyaxares, and asked him for some of the younger horse-soldiers. Cyaxares, though there were multitudes that would have attended Cyrus, granted him but a small number. After Cyaxares had set forward, with a force of infantry and cavalry, on the road towards the garrisons, the omens proved favourable to Cyrus for marching against the Armenian; and he accordingly set out prepared as for a hunting expedition. 19. As he was pursuing his journey, a hare started in the very first field, and an eagle of favourable omen,<sup>1</sup> flying towards them, caught sight of the hare as it ran, and, bearing down upon it, struck it, snatched it up, and carried it into the air, and taking it away to an eminence not far off, did there what it thought fit with its prize. Cyrus, therefore, on seeing this omen, was delighted, and paid his adoration to Jupiter, sovereign of the gods, saying to those that were with him, "Friends, our hunt, if the gods please, will be a noble one!"

20. When he came to the borders, he immediately proceeded to hunt after his usual manner. The greater number of his infantry and cavalry went in a line before him, in order to rouse the beasts as they came upon them. But the best of his men, both horse and foot, stood here and there dispersed, awaited the beasts as they were roused, and pursued them. They took a large number both of boars, stags, antelopes, and wild asses; for there are abundance of wild asses in those parts even to this day. 21. When he had left off hunting, he went close up to the Armenian borders, and took supper there. The next day he hunted again, advancing to those mountains of which he desired to get possession. When he had again ended his sport, he went to supper; but, as he found that the forces from Cyaxares were advancing, he sent privately to them, and desired them to take their supper about the distance

<sup>1</sup> Αἰστος, i. e. δεξιός. Compare ii. 1. 1.

of two parasangs from him, foreseeing that this would contribute to the concealment of his design. When they had supped, he told their commander to join him. After supper, he summoned the centurions to him, and, as soon as they were come, spoke to them thus :

22. "Friends, the Armenian has been hitherto both an ally and subject of Cyaxares ; but now, as he finds that enemies are coming upon him, he contemns him, and neither sends him forces nor pays him tribute. It is he, therefore, that we are come to hunt, if we can. We must accordingly, as it appears to me, proceed in the following manner. You, Chrysantas, when you have slept a sufficient time, take half the Persians that are with us, pursue your way up the hill, and secure those mountains, to which, they say, the Armenian flees when he fears any danger ; and I will give you guides. 23. They say these mountains are covered with wood, so that it is to be hoped you will not be observed. However, if you send, before the rest of your force, some active men, who, both by their number and equipments, may look like marauders, they, if they meet with any of the Armenians, may prevent such as they can take from carrying intelligence ; and, frightening away such as they cannot take, may hinder them from seeing the whole army, and make them take measures only as against a band of robbers. 24. You, then," said he, "do thus : I, at break of day, with half the foot, and all the horse, will proceed through the plain straight to the palace. If he oppose us, it is plain that we must fight ; but if he retire from the plain, it is evident that we must hasten in pursuit of him. If he flee to the mountains, it must then," said he, "be your care to allow none of those that come towards you to escape you ; but to consider, as in hunting, that we are the finders, and that you are the person standing at the nets. 25. Remember, therefore, that the passages must be stopped before the prey is roused ; and that those who are stationed at the outlets must conceal themselves, if they do not wish to turn back the animals coming towards them. 26. Do not however act," said he, "Chrysantas, as you have sometimes acted from your fondness for hunting ; for you sometimes occupy yourself the whole night without sleeping ; but you must now allow your men to take a moderate portion of rest, that they may be able to resist drowsiness. 27 And do not, because you used

to wander through the mountains without taking men for your guides, but pursued wherever the beasts led the way, march now through such difficult places, but bid your guides lead you the easiest way, unless there be one that is much shorter; for, to an army, the easiest way is the most expeditious. 28. Nor, because you can run over the mountains, lead on now at full speed; but proceed only at a moderate pace, so that the army may be able to follow you. 29. It will be expedient, too, that some of the most vigorous and spirited should halt sometimes, and encourage the rest; and when the whole wing has passed, it animates them all to speed, to see the others running by them as they themselves move on at a walking pace."

30. Chrysantas, hearing this, and being proud of the orders that Cyrus had given him, took his guides, and went his way; and then, having given the proper directions to those that were to attend him in his march, betook himself to rest. When they had slept as long as he thought sufficient, he proceeded towards the mountains.

31. Cyrus, as soon as it was day, despatched an envoy to the Armenian, ordering him to deliver this message: "Prince of Armenia, Cyrus desires you to order matters so that you may come and bring, as soon as possible, the tribute and the forces." "If he asks you," added he, "where I am, tell him the truth, that I am upon the borders. If he ask whether I am advancing towards him, tell him the truth on this point also, that you do not know. If he inquire how many we are, bid him send somebody back with you to ascertain." 32. After giving the messenger these orders, he sent him off, thinking it more friendly to act thus than to march upon him without previous notice. Having then arranged his men in the best order, both for speedily accomplishing the march, and for fighting, if it should be necessary, he proceeded on his way. He also gave orders to his men to injure no one; and, if any of them met with an Armenian, to bid him be of good cheer; and to tell every one, that had a mind, to bring them provisions for sale, wherever they might be, whether he desired to sell meat or drink.

## BOOK III.

### CHAPTER I.

The Armenian king and his family are made prisoners. Cyrus brings him to trial, for his breach of faith, in the presence of his officers. He is partially defended by his son Tigranes. As the king confesses his guilt, and makes unconditional submission, Cyrus restores to him his family, and receives him into favour. The generosity and magnanimity of Cyrus highly extolled by the Armenians.

1. CYRUS attended to these arrangements. The Armenian, as soon as he heard from the envoy the message from Cyrus, was alarmed at it, being conscious that he had acted unjustly, both in failing to pay the tribute, and in not sending the troops. But he dreaded most of all that he should be discovered to have begun fortifying his place of residence, so as to be able to offer resistance. 2. Being in perplexity on all these accounts, he sent round to assemble his forces, and despatched, at the same time, his younger son Sabaris, his own wife, his son's wife, and his daughters, to the mountains, sending with them all his most valuable apparel and furniture, and appointing a force to conduct them. He also sent out scouts to discover what Cyrus was doing, and mustered such of the Armenians as he had with him. Soon after there arrived others, who told him that Cyrus in person was close at hand; when he no longer felt bold enough to come to an engagement, but retreated.

3. The Armenians, when they saw him act in this manner, ran every one to their own homes, with intent to put all their property out of the way. Cyrus, seeing the whole plain before him full of people, hurrying hither and thither, and driving off their cattle, sent messengers to assure them that he would be an enemy to none that remained at home, but declared that if he caught any one trying to escape, he would treat him as an enemy. The greater part accordingly remained; some, however, retreated with the king.

4. But when those who were going forward with the women fell in with those who were on the mountains, they immedi-

ately raised a cry, and many of them, betaking themselves to flight, were captured. At last the son of the Armenian king, his wives, and daughters, were likewise taken, as well as all the property that was being carried off with them. The king, when he perceived what had happened, being at a loss which way to turn himself, fled to an eminence.<sup>1</sup> 5. Cyrus, seeing this, surrounded the eminence with the force that was with him, and sending to Chrysantas, ordered him to leave a guard upon the mountains, and to come and join him. The troops then assembled under Cyrus; who, sending a herald to the Armenian, put the following question to him: "Tell me," said he, "Armenian prince, whether you choose to stay there, and combat with hunger and thirst, or to come down and fight us upon equal ground?" The Armenian answered, "That he did not choose to combat with either."<sup>2</sup> 6. Cyrus sent again to him, and asked him, "Why do you then sit there, and not come down?" "Because I am at a loss," said he, "what I ought to do." "But you ought not to be at a loss," replied Cyrus, "for you are at liberty to come down and submit to be tried." "And who," said he, "shall be the judge?" "He, without doubt," said Cyrus, "to whom the gods have given power to treat you as he pleases without a trial." The Armenian, in consequence, seeing the necessity, came down; and Cyrus, taking him, and all that belonged to him, into the midst of his troops, encamped, keeping his whole force together.

7. Just at this time, Tigranes, the eldest son of the Armenian king, returned from a journey which he had taken; he who had formerly been Cyrus's companion in hunting. When he heard what had happened, he went directly, just as he was, to Cyrus, and when he saw his father and mother, his brother, and his own wife, prisoners, he wept, as was natural; 8. and Cyrus, on seeing him, gave him no other token of friendship, except saying to him, "You are come opportunely, that you may be present and hear the trial of your father." He then summoned all the officers of the Persians and Medes, and invited such of the Armenians of rank as were there; the

<sup>1</sup> Presignified by the flight of the eagle to the hill, ii. 4. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐδετέρους βούλοιτο μάχεσθαι.] Οὐδετέρους refers as well to hunger and thirst as to Cyrus and his army. *Fischer*.

women, too, who were present in their chariots, he did not send away, but allowed them to listen.

9. When everything was arranged, he began by saying, "King of Armenia, I advise you, in the first place, to speak truth on your trial; so that one fault at least, the most hateful of all, may not be laid to your charge; for be assured, that to be found false is the greatest obstacle that can lie in men's way to obtaining pardon. Besides," continued he, "your children and wives here, and all the Armenians present, are aware of all that you have done; and if they find that you say what is at variance with facts, they will think that, if I discover the truth, you condemn yourself to the severest punishment." "Ask, me," said he, "Cyrus, whatever you please, as I am resolved to tell you truth, whatever may happen in consequence of it." 10. "Tell me then," said he, "did you ever make war with Astyages, my mother's father, and with the rest of the Medes?" "I did," said he. "And when you were conquered by him, did you agree to pay him tribute, to attend him to the field whithersoever he should desire you, and to have no fortified places?" "It was so." "And why then have you now neither brought him tribute, nor sent him troops, and have built fortifications?" He replied, "I was desirous of liberty; for it appeared to me a noble privilege, both to be free myself, and to leave liberty to my children." 11. "It is indeed noble," said Cyrus, "to fight, in order not to be made a slave; but if a man be conquered in war, or by other means be reduced to servitude, and be found attempting to withdraw himself from the power of his masters, tell me first whether you reward and honour such a one as an honest man, and one that acts nobly, or punish him, if you take him, as one that does wrong?" "I punish him," said he; "for you do not suffer me to speak falsely." 12. "Answer me, then, plainly," said Cyrus, "as to each of the following particulars: if a man be a governor under you, and transgress, do you suffer him to continue in his government, or do you appoint another in his stead?" "I appoint another," said he. "If he is master of great riches, do you suffer him to continue rich, or do you make him poor?" "I take from him," said he, "all that he has." "If you find him revolting to the enemy, what do you do?" "I put him

to death," said he; "for why should I die convicted of falsehood, rather than telling the truth?"

13. His son,<sup>1</sup> when he heard these words, pulled off his turban, and rent his clothes. The women raised a lamentable cry, and began to tear their flesh, as if their father were dead, and themselves utterly undone. Cyrus bid them be silent, and again spoke. "Be it so, Armenian; your answers are just; and what do you advise us to do in accordance with them?" The Armenian was silent, being at a loss whether he should counsel Cyrus to put him to death, or desire him to do the contrary to what he had said that he would do himself.

14. His son Tigranes then asked Cyrus, saying, "Tell me, Cyrus, since my father seems to be at a loss, whether I shall advise you concerning him what I think best for you?" Cyrus, having observed that when Tigranes used to hunt with him, there was a philosopher associating with him and much admired by him, was very desirous to hear what he would say, and boldly bid him say what he thought. 15. "Then," said Tigranes, "if you approve the measures which my father has concerted, and what he has done, I advise you, by all means, to imitate him; but if you are of opinion, that he has done wrong in everything, my advice is, that you should not imitate him." "By doing what is just, then," said Cyrus, "I shall be as far as possible from imitating him who does wrong." "It is so," said he. "According to your own reasoning, then, I should punish your father, if it be just to punish one who does wrong." "But whether do you think it best, Cyrus, to inflict punishments for your advantage, or to your prejudice?" "By acting in the latter way," said he, "I should punish myself." 16. "But you would indeed be severely punished," said Tigranes, "if you put to death those that belonged to you, at a time when they would be of the greatest service to you if saved?" "But how," said Cyrus, "can men be of the greatest service, when they are proved to have done wrong?" "They would be of service," replied Tigranes, "if they should then become discreet; for this, Cyrus, seems to me to be the case, that there is no profit in any virtue without discretion; for," continued he, "to what

<sup>1</sup> His younger son, Sabaris; for the elder, Tigranes, appears, from what Xenophon relates, to have been of a firmer mind. *Fischer.*

purpose could a person use a man of great strength or bravery, but destitute of discretion? or one skilled in horsemanship, or one abounding in riches, or a man of power in his country? But, with discretion, every friend is useful, and every servant valuable." 17. "Do you then intimate," said he, "that your father, from being indiscreet, is become discreet, in this one day's time?" "I do, indeed," said he. "You say then that discretion is a passion of the mind, as grief is, and not a matter of knowledge? For, if it be necessary that he, who is to be discreet, should be knowing, he cannot be turned from indiscretion to discretion in a moment. 18. But, Cyrus," added he, "did you never observe a man, from folly, attempt to fight with another more powerful than himself, and, when conquered, presently cease from his folly in regard to that man? Or, have you never seen one city engaged in war with another, and, when conquered, immediately become willing to obey the other instead of continuing the war?" 19. "And to what conquest over your father," asked Cyrus, "do you allude, that you so strongly intimate that he has been rendered discreet?" "That," replied he, "by which he has grown conscious to himself, that, by coveting liberty, he has become yet more a slave than he was before; and that, of the things which he thought to have effected, by secrecy, by surprise, or by force, he has not been able to effect one; while he has seen you, when you wished to deceive him, deceive him as effectually as a person might deceive the blind, or the deaf, or men of no understanding at all; and in matters in which you thought it necessary to use concealment, he has seen you using such concealment, that you have unawares rendered those places prisons to him which he thought were set apart as places of defence; and you have so far exceeded him in despatch, that you have come upon him from a distance with a large force before he had assembled his troops that were just at hand." 20. "Does such a defeat, then," said Cyrus, "such an obligation to acknowledge other men better than themselves, appear to you to be sufficient to render men discreet?" "Much more," said Tigranes, "than when a man is conquered in battle; for he who is subdued by force, sometimes thinks that, by exercising himself, he may be enabled to renew the combat; and cities, that have been taken, imagine that, by gaining allies, they may renew the war; but to those



whom men think better than themselves, they are often willing to submit, though without necessity." 21. "You seem," said Cyrus, "not to think that the insolent can suppose that there are others more discreet than themselves; or thieves, that there are men who are not thieves; or liars, that there are men who speak truth; or unjust men, that there are men who act with justice. Do not you know," continued he, "that your father has, at this time, dealt falsely, and not adhered to his agreements with us, though he knew very well that we violate nothing of what Astyages stipulated?" 22. "But I do not say," replied Tigranes, "that merely to know that there are others better than ourselves, makes men discreet, unless they suffer punishment at the hands of their betters, as my father now suffers." "But your father," said Cyrus, "has as yet suffered not the least harm; though I know very well, indeed, that he is afraid of suffering the severest punishment." 23. "Do you think then," said Tigranes, "that anything humbles men more than violent fear? Do not you know that those who are oppressed by the sword, which is reckoned the severest instrument of correction, will nevertheless fight again with the same enemy; but that men are unable to look at those whom they thoroughly dread, even when they utter words of consolation to them?" "Do you say then," said Cyrus, "that fear is a heavier punishment upon men than real suffering?" 24. "You know yourself," said he, "that what I say is true; you know, that they who are in fear of being banished from their country, or that are in dread of being beaten when about to fight, are in a most dejected condition. Those who are at sea, and dread shipwreck, and those who fear servitude and chains, are neither able to take food or sleep through terror; but they who are already under banishment, who are already conquered and already slaves, are sometimes in a condition to eat and sleep better than the fortunate themselves. 25. How great a burden fear is, is yet more evident from these considerations, that some, dreading lest they should be taken captive and put to death, have killed themselves beforehand from the oppression of that dread; some throwing themselves headlong from precipices, some hanging themselves, and some dying by the sword; so that, of all things terrible, fear produces the most violent effect on the mind. And in what state of mind,

then," added he, "do you consider my father to be, who is in fear not only for his own liberty, but for mine, for that of his wife, and that of all his children?" 26. Cyrus replied, "It does not appear at all improbable to me, that your father is, at this time, affected as you intimate; but it may be the part, I think, of the same man to be insolent in prosperity, and, when reduced in fortune, to become soon servilely afraid; and yet, when freed from apprehension, to become insolent again, and again to give trouble." 27. "Indeed, Cyrus," said he, "our delinquencies give you cause to distrust us; but you are at liberty to build fortresses in our country, to keep possession of our places of strength, and to require from us whatever other pledge you please; and yet," said he, "you will not find us very uneasy under these circumstances; for we shall remember that we ourselves were the cause of them. But if you give up our government to any of those who are free from guilt, and then appear distrustful of them; take care, lest, at the same time that you become a benefactor to them, they may think you no friend to them; and if again, through anxiety not to incur their enmity, you forbear to impose upon them a yoke to prevent them from being rebellious, consider whether it may not hereafter be more necessary for you to bring them to their senses than it has been for you now to bring us to ours." 28. "But by the gods," said Cyrus, "I seem to myself to have no pleasure in using such servants as I know to serve me from necessity; but such as I consider to perform their duties from friendship and good-will for me, I can more easily endure when they transgress, than such as hate me, and yet, from compulsion, fulfil their duty to the utmost." To these remarks Tigranes replied, "And from whom could you ever secure so strong a feeling of friendship as you may now gain from us?" "From those, I should think, who have never been at enmity with me, if I should but benefit them, as you now desire me to benefit you." 29. "And could you possibly find, Cyrus," said he, "at this time, any one to whom you could grant such favours as you may grant to my father? For example," continued he, "if you grant life to one of those who never did you any injury, what gratitude will he feel towards you for it, think you? Or what man, if you do not deprive him of his wife and children, will love you more, on that account, than he who thinks that he deserves to be

deprived of them? Or do you know any one, who, if he shall not have the kingdom of Armenia, will grieve more than ourselves? Accordingly, it is evident that he who will grieve most if he is not king, will feel most gratitude to you if he receives from you kingly power. 30. And if," added he, "you are at all desirous to leave everything here, when you quit us, in the least possible disorder, consider whether you can expect the country to be more quiet under the commencement of a new government, than if the accustomed government continue. If it be at all an object to you, to draw from hence the greatest possible number of forces, who, do you think, will muster them better, than he who has often made use of them? And if you should want money, who, do you think, will supply you better than he who knows and commands all the resources of the kingdom? Good Cyrus," said he, "be careful, lest, by setting us aside, you do yourself more mischief than my father has been able to do you." To this effect he spoke.

31. Cyrus was extremely pleased to hear him, for he thought that he should be able to effect all that he had promised Cyaxares to do; as he remembered to have told him, that he thought he should make the Armenian more his friend than before. Soon after, therefore, he asked the Armenian king, "If I trust you in these matters, tell me," said he, "what force will you send with me, and what money will you contribute to the war?" 32. To this question the Armenian answered, "I have no offer to make, Cyrus, more straightforward or more just, than that I should exhibit to you all the forces that I have, and that you, on seeing the whole, should take with you whatever you will, and leave the rest for the protection of the country. In like manner, with respect to our riches, it is just that I should discover to you all that I have, that, taking account of all, you may carry off what you please of it, and leave what you please." 33. "Proceed, then," said Cyrus, "and show me what forces you have, and tell me what your treasures are." The Armenian replied, "The cavalry of the Armenians amount to eight thousand, and the infantry to forty thousand. Our riches, including the treasure my father left, reckoned in silver, amount to more than three thousand talents."<sup>1</sup> 34. Cyrus then made no hesita-

<sup>1</sup> About £731,250. See Anab. i. 1. 9.

tion, but said, "Since the Chaldeans, that border upon you, are at war with you, send me half of your forces; and of your treasure, instead of fifty talents, which was the tribute you used to pay, give Cyaxares double that sum, for your failure in paying; and lend me," added he, "a hundred more, and I promise you, that, if the gods prosper me, I will, in return for what you lend me, either do you such services as shall be of greater value, or, if I am able, will pay you back the money again: if I am not able to do it, I may then be considered unable; but unjust I cannot deservedly be accounted."

35. "I beseech you, by the gods, Cyrus," said the Armenian, "do not talk in that manner; if you do, you will put me out of heart; but consider," said he, "that what you leave behind is not less yours than what you take away with you." "Be it so," said Cyrus; "but, to have your wife again, how much money will you give me?" "As much as I can," said he. "How much for your children?" "For them, too," said he, "as much as I can." "That, then," said Cyrus, "is already as much again as you have."<sup>1</sup> 36. And you, Tigranes," said he, "at what price would you purchase the recovery of your wife?" Tigranes happened to be but recently married, and to be very fond of his wife. "Cyrus," said he, "to save her from servitude, I would ransom her at the expense of my life." 37. "Take, then, your own," said he: "for I cannot consider that she has been taken captive, since you never fled from us. And do you, king of Armenia, take your wife and children without paying anything for them, that they may know they come free to you. And now," said he, "pray dine with us; and when dinner is over, depart whithersoever you please." They accordingly stayed.

38. While they were together after dinner in the tent, Cyrus asked this question: "Tell me," said he, "Tigranes, where is that man<sup>2</sup> who used to hunt with us, and whom you seemed to me greatly to admire?" "He is no more," said Tigranes,

<sup>1</sup> As much again as the three thousand talents which he said that he had, sect. 33. He had first said that he would give as much as he could for his wife, and, afterwards, as much as he could for his children; and Cyrus, jesting, tells him that he has now promised to give twice as much as he has. *Fischer*.

<sup>2</sup> The man to whom allusion is made in sect. 14. Weiske supposes that Xenophon, in representing the character and fate of this sophist, had Socrates in his mind.

"for has not my father here put him to death?" "What crime, then, did he find him committing?" "He said that he corrupted me: and yet, Cyrus, so noble and excellent a man was he, that, when he was going to die, he sent for me, and told me, 'Tigranes,' said he, 'do not bear the least ill-will to your father for putting me to death; for he does it not out of malice, but out of ignorance. And whatever faults men commit through ignorance, I consider them all involuntary.'" 39. Cyrus, upon this, exclaimed, "Alas! for the man!" The Armenian king then said, "They, Cyrus, who find strangers engaged in familiar conversation with their wives, do not put them to death on the charge of endeavouring to make their wives less sensible, but on the conviction that they alienate from them their wives' affection, for which reason they treat them as enemies. And I," continued he, "bore ill-will to this man because he appeared to me to make my son regard him more than myself." 40. Cyrus then said; "By the gods, king of Armenia, I think you have committed a fault incident to human nature; and you, Tigranes, must forgive your father." Having held this discourse on the occasion, and having treated each other with kindness, as is natural upon a reconciliation, the Armenians mounted their chariots in company with the women, and drove away in good spirits.

41. When they came home, one talked of Cyrus's wisdom, another of his resolution, another of his mildness; and some spoke of his beauty, and the tallness of his person; when Tigranes asked his wife, "And does Cyrus appear to you, too, Armenian princess, to be a handsome man?" "Indeed," said she, "I did not look at him." "At whom, then, did you look?" said Tigranes. "At him who said that he would pay the price of his own life to save me from slavery." After some conversation of this kind, as was usual, they went together to rest.

42. Next day the Armenian king sent presents of friendship to Cyrus, and to the whole army; he despatched orders also to such of his troops as were to serve in this expedition, to attend on the third day; and he sent in payment double the sum of money that Cyrus had specified. Cyrus, accepting the sum that he had named, sent the rest back, and asked, "Which of them would command the army, whether his son or himself?" They both answered together, the father thus:

"Either of us that you shall order:" the son thus: "I will not leave you, Cyrus, even if I should have to attend you as a baggage-carrier." 43. Cyrus, laughing, rejoined, "And for how much would you consent that your wife should hear that you are a baggage-bearer?" "There will be no need," said he, "that she should hear, for I will bring her with me; so that she shall be able to see what I do." "It is then time for you," said he, "to prepare everything for joining us." "Be assured," returned Tigranes, "that we shall join you at the time, prepared with everything that my father affords us." The troops were then entertained, and went to rest.

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## CHAPTER II.

The Armenians join their troops with those of Cyrus. The united force attacks and defeats the Chaldeans, of whose high grounds Cyrus retains possession, and builds a fortress on them. Peace established between the Armenians and Chaldeans. Cyrus sends ambassadors to the king of the Indians for a supply of money.

1. THE next day Cyrus, taking Tigranes with him, and the best of the Median horse, together with as many of his own friends as he thought proper, rode round and surveyed the country, examining where he should build a fortress. Going up to a certain eminence, he asked Tigranes what sort of mountains they were from which the Chaldeans came down to plunder the country? Tigranes pointed them out to him. He then inquired again, "And are these mountains now entirely deserted?" "No, indeed," said he; "but there are always scouts of the Chaldeans there, who give notice to the rest of whatever they observe." "And how do they act," said he, "when they receive this notice?" "They hasten with aid to the eminences, just as each can." 2. Cyrus gave attention to this account; and, looking round, observed a great part of the Armenian territory lying desert and uncultivated, in consequence of the war. They then retired to the camp; and, after taking supper, went to rest.

3. The next day Tigranes presented himself with everything ready; and with cavalry to the number of four thousand, archers to the number of ten thousand, and as

many peltasts. Cyrus, while they were assembling, offered a sacrifice. When the victims appeared favourable, he summoned the leaders of the Persians and Medes; and, when they came together, spoke to them to this effect: 4. "Friends, those mountains that we see belong to the Chaldeans; if we can secure them, and a fortress of ours could be erected upon the summit, there would be a necessity for both the Armenians and Chaldeans to act with discretion towards us. Our sacrifice is propitious; and, for the execution of such designs, nothing favours the inclinations of men so much as an expedition; for if we anticipate the enemy, by ascending the mountains before they assemble, we may either secure the summit entirely without a blow, or have to deal with only a few and weak enemies. 5. Of all labours, therefore, there is none more easy or free from danger, than resolutely to bear the fatigue of despatch. Hasten, then, to arms! and you, Medes, march upon our left; you, Armenians, march half of you on our right, and the other half in front; and you, cavalry, follow in the rear, exhorting us, and pushing us up before you; and, if any one is disposed to relax his efforts, by no means allow him to do so."

6. Cyrus, having said this, led on, disposing the several companies in files. The Chaldeans, as soon as they perceived that the movement was directed towards the heights, immediately made a signal to their people, and shouted to each other, and ran together. Cyrus then exhorted his troops, saying, "Men of Persia, they make a signal for us to hasten; if we reach the heights before them, the efforts of the enemy will be of no avail."

7. The Chaldeans had each a shield, and two javelins; they are said to be the most warlike of all people in that part of the world. They serve as mercenaries, if any one requires their services, being a warlike people, and poor; for their country is mountainous, and but little of it yields anything profitable. 8. As Cyrus's men approached the heights, Tigranes, who was riding on with Cyrus, said, "Cyrus, are you aware that we ourselves must very soon come to action, as the Armenians will not stand the attack of the enemy?" Cyrus, telling him that he knew it, immediately gave orders to the Persians to hold themselves in readiness, as they would have immediately to press forward,

as soon as the flying Armenians drew the enemy down<sup>1</sup> so as to be near them. 9. The Armenians accordingly led on; and such of the Chaldeans as were on the spot when the Armenians approached, raised a shout, and, according to their custom, ran upon them; and the Armenians, according to their custom, did not stand their charge. 10. When the Chaldeans, pursuing, saw swordsmen fronting them, and pressing up the hill, some of them, coming up close to the enemy, were at once killed; some fled, and some were taken; and the heights were immediately gained. As soon as Cyrus's men were in occupation of the summit, they looked down on the habitations of the Chaldeans, and perceived them fleeing from the nearest houses. 11. Cyrus, as soon as the troops were all assembled, ordered them to take their dinner. When they had dined, Cyrus, learning that the spot where the scouts of the Chaldeans had been posted, was strong and well supplied with water, proceeded at once to erect a fortress there. He ordered Tigranes to send to his father, and bid him come with as many carpenters and builders as could be procured. The messenger went off to the Armenian; and Cyrus applied himself to the building with all the workmen that were with him.

12. Meanwhile they brought Cyrus the prisoners, some bound, and some wounded. As soon as he saw them, he gave orders to loose those that were bound; and, sending for the surgeons, desired them to take care of the wounded. He then told the Chaldeans, that he was not come either with a desire to destroy them, or with an inclination to make war upon them; but with a wish to make peace between the Armenians and Chaldeans. "Before your mountains were occupied," said he, "I know that you had no desire for peace: your own possessions were in safety; those of the Armenians you plundered and ravaged. But now you see in what condition you are placed. 13. Those of you, therefore, that have been taken, I dismiss to your homes, and allow you, together with the rest of the Chaldeans, to consult amongst yourselves, whether you are inclined to make war with us, or to be our friends: if war be your choice, come no more hither without arms, if you are wise; if you resolve to prefer peace, come

<sup>1</sup> Cyrus disguises from his soldiers the want of courage in the Armenians, by representing that they would flee designedly.



without arms. And, if you become our friends, it shall be my care, that your affairs be established upon the best footing."

14. The Chaldeans hearing these assurances, and bestowing many praises upon Cyrus, and giving him many pledges of friendship, went home.

The Armenian king, as soon as he heard of the summons of Cyrus, and his achievement, took carpenters with him, and whatever else he thought necessary, and came to Cyrus with all possible despatch. 15. As soon as he saw Cyrus, he said to him, "O Cyrus, how do we men, able to see so little with regard to the future, attempt to accomplish numberless projects! I, endeavouring upon this occasion to obtain liberty, became more a slave than ever; and, being made captives, and thinking our destruction certain, we now again appear to be in greater safety than ever. For the Chaldeans never ceased doing us all manner of mischief; and I now see them just in the condition in which I wished them to be. 16. And be assured of this," said he, "Cyrus, that to have so driven the Chaldeans from these heights, I would have given many times the money that you have now received from me; and the services which you promised to do us, when you took the money, have been so fully performed, that we appear to be brought under new obligations to you, which, if we are not unworthy men, we shall be ashamed not to discharge; and though we attempt to discharge them, we shall not, even thus, be found to have done anything worthy of regard towards such a benefactor." Thus spoke the Armenian.

17. The Chaldeans came back, begging of Cyrus to make peace with them. Cyrus asked them, "Chaldeans," said he, "is it not on this consideration that you desire peace, that you think you will live with more security in peace than if you continue the war, since we are in possession of these heights?" The Chaldeans said that it was so. 18. "And what," said he, "if there should be still other advantages that may arise to you from peace?" "We should be still the more pleased," said they. "Do you not think, therefore," said he, "that you are now a needy people, through being in want of good land?" They agreed with him in this. "Well, then," said Cyrus, "would you wish to be at liberty to cultivate as much of the Armenian land as you pleased, paying the same for it that the Armenians pay?" "Yes," said they, "if we

could be sure that we should not be injured." 19. "Would you then, king of Armenia," said he, "be willing that your waste land should be cultivated on condition that the cultivators of it pay you the usual rent?" The Armenian said, that he would give much to have it so; for his revenue would be greatly improved by it. 20. "And you," said he, "Chaldeans, since you have mountains that are serviceable, would you consent that the Armenians should use them for pasturage, on condition that the herdsmen pay what is reasonable?" The Chaldeans said that they would, as they would thus be greatly benefited without any labour. "And would you, king of Armenia," said he, "be willing to make use of the pastures of these men, if by allowing a small profit to the Chaldeans, you might make a much greater profit by it yourself?" "Readily," said he, "if I thought I could use the pastures securely." "And you, Armenians, might use them securely," said he, "if you have the heights to protect you." The Armenian expressed his assent. 21. "But, assuredly," said the Chaldeans, "we should not be able to cultivate in security, either the lands of these people, or our own, if they are in possession of the summits." "But suppose," said Cyrus, "that the heights be for defences to you, Chaldeans?" "Thus, indeed," said they, "things might be very well for us." "But, certainly," said the Armenian, "things will not be well for us, if these men come to be again possessed of the summits; especially when they are fortified." 22. "I will therefore settle matters in this way," replied Cyrus; "I will give up the heights to neither of you, but we will garrison them ourselves, and, whichever of you shall injure the other, we will take part with the injured." 23. When both parties heard this proposal, they gave their applause, and said that thus only could the peace be stable. Upon this understanding they gave and received, mutually, assurances of friendship, and agreed that both nations should be independent of each other; that there should be liberty of intermarriage, and of tillage and pasturage on each other's lands, and if any one should harm them, a defensive alliance between them. 24. Thus were these matters settled on the occasion, and the compacts, then made between the Chaldeans and the possessor of Armenia, subsist to this day. When the agreement was made, they both immediately applied themselves, with zeal, to

the erection of the fortresses, as a common security; and jointly brought provisions into them.

25. When evening came on, he took both parties to sup with him, as being now friends. As they were at supper, one of the Chaldeans said, that these things were such as all the rest of them desired; but that there were some of the Chaldeans who lived by spoil, and who neither knew how to apply themselves to work, nor were able to do it, being accustomed to live by war; as they were always engaged in plundering, or serving as mercenaries, frequently with the king of the Indians, ("for he is a man," said they, "abounding in gold,") and frequently with Astyages. 26. Cyrus then said, "And why do they not now, then, engage themselves as mercenaries to me? for I will give them as much as any other person has ever given them." The Chaldeans approved of this suggestion, and said, that there would be a great many that would willingly engage in his service. 27. These matters were accordingly arranged.

Cyrus, when he heard that the Chaldeans frequently went to serve under the Indian king, and remembered that there were certain persons that came from him to the Medes, to acquaint themselves with the Median affairs, and went thence to the enemy, to get an insight likewise into their affairs, was desirous that the Indian should be informed of what he had done. 28. He therefore began to speak to this effect: "Tell me," said he, "king of Armenia, and you, Chaldeans, if I should send one of my people to the Indian king, would you send with him some of yours, who should direct him on his way, and act in concert with him, so that what I desire of the Indian may be obtained from him? for I would wish some further addition to be made to my treasure, that I may have the means of giving pay in abundance to such as require it, and to honour and reward such of my soldiers as are deserving. For these purposes I would have plenty of money, knowing that I want it; and to spare your funds would be a pleasure to me; for I now regard you as friends; but from the Indian I would gladly obtain something, if he would give it me. 29. The messenger, therefore, to whom I desire you to give guides and to support, shall speak, when he arrives there, to this purport: 'King of India, Cyrus has sent me to you; he says that he is in want of money, expecting another

army from Persia ;' (for indeed I do expect one, said he ;) 'if you send him, therefore, as much as you can conveniently spare, he engages, if the gods give a happy issue to his undertakings, to endeavour to make you think that you have decided well in doing him this favour.' 30. This my messenger shall say. You, on the other hand, desire your messengers to say whatever may appear for your advantage. And if we obtain anything from him," added he, "we shall have more abundant resources ; if we get nothing, we shall have the consciousness that we owe him no thanks, but that we shall be at liberty, as far as he is concerned, to regulate all our affairs with reference only to our own interests." 31. Thus spoke Cyrus, not doubting that those of the Armenians and Chaldeans that went upon this message, would say such things of him, as he himself desired that all men should say and hear concerning him. Then, when the proper time was come, they broke up the assembly, and went to rest.

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### CHAPTER III.

Honours paid to Cyrus by the Armenians and Chaldeans. He declines the gifts of the Armenian princess. He persuades Cyaxares to lead his forces into the enemy's country. They approach the army of the Assyrians ; the different modes in which the two nations pitch their camps. The two armies prepare for battle ; the addresses of the king of Assyria and Cyrus to their men. The engagement ; the Assyrians are driven back into their camp with great loss.

1. THE next day Cyrus sent off his messenger, charging him with all that he had before expressed. The Armenian king and the Chaldeans sent with him such men as they judged most proper to act in concert with him, and to say what was proper concerning Cyrus.

Soon after, Cyrus, having furnished the fortress with a sufficient garrison, and with all things necessary, and left as governor of it a certain Mede, one that he judged would be most acceptable to Cyaxares, departed, taking with him both the force with which he came, and that which he had received from the Armenians, as well as the troops that came from the Chaldeans, who amounted to about four thousand, and thought themselves superior to all the rest.

2. When he came down into the inhabited country, not one of the Armenians, either man or woman, stayed within doors, but all went out to meet him, being overjoyed at the peace, and bringing out and presenting to him whatever they had worthy of his acceptance. The Armenian was not at all displeased at this conduct, thinking that Cyrus, on receiving such honour from all, would be the better pleased. At last, also, the wife of the Armenian king met him, having her daughters with her, and her younger son;<sup>1</sup> and, together with other presents, she brought the gold which Cyrus had before refused to take. 3. Cyrus, when he saw her, said, "You shall not make me go about doing services for money; but go, madam, and take with you the treasure that you offer me, and do not give it to the king of Armenia again to bury,<sup>2</sup> but equip your son with it in the handsomest possible manner, and send him to join the army; and, out of the remainder, procure for yourself, your husband, daughters, and sons, those things with which, possessing and being adorned with them, you will pass your days in increased elegance and pleasure; let it suffice for us, when each of us dies, to lay our bodies in the earth." 4. Having said this, he rode on; and the Armenian king attended upon him, as did all the rest, calling him, aloud, "their benefactor, that excellent man!" Thus they did till he had quitted their territory. The Armenian sent a still greater force with him, as he had now peace at home.<sup>3</sup> 5. Thus Cyrus departed, not only enriched with the treasure he had actually received, but having laid up for himself, through his conduct, a much greater store, so that he could supply himself whenever he wanted. He then encamped upon the borders; and the next day he sent the army and treasure to Cyaxares, who was at hand, as he had said that he would be. He himself, with Tigranes, and the principal Persians, hunted wherever they met with game, and diverted themselves.

6. When he came into Media, he distributed money among his centurions, whatever he thought sufficient for each of them, that they might have the means of rewarding such of those

<sup>1</sup> Sabaris, iii. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> It is not previously intimated that the money was buried.

<sup>3</sup> He had already furnished Cyrus with a certain number of men, iii. 2. 3; 3. 1; and being now at peace with the Chaldeans, he sends an additional force.

under them as they might think worthy ; for he thought that, if every one rendered his own part of the army praiseworthy, the whole would be in excellent condition for him. He himself, wherever he saw anything that might contribute to the beauty of the army, procured it, and distributed it, from time to time, among the most deserving ; considering that, whatever his men had that was beautiful and serviceable, he himself received distinction from it all.

7. When he had distributed among them a portion of what he had received, he spoke, in an assembly of centurions, captains, and all such as he particularly esteemed, to this effect : “ Friends, a particular pleasure seems now to attend us, both because some supplies have fallen to us, and because we have resources from which we may reward those whom we wish, and from which you may be distinguished as each may be deserving. 8. But let us by all means remember what sort of actions were the cause of these advantages, for upon examination, you will find that they were watching when it was required, labouring, being active, and not giving way to the enemy. Thus therefore it behoves us to be brave men for the future ; knowing that obedience and resolution, labours and hazards, on proper occasions, produce great benefits.”

9. Cyrus, contemplating in how excellent a condition his men were, corporeally, for sustaining military labours, and how well they were disposed in mind to look with contempt on the enemy, seeing how skilful, too, they were in their proper exercises, each in his own kind of arms, and how well disposed they all were to obey their officers, was eager, from these considerations, to make some attempt on the enemy, knowing that by delay, some part or other of excellent military preparations often comes to nothing in the hands of the commanders. 10. Observing also that many of the soldiers, from desire of distinction in the exercises in which they contended, had contracted feelings of envy towards one another ; he was, on this account, desirous to lead them out, as soon as possible, into the enemy’s country ; knowing that common dangers make fellow-combatants conceive a friendly disposition one towards another ; and that, in such circumstances, they neither envy those that are finely armed, nor those that are ambitious of glory, but that such men rather applaud and esteem others that are like themselves, regarding them as fellow-

labourers in the public service. 11. Accordingly, in the first place, he completely armed his whole force, and formed it into the best and most beautiful order that was possible. He then summoned the commanders of ten thousands, the commanders of thousands, the centurions, and captains; (for these were exempt from being reckoned in the numbers of the divisions; and when they had to execute any orders from the commander-in-chief, or to communicate any particular directions to others, there was yet no part left without control, but all the other men were kept in order by the commanders of twelve and sixes;)<sup>1</sup> 12. and when all these officers were assembled, he took them round with him, and showed them that all was in proper order, and taught them in what point each of the allies were peculiarly strong. After he had rendered these men also desirous to attempt something soon, he bid them go to their several divisions, teach them what he had taught themselves, and endeavour to inspire them all with a desire of taking the field, that they might set forth with all possible ardour. He told them also to be in attendance in the morning at the gate of Cyaxares. 13. They then retired, and did as they were directed.

The next morning, as soon as it was day, the officers attended at the gate; and Cyrus, going in with them to Cyaxares, proceeded to speak to this effect. "I know, Cyaxares," said he, "that what I am going to say has been for some time not less your opinion than it is our own, but perhaps you shrink from expressing it, lest you should seem to be thinking of our departure, as being uneasy at having to maintain us. 14. Since, therefore, you are silent, I will speak both for you and for ourselves; for it appears to all of us, that, since we are prepared, we should not then proceed to fight after the enemy have entered your country, or sit down and wait here in the territory of our friends, but should march, with all possible despatch, into the enemy's country. 15. For now, being here in your territory, we do harm against our will to much of what belongs to you; but, if we march into the enemy's country, we shall with pleasure do mischief to what belongs to them. 16. It is you that now maintain us, and at a great expense; but if we carry the war abroad, we shall maintain ourselves from the enemy's country. 17. If indeed

<sup>1</sup> The same that are elsewhere called captains of tens and fives.

greater danger would await us there than here, perhaps the safer alternative should be chosen ; but the enemy will be the same men, whether we wait for them here, or march into their own country and meet them ; and we shall be the same in the field, whether we receive them here, as they come upon us, or march up to them and attack them. 18. We, however, shall have the minds of our men in better condition, and more resolute, if we march against the enemy, and seem not to come in sight of them against our will ; and they will have a much greater terror of us, when they shall hear, that we do not, as men in dread, sit at home, and shrink from them ; but that, as soon as we perceive them advancing, we march to meet them, in order that we may close with them as soon as possible ; and that we do not wait till our own country is ravaged by them, but that we anticipate them by laying waste their lands. 19. And," added he, "if we render them more timid, and ourselves more bold, I think that it will be a great advantage to us ; and consider that the danger will thus be rendered much less to us, and much greater to the enemy. My father, too, always says, you yourself say, and all others agree, that battles are decided rather by courage than by strength of body." 20. Thus spoke Cyrus, and Cyaxares replied, "Do not imagine, Cyrus, and you other Persians, that I am at all discontented at maintaining you. To march into the enemy's country, however, appears also to me to be now in every respect the better course." "Since, then," said Cyrus, "we agree in opinion, let us get all things ready, and as soon as our sacrifices to the gods express assent,<sup>1</sup> let us set out without delay."

21. Accordingly they gave orders to the soldiers to have their baggage in readiness. Cyrus then sacrificed, first to Jupiter the king, and afterwards to the other deities ; and prayed, that they would be propitious and benevolent, good guides, supporters, and allies, to the army, and counsellors in whatever was good. He invoked likewise the heroes, who dwelt in and protected the land of Media. 22. When he found the sacrifices favourable, and his army was assembled upon the borders, he at once, meeting with propitious omens, advanced into the enemy's country. As soon as he had passed the borders, he performed propitiatory rites to the

<sup>1</sup> Simul ac res divinæ nobis annuere incipiunt. *Bornemann.*



Earth with libations, and sought the favour of the gods and heroes that dwell in Assyria with sacrifices. Having done this, he sacrificed again to Jupiter Patrius; and whatever other deity occurred to him, he did not neglect.

23. When these things were duly performed, they immediately led the infantry a short distance forward, and encamped; and then, making excursions with the horse, they captured much booty of every kind. For some time after, too, they continued, while changing their encampments, getting abundance of provisions, and laying waste the country, to wait the approach of the enemy. 24. When they were said to be advancing, and not to be more than ten days' march distant, Cyrus said, "Now, Cyaxares, is the time for us to march and meet them, and not to appear, either to the enemy or to our own people, afraid of advancing against them; but let us make it evident, that we do not come to battle with them against our will." 25. As this suggestion was approved by Cyaxares, they advanced in order, each day as far as they thought proper; they took their supper always by day-light, and kindled no fires in their camp at night; in the front of the camp, however, they did kindle some, that, by means of them, they might see if any people approached in the night, and might not be seen themselves by those approaching; they also frequently made fires behind the camp, in order to deceive the enemy, so that the enemy's scouts sometimes fell in with the outposts, thinking themselves to be still at a distance from the camp, because the fires were behind.

26. The Assyrians, then, and those that were with them, as soon as the armies drew near each other, surrounded themselves with a trench; a practice which the Barbarian kings observe to this day. Wherever they encamp, they throw a trench round them with ease by means of the multitude of their hands; for they know that an army of cavalry, especially of Barbarian cavalry, is confused and unwieldy; 27. for they have their horses tied by the feet at their mangers, and, if an enemy comes upon them, it is a trouble in the darkness to loose the horses, a trouble to bridle them, a trouble to put on their housings, and a trouble to fasten their breastplates; and, when they have mounted their horses, it is absolutely impossible for them to ride them through the camp.<sup>1</sup> On all

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Anab.* iii. 4. 35.

these accounts, other Barbarians as well as they surround themselves with a trench ; and they also imagine, that to be within an intrenchment gives them the power of fighting only when they please. Observing these precautions, they approached each other.

28. When they had come so near, that they were distant only about a parasang, the Assyrians encamped in the manner before mentioned, in a post intrenched, but open to view ; Cyrus, in a place as much concealed as possible, keeping villages and rising grounds before him, considering that all things in war that discover themselves on a sudden, are the more alarming to the enemy. And both parties, posting advanced guards, as was proper, went to rest for that night.

29. The next day, the Assyrian king, and Crœsus, and the other leaders, gave their armies rest in their fortified camp. Cyrus and Cyaxares waited in order of battle, as intending to fight, if the enemy advanced. But as it appeared that the enemy would not stir out of their intrenchment, nor come to an engagement that day, Cyaxares summoned Cyrus and the officers of the other troops to him, and spoke to this effect : 30. " It is my opinion, friends," said he, " that we should advance, in the order in which we are, up to the intrenchment of these men, and show them that we are ready to come to a battle ; for, by this means," said he, " if they do not come out against us, our men will return with an accession of courage, and the enemy, observing our boldness, will be the more alarmed." 31. This was the opinion of Cyaxares ; but Cyrus said, " By the gods, Cyaxares, let us by no means act thus ; for if we now discover ourselves, and march forward as you desire, the enemy will see us advance without fear, knowing themselves to be in a situation secure from danger ; and, when we retire without attempting anything, they, seeing our numbers much inferior to theirs, will conceive a contempt for us, and will march out against us to-morrow with greater resolution. 32. But now," said he, " while they know we are at hand, and do not yet see us, be assured that they do not contemn us, but are solicitous to know what our intention is ; and are, I know very well, incessantly occupied in talking about us. But when they come forth, then must we, at once, make our appearance, and come to close quarters with them, taking

them at the advantage which we have long desired." 33. When Cyrus had spoken thus, his suggestion was approved both by Cyaxares and the other officers. Then, having taken their suppers, placed their guards, and kindled several fires in front of the sentinels, they went to rest.

34. The next day, early in the morning, Cyrus, with a crown upon his head, made a sacrifice; and ordered the rest of the officers, Equals-in-honour, to attend the sacred rites with crowns. When the sacrifice was over, Cyrus called them together, and said, "The gods, friends, as the diviners say, and as I myself think, foretell that there will be a battle; they grant us victory, and promise us safety by the victims.

35. I should be ashamed to exhort you what sort of men you ought to prove yourselves on such an occasion; for I know that you understand, and have practised and learned, and are continually learning, the same things as myself; so that you may justly instruct others in them. But if you have not taken into consideration the following particulars, pray listen to me. 36. Those men that we have lately received as our fellow-combatants, and are endeavouring to make similar to ourselves, it is your part to remind for what object we are all maintained by Cyaxares; what exercises we learned, to what exertions we invited them, and in what point they said that they would joyfully be our rivals. 37. Put them in mind, likewise, that this day will show of what every one is deserving; for, in things in which men have been late learners, it is no wonder if some of them have need of a monitor; and it is satisfactory if they can show themselves deserving characters even with admonition. 38. In doing this, too, you will make trial of yourselves; for he that, upon such an occasion, is able to make others better men, may justly feel conscious of being himself perfectly good; but he who, in such duties, can admonish himself only, and rests satisfied with doing so, should, in justice, account himself but half perfect. 39. The reason why I do not address these men myself, but bid you speak to them, is, that they may endeavour to please you; for you are immediately conversant with them, each of you, in his particular division. And be assured," added he, "that, if you show yourselves to them to be courageous, you will teach them courage, and many more,<sup>1</sup> not by word, but by deed."

<sup>1</sup> The Medes, Armenians, and Chaldeans.

40. In conclusion, he bid them go, crowned as they were, to take their breakfast, and after making libations, to come crowned to their posts.

When these were gone, he summoned the captains in the rear to him, and gave them an exhortation to this effect: 41. "You, likewise, men of Persia, have been admitted among the Equals-in-honour, and have been chosen<sup>1</sup> to command the rear, as men who appear to be equal, in other respects, to the bravest, and, by your age, to excel others in discretion. You have, accordingly, a station assigned you, which is not less honourable than that of the commanders in front; for, being placed in the rear, and observing such as are brave, and encouraging them, you make them still better men; and, if any one is remiss, you do not suffer him to continue so. 42. Victory, if it be of advantage to any, is advantageous to you, both by reason of your age, and the weight of your military equipments. If they, therefore, who are in front, call to you, and exhort you to follow, obey them; and that you may not be outdone by them in this respect, exhort them, in return, to lead with still more despatch against the enemy. Go, then," said he, "and when you have taken your breakfast, come crowned with the rest, to your posts." 43. Thus did Cyrus and his men occupy themselves.

The Assyrians, when they had breakfasted, marched boldly forth, and ranged themselves with great spirit. The king himself appointed them their places, driving round in his chariot and addressed to them an exhortation to this purpose: 44. "Men of Assyria, it is now incumbent on you to be brave men, for you have now to fight for your lives, for the land in which you were born, for the houses in which you were brought up, for your wives and children, and for everything valuable that you possess. If you conquer, you will remain masters of all these as before; if you are defeated, be assured you give them all up to the enemy. 45. As you desire victory, therefore, stand firm, and fight; for it is folly for those that desire conquest to turn the blind, unarmed, and handless parts of their bodies towards the enemy by flight. He is a fool, who, desiring to live, should attempt to flee, when he knows that the conquerors save their lives, and that runaways meet their

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπιλεγμένοι ἱστέ.] Eð pertinet quòd lecti erant οὐραγοί.  
Fischer

death more certainly than they who stand their ground. He also is a fool, who, desiring gain, incurs a defeat ; for who does not know that conquerors save all that belongs to themselves, and acquire, in addition, all that belongs to the defeated enemy, but that they who are conquered, throw both themselves and all that belongs to them away?" 46. In such a manner was the Assyrian monarch employed.

But Cyaxares, sending to Cyrus, told him, that now was the time for leading on against the enemy ; "for, if there are yet but few," said he, "advanced beyond the intrenchment, by the time we arrive there will be great numbers of them ; let us not, therefore, wait till they are more numerous than ourselves ; but let us march, whilst we think we may still easily master them." 47. But Cyrus replied, "Unless those, Cyaxares, that we shall defeat, amount to above half the number of the enemy, be assured they will say that we, from being afraid of their numbers, attacked but a few of them ; while they will not consider themselves defeated, but you will be obliged to fight another battle, in which, perhaps, they may contrive better than they have now contrived, when they give themselves up to us to portion them out, so as to engage with as many of them as we please." 48. The messengers, on hearing this, went their way.

At this time Chrysantas the Persian came up, and others of the Equals-in-honour, bringing with them some deserters. Cyrus, as was to be expected, put some questions to these deserters as to the state of affairs among the enemy. They told him, that they were already marching out under arms ; that the king was come out and was ranging them ; and that, as they passed in succession, he addressed to them many warm and earnest exhortations, as those who had heard him, they said, reported. 49. Chrysantas then said, "What if you too, Cyrus, should call the soldiers together, and exhort them, while you have yet time, if, indeed, you may thus make them at all better men?" 50. Cyrus replied, "O Chrysantas, let not the exhortations of the Assyrian king disturb you ; for no exhortation, however excellent, can on the instant make the hearers of it brave, who were not brave before ; nor can it make those archers, who have not before practised archery, or javelin-throwers, or horsemen ; nor can it make those capable of bodily labour, who have not been previously inured to it." 51. "But

it is enough," rejoined Chrysantas, "if you can make their minds better by an exhortation." "And can a single word," replied Cyrus, "spoken on the instant, inspire the minds of the hearers with a feeling of self-respect, or hinder them from doing things mean and base, or influence them to undergo, as they ought, all labours, and to run all hazards, for the sake of praise, or establish firmly in their minds the sentiment, that to die fighting is preferable to saving their lives by flight? 52. If such sentiments," said he, "are to be instilled into men, and to be made enduring, must there not, in the first place, be laws established, by which a life of honour and liberty will be provided, for the brave, and an abject, painful, and valueless existence will be allotted to the worthless? 53. Besides, methinks, there must be teachers and governors for these purposes, who may direct men aright, and teach and accustom them to practise such a course of conduct, until it becomes inherent in them to think that the brave and honourable are in reality the happiest of men, and to believe that the vicious and infamous are of all men the most miserable; for thus ought those to stand affected, who are to prove their discipline superior to the fear of the enemy. 54. But if, at the very time when men are going in arms to the field of battle, and when many are even deprived of the power of using their former acquirements, a man could then, by putting together a set form of words, make men soldiers at once, it would thus be the easiest thing in the world both to learn and to teach the greatest of the virtues that belong to men. 55. I could not feel certain that the men whom we now have, and whom we have trained under ourselves, would stand firm, unless I saw you here present with them, who will be examples to them, to show them what sort of characters they ought to be, and will be able to remind them, if they forget anything that they have learned. I should wonder indeed," said he, "Chrysantas, if a speech, however finely spoken, should avail with men wholly undisciplined in virtue, to lead them to honourable exertion, any more than a song, however well sung, could profit such as were wholly ignorant of music, so as to make them understand music."

56. They were engaged in this discourse, when Cyaxares again sent word to Cyrus, that he was wrong to waste time, and not to march immediately against the enemy. Cyrus

made answer to the messengers, "Let him be assured," said he, "that as many of them are not yet come out as is desirable; and tell him this, openly, before all; but, since he thinks it proper, I will lead forward this instant." 57. Having said this, and made supplications to the gods, he drew out the army. As soon as he began to put forward with more despatch, he led the way, and the men followed, keeping good order, because they had been taught and trained to march with regularity; inspired with great resolution, because they were emulous of each other, because their bodies had been inured to labour, and because all their officers were at the head of them; and animated with pleasure, because they understood what they were going about; for they knew, and had long since learned, that it was their safest and easiest course to close at once with the enemy, especially when the enemy consisted of archers, javelin-throwers, and cavalry. 58. While they were yet beyond reach of the enemy's weapons, Cyrus gave out the watch-word, "JUPITER OUR ALLY AND LEADER." When the word came round to him again,<sup>1</sup> he commenced the usual pæan; and all the soldiers devoutly accompanied him with a loud voice; for in such circumstances they who fear the gods are the less in fear of men. 59. When the hymn was over, the Equals-in-honour, marching with alacrity and good discipline, and looking round on each other, calling by name those that were on each side of them, and those that were behind, and frequently crying out, "Come on, friends! come on, brave men!" exhorted one another to follow; while they that were in the rear, hearing this, exhorted the foremost, in their turn, to lead on with resolution. Cyrus had thus an army full of spirit, eagerness for honour, vigour, boldness, mutual exhortation, discretion, and obedience; a state of things which I think most formidable to an enemy.

60. Of the Assyrians, those who fought from chariots in front, as soon as the body of the Persians drew near, mounted their chariots, and retired to their own body; while their archers, javelin-men, and slingers, discharged their weapons, long before they could reach the enemy. 61. As soon as the Persians came upon these weapons, thus discharged, Cyrus cried aloud, "Now, my brave men, let each of you press on and distinguish himself, and pass this word to the rest."

<sup>1</sup> Anab. i. 8. 16.

They accordingly passed it; and some, from zeal and ardour, and eagerness to close with the enemy, began to run. 62. The whole body then followed, running; and Cyrus himself, forgetting his slower pace, led them on running, and cried out, at the same time, 63. "Who will follow? who is brave? who will first strike down his man?" The men, hearing this, cried out in the same manner; and the word ran, as he first uttered it, through them all, "Who will follow? who is brave?" In such a spirit did the Persians close with the enemy.

The enemy were unable to stand their charge, but turned, and fled to the intrenchment. 64. The Persians, following them to the entrance, struck down many of them, as they were pushing against each other, and, leaping in after such as fell into the trench, killed men and horses together; for some of the chariots, in their flight, could not avoid falling into the trench. 65. The Median cavalry, observing this state of things, charged the enemy's cavalry, which gave way before them. Then followed a pursuit of both horses and men, and a great slaughter of both. 66. Those who were within the Assyrian intrenchment, and were posted at the head of it,<sup>1</sup> had, by reason of the dreadful spectacle before them, and of their own terror, neither skill nor ability to do execution with their arrows and javelins, upon those that were making destruction of their people. Learning, too, soon after, that some of the Persians had cut their way through at the entrances of the intrenchment, they turned away, and fled from the higher parts of it. 67. The Assyrian women, and those of their allies, both such as had children, and such as were of the younger sort, seeing that flight had begun even in the camp, raised a cry and ran up and down in consternation, rending their clothes and tearing themselves, and begging of every one they met, not to flee and abandon them, but to stand by them, their children, and each other. 68. The princes themselves, with their most faithful adherents, standing at the entrances of the intrenchment, and mounting on the higher parts,<sup>2</sup> fought themselves, and encouraged the rest. 69. Cyrus, as soon as he saw how things stood, being afraid lest,

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς τάφρου.] In summo aggere ejus fossæ, quæ erat ad introitum. Bornemann.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς.] See § 66.



as they were but few, they should incur some harm from the great multitude of the enemy, if they forced their way in, gave orders to retreat slowly out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, and required prompt obedience in so doing. 70. Here a spectator might distinguish the Equals-in-honour, who had been properly disciplined; for they instantly obeyed, and instantly communicated the order to the rest. When they were beyond reach of the enemy's weapons, they drew themselves up in their places, much more regularly than a set of dancers; knowing exactly where each ought to be.

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## BOOK IV.

### CHAPTER I.

Cyrus returns thanks to the gods, congratulates Cyaxares, and rewards his deserving soldiers, especially Chrysantas, on account of the victory which he obtained. He thinks of pursuing the enemy, but is retarded by the envy and inactivity of Cyaxares, who at last, however, gives him leave to undertake the pursuit with as many troops as would willingly follow him.

1. CYRUS, having waited there a considerable time with the army, and having shown that they were ready to fight, if any force would come out against them, led back his troops, as no one came forth to attack him, to such a distance as he thought proper, and encamped.

Having then placed sentinels, and sent out scouts, he took his stand in the midst of the camp, and, calling his soldiers around him, spoke to this effect: 2. "Men of Persia, I give in the first place all possible praise to the gods; and I believe that you do the same; for we have obtained victory and safety. For these benefits, therefore, it is our duty to make thank-offerings to the gods from whatever we may have in our possession. I now praise you all generally; for the achievement that has been performed was the honourable work of you all; and when I have ascertained from the proper persons what each man deserves, I will endeavour, both in word and deed, to give every one his due. 3. With respect

to Chrysantas, indeed, who was the centurion nearest to me, I have no need to inquire of others, for I myself know how he conducted himself; for he did whatever else I believe you all did; and when I gave orders to retreat, calling upon him by name, he at once, though he had his sword lifted up, with intent to strike an enemy, obeyed me, and, desisting from what he was proceeding to do, executed my directions; for he retreated himself, and transmitted the order, with the greatest despatch, to others; so that he brought his century beyond the reach of the missiles before the enemy perceived that we were retreating, or could bend their bows, or throw their javelins; and thus he was himself unhurt, and kept his men unhurt through his obedience. 4. But there are others," added he, "that I see wounded; concerning whom, when I have ascertained at what time it was that they were wounded, I will then declare my opinion. Chrysantas, as a man active in the duties of the field, prudent, and fitted both to obey and command, I now reward with the captaincy of a thousand; and whenever the gods grant us any further advantage, I will not then forget him. 5. I am desirous too," continued he, "to give you a word of admonition. What you have now seen in this battle, never cease to bear in mind; that you may always decide for yourselves, whether it is flight or valour that saves men's lives; whether they who are willing to engage come off the better, or those who are unwilling; and what sort of pleasure it is that victory affords. You may now the better form a judgment of these things, as you have had experience of them, and as the affair has so recently taken place. 6. By keeping these considerations always present to your minds, you will become the better soldiers. Now, like men who are favoured of heaven, and who are brave and prudent, take your suppers, make libations to the gods, commence the pæan, and await the word of command."

7. Having spoken thus, he mounted his horse and rode off, and joined Cyaxares. When he had congratulated him, as was proper, and had seen how things stood there, and inquired whether Cyaxares had any further need of him, he rode back to his own army. Cyrus's men, having taken their suppers and placed the necessary sentinels, went to rest.

8. The Assyrians, as their prince<sup>1</sup> was killed, and almost

<sup>1</sup> Neriglissar. i. 4. 16.

all the bravest of their men with him, were all in dejection, and many of them fled from the camp in the night. Cræsus, and their other allies, on beholding this state of things, lost all courage, for everything around them was full of difficulties. What caused the greatest despondency among them all, was, that the principal nation<sup>1</sup> in the army were altogether unsettled in their opinions. They in consequence quitted the camp, and went off in the night.

9. As soon as it was day, and the camp of the enemy seemed entirely abandoned, Cyrus immediately led the Persians into it first. Great numbers of sheep and oxen had been left there by the enemy; and many waggons full of abundance of valuable things. Soon after, all the Medes, with Cyaxares, marched in, and there took their dinners.

10. When they had dined, Cyrus called his centurions together, and spoke to them to this effect: "What advantages, and what excellent opportunities, my friends, do we appear to throw away, when the gods offer them to us! You yourselves now see that the enemy have fled from us; and how can any one imagine that they who, when possessed of an intrenched post, quitted it and fled, will stand and look us in the face on equal ground? How will they, who did not stand while they were as yet unacquainted with us, stand now, after they have been beaten by us, and suffered so much damage at our hands? How should the worst of those resolve to fight with us, of whom the best have been destroyed?"

11. Some one then exclaimed, "Why do we not immediately pursue, when the advantages of pursuit are so evident?" Cyrus replied, "Because we want horses; for the best of the enemy's men, and such as it is most for our purpose to capture or kill, are gone off on horseback; whom we, with the help of the gods, are able to put to flight, but are not able to overtake in pursuit." 12. "Why then," said they, "do not you go to Cyaxares, and tell him this?" Cyrus rejoined, "Come, then, all of you, along with me; that he may see that we are all of the same mind." They accordingly all followed him, and said what they thought calculated to obtain that which they had in view.

13. Cyaxares felt in some degree envious, as it were, because they had begun the discourse upon the subject, and

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrians.

thought it perhaps, at the same time, not desirable to hazard another battle, (for he was indulging himself in pleasure, and knew that many of the Medes were following his example,) and he in consequence replied to this effect: 14. "I am convinced, Cyrus, both from what I see and what I hear, that you Persians are anxious, more than any other men, not to give yourselves up insatiably to any one kind of pleasure; but I am of opinion, that it is by much the most advantageous thing to be master of one's self in the greatest pleasure of all. And what gives men greater pleasure than good fortune, such as has now befallen us? 15. If then, when we are in prosperity, we take care to preserve it with discretion, perhaps we may, without hazard, reach old age in happiness; but if we pursue it intemperately, and endeavour to secure one piece of good fortune after another, take care lest we suffer the same fate that they say many people incur at sea, who, from having been once fortunate, are unwilling to cease repeating their voyages, and are lost; and many, they say, having obtained one victory, and aiming at more, have lost the benefit of the first. 16. If, indeed, the enemy, who have fled, were fewer than we, perhaps we might pursue a smaller number with safety; but consider with how small a part of them it was that our whole number fought, and conquered; the rest were out of the action, who, unless we force them to fight, will go off in ignorance and cowardice, without knowing our strength or their own. But if they shall find that they are not less in danger in retreating than in standing their ground, take care lest we force them, even against their will, to act bravely; 17. for be assured, that you are not more desirous to seize their wives and children, than they are to preserve them; and reflect that even swine, when they are discovered, betake themselves, though in great numbers, to flight, together with their young; but that, if a man pursue one of their little ones, the sow, though she be single, does not continue her flight, but attacks the pursuer that attempts to seize it. 18. And these men, upon this recent occasion, having shut themselves up in an intrenchment, let themselves be parcelled out by us in such a manner, that we might engage with as many of them as we pleased at a time. But if we march up to them in an open country, and they shall learn, by dividing themselves, to oppose us partly in front, as at pre-

sent, partly on the flanks, and partly on the rear, take care lest every one of us may stand in need of many hands and eyes. Besides," said he, "as I see the Medes enjoying themselves, I should not now be willing to rouse them and compel them to run again into danger."

19. Cyrus, in reply, said, "Compel no one then, but merely allow those to follow me that are willing to do so. Perhaps we may come back, and bring you, and each of these friends of yours, something with which you may all be pleased. We will not pursue the main body of the enemy: for how could we even overtake them? But if we meet with any stragglers from the rest of the army, or anything left behind, we will come and bring it you. 20. Consider too," said he, "that when you wanted us, we came a long way to gratify you; you ought justly therefore to gratify us in return, that we may go home possessed of something, and, besides, may not all of us look to your treasury." 21. Cyaxares then said, "If any, indeed, would attend you voluntarily, I should feel obliged to you." "Send with me then one of these trustworthy persons here, who may communicate what you may desire." "Take with you, then," said he, "which of them you please." 22. The person happened to be present who had said that he was his relation, and who had been kissed by him; Cyrus, therefore, immediately said, "This man is sufficient for me." "Let him, then," said he, "attend you; and do you," said he to him, "announce that any one, who is willing, may go with Cyrus." 23. Taking this man with him, therefore, Cyrus went out. As soon as he had come forth, Cyrus said to him, "You will now show whether you spoke truth, when you said that you were delighted with the sight of me." "I will not abandon you," said the Mede, "if that is what you mean."<sup>1</sup> "And will you then exert yourself," said Cyrus, "to bring out others with you likewise?" The Mede with an oath said, "By Jove, I will; until I make you look upon me with delight." 24. This messenger of Cyaxares, accordingly, delivered his message faithfully, in other respects, to the Medes, and added this of himself, "That, for his part, he would not desert this most honourable and excellent

<sup>1</sup> Εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις.] If you intimate that you would wish me to declare that I will never leave you, and will thus prove that to look on you is a pleasure to me. *Fischer*. See i. 4. 28.

of men; and, what was more than all, a descendant of the gods!"

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## CHAPTER II.

Messengers arrive from the Hyrcanians, who signify that they are going to revolt from the Assyrians; Cyrus receives them as allies. He pursues the enemy, and obtains a victory. His care for his troops and allies, and regulations as to the division of the spoil.

1. WHILE Cyrus was engaged in these affairs, there arrived, providentially as it were, messengers from the Hyrcanians. The Hyrcanians border upon the Assyrians; they are not a numerous nation, and in consequence are subject to the Assyrians. At that time they appear to have been good horsemen, and seem now to bear the same character; hence the Assyrians used them as the Lacedæmonians use the people of Sciros,<sup>1</sup> sparing them neither in labour nor in dangers; and they had commanded them on this occasion, being about a thousand horse, to form the rear-guard, that in case any danger threatened them behind, the Hyrcanians might meet it before it reached themselves. 2. These Hyrcanians, as being to march behind all, had their waggons in the rear, as well as their domestics; for most of the inhabitants of Asia, when they go on military expeditions, are attended by those with whom they live at home; and the Hyrcanians had now taken the field with this train of attendants. 3. But as they reflected with themselves what they suffered under the Assyrians; that the king of the Assyrians was now dead, and themselves defeated; that great terror pervaded the army, and that their allies were desponding and deserting; it appeared to them, on these considerations, to be a favourable opportunity for revolting, if Cyrus's party would but fall upon the enemy in conjunction with them. With this view they sent messengers to Cyrus, for, since the battle, his fame had risen to the greatest height.

4. The men that were sent told Cyrus, "That they had a

<sup>1</sup> The people of Sciros, a city in Arcadia, served the Lacedæmonians for hire; they were not mixed with the Spartans, but kept apart, and required to support the Spartans in the field wherever they were hard pressed. Diod. Sic. xv. 32.

just hatred to the Assyrians ; and that, if he would now march against them, they themselves would be his supporters, and put him in the way." They gave him likewise an account of the state of affairs among the enemy, being extremely desirous to incite him to the expedition. 5. Cyrus then asked them, "Do you think that we can overtake them before they shelter themselves in their fortresses ? For," added he, "we think it a great misfortune, that they stole away from us." This he said with an intention to raise in them as high an opinion as possible of himself and his people. 6. They replied, "That if the Persians were to set out early in the morning, and march with expedition, they might overtake them the next day ; as, by reason of their multitude, and the number of their carriages, they marched very slowly ; and besides," added they, "having had no rest the night before, they advanced but a little way, and are now encamped." 7. Cyrus said, "Have you any pledge, then, to give us of what you say, to convince us that you speak truth ?" "We are ready," said they, "to ride off this instant, and bring you hostages to-night ; only do you pledge your faith to us by the gods, and give us your right hand, that what we ourselves thus receive from you, we may communicate to the rest of our people." 8. He accordingly gave them assurances, that if they performed what they said, he would treat them as friends and faithful adherents, so that they should not be of less consideration with him, than the Persians or Medes. And even to this day we may see the Hyrcanians trusted, and holding posts of government, like those of the Persians and Medes that appear worthy of them.

9. When they had dined, he led out the army, while it was yet day, desiring the Hyrcanians to stay, that they might go with him. All the Persians, as might be expected, were already out, as well as Tigranes, with his forces. 10. Of the Medes, some marched out, because, when they were boys, they had been friends to Cyrus while yet a boy ; some, because, when associating with him in his hunting expeditions, they had been much struck with his demeanour ; some from gratitude, because he was thought to have freed them from great terror ; some from having hopes, that, as he already appeared to be a man of worth, he would hereafter prove extremely fortunate and great ; and some, because they were de-

sirous to make a return for whatever service he had done them while he was brought up among the Medes; (and, from good-nature, he had obtained a great many favours for many of them from his grandfather;) but most of them went forth with a view to getting spoil, because they saw the Hyrcanians going, and because a report was spread abroad that they were to lead the way to abundance of plunder. 11. Thus almost all the Medes marched out, except those that were in the tent with Cyaxares; these remained, and the men that were under their command. The rest hastened forth with pleasure and zeal, as not going by constraint, but voluntarily, and with a wish to oblige. 12. When they were out, he went first to the Medes, and commended them, and prayed especially that the gods, being propitious both to them, to himself, and to his people, would vouchsafe to conduct them, and also that he himself might be enabled to make them a grateful return for their zeal. He told them, that the foot should lead the way, and bid them follow with their horse; desiring that, wherever they rested or suspended their march, some of their people should ride up to him, so that they might ascertain from time to time how it was proper to proceed. 13. Soon after, he ordered the Hyrcanians<sup>1</sup> to lead on; when they asked him, "What! will you not wait till we bring our hostages, that you may march with the pledges of our fidelity in your hands?" To this question it is said that he replied, "I consider that we have pledges of your fidelity in our own hearts and hands; for we think ourselves so well provided, that, if you prove to have spoken truth, we are in a condition to do you service; while, if you deceive us, we suppose ourselves sufficiently strong not to be in your power, but rather think, if the gods please, that you will be in ours; and since," said he, "Hyrcanians, you say that your people march in the rear, give us, as soon as you see them, a signal that they are yours, in order that we may spare them." 14. The Hyrcanians, on hearing these words, led the way as he ordered; they admired his firmness of mind, and no longer dreaded either the Assyrians, the Lydians, or their allies, but only lest Cyrus should think it of little moment whether they were present or absent.

15. When they were on the march, and night was come on,

<sup>1</sup> The two Hyrcanian envoys.



a clear light from heaven is said to have appeared to Cyrus, and to the army; so that dread fell upon them all at the divine manifestation, while courage was excited in them against the enemy. As they marched without encumbrance and with despatch, they cleared, as was to be expected, a great portion of ground, and at the dawn of day drew near the Hyrcanian army. 16. As soon as the messengers came in sight of them, they told Cyrus that these were their people; for they said that they knew them from being the hindmost, and from the number of fires. 17. He accordingly sent one of the two messengers to them, ordering him to tell them that if they were friends, they were at once to come to meet him, holding up their right hands. He sent also one of his own people with them, and bid him tell the Hyrcanians, that, when he and his people saw them advancing, they themselves would do the same thing. Thus one of the messengers stayed with Cyrus; and the other rode off to the Hyrcanians. 18. While Cyrus was waiting to see what the Hyrcanians would do, he made the army halt; and the chiefs of the Medes, with Tigranes, rode up to him, and asked him what they were to do. He told them in reply, "This body of troops, which is nearest us, is that of the Hyrcanians; one of their messengers is gone to them, and one of our people with him, to tell them, if they are friends, to meet us all with their right hands held up; if, therefore, they do so, hold out your right hands to them, in your several places,<sup>1</sup> and encourage them; but if they take to their arms, or attempt to flee, you must at once endeavour to let none of these that we first meet with escape." 19. He gave them this charge; and the Hyrcanians, on hearing the report of the messengers, were in great joy, and leaping on their horses, came up, as had been told them, holding out their right hands. The Medes and Persians, on their side, held out their right hands to them, and encouraged them. 20. Soon after, Cyrus said, "Hyrcanians, we now trust you; and it is your part to feel similarly towards us; but, in the first place," said he, "tell us how far from hence is the place where the enemy's officers are, and their main body?" They replied that it was little more than a parasang.

21. Cyrus immediately exclaimed, "Come on then, Per-

<sup>1</sup> Καθ' ὃν ἂν ᾖ ἕκαστος.] "Over against whomsoever each may be."

sians, Medes, and you, Hyrcanians ; (for I now speak to you as confederates and associates ;) you must be well aware that we are in such circumstances, that we must incur the greatest severities of fortune if we act remissly ; for the enemy know for what purpose we come ; but if we march upon them with vigour and spirit, charging them with our whole force, you will soon see them, like slaves that have run away and are discovered, some supplicating for mercy, some flying, and some without presence of mind enough to do either ; since, beaten as they have already been, they see us coming upon them a second time, and, not having thought of the possibility of our approach, will be surprised in disorder, and unprepared to fight. 22. If, therefore, we desire, henceforward, to take our food, to pass our nights, and to spend the rest of our lives, with pleasure, let us not give them leisure to contrive or execute anything for their own defence, or to know even that we are men ; but let them fancy that all that comes upon them is shields, swords, scymetars, and blows. 23. And you, Hyrcanians," said he, "extending your line before us, march on in front, in order that, while your arms are seen, we may conceal ourselves as long as possible. When I have come up with the enemy's army, leave with me, each of you, a troop of horse, that I may make use of them, if I should require them for any purpose, whilst I remain in the camp. 24. You, commanders, and men of experience, march together, if you are wise, in close order, that you may not be repulsed, if you fall in with a compact body of the enemy ; and send out your younger men to pursue ; and let them kill all that they can ; for it is our safest course, at present, to leave as few of them alive as possible. 25. But if we defeat them," he added, "we must beware of turning our attention to plunder ; an error which has changed the fortune of many when they had victory in their hands ; for he that does so is no longer a man, but a baggage-bearer, and he that will, may use him as a slave. 26. You ought to be sensible that there is nothing more gainful than victory ; for the victor possesses himself of everything at once, men, women, treasure, and the whole country. Keep yourselves intent, therefore, only on securing victory, for even the plunderer himself is in the power of the conqueror.<sup>1</sup> Remember too, when you are pursuing, to re-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀντὸς ὁ ἀπράζων ἐχεται.] In potestate victoris est. *Poppo*.

turn again to me while it is yet day ; for, after it is dark, we shall no longer admit any one into the camp."

27. Having said this, he dismissed them each to his own century, desiring them to go and communicate these orders each to his captains of tens ; (for the captains of tens were all in front, so that they could hear ; ) and bidding them order the captains of tens to give these directions each to his own ten. The Hyrcanians then led the way ; he himself marched with the Persians in the centre, and posted the horse, as usual, upon each wing.

28. Among the enemy, as soon as day-light appeared, some wondered what was coming to pass ; some soon discovered what it was ; some told it ; some raised a shout ; others loosed their horses ; others packed up their baggage ; others threw off the arms from the beasts of burden ; others began to arm themselves ; others mounted their horses ; others bridled them ; others helped the women into the carriages ; others laid hold on what they had of greatest value, to save it ; and others were found burying such things ; but most of them betook themselves to flight. It may be imagined that they did other things of various kinds, but none fought, and they were cut to pieces without making any opposition. 29. Cræsus, the king of the Lydians, as it was summer, had sent forward his women in the night, in chariots, that they might travel with the more ease in the cool, and he himself, with the cavalry, was following. 30. The Phrygian, they say, who was prince of that Phrygia that lies upon the Hellespont, had acted in the same manner. But when they made inquiries of some that were fleeing, and overtook them, and learned what had happened, they fled also themselves in the utmost haste. 31. The kings of the Cappadocians, and of the Arabians, who were at hand, and standing still without their corslets, the Hyrcanians killed. The greatest number, however, of those that fell were Assyrians and Arabians ; for, being in their own country, they had been most tardy in marching off. 32. The Medes and Hyrcanians performed such achievements in the pursuit as were to be expected from men that had gained a victory. Cyrus ordered the horse, that had been left with him, to ride round the camp, and kill all that they saw going off with their arms ; and, to those that remained, he ordered it to be proclaimed, " That all soldiers of the enemy whatever,

whether horsemen, peltasts, or archers, should bring their arms, bound up together, to him, and leave their horses at their tents; and that whoever should not do so, should immediately lose his head." 33. Some, with their swords drawn, stood round in order, while those who had arms brought them, and threw them down upon the place that he appointed, and those whom he directed to do so, burnt them.

34. But Cyrus now began to reflect, that they were come without either meat or drink, and that without supplies it was impossible to prosecute a war, or do anything else. Considering, therefore, how these supplies might be best and soonest procured, he came to the conclusion, that for all men who were engaged in military service, it was necessary that there should be some certain person who should have charge of the tent, and who should see that the provisions were ready for the soldiers when they came in. 35. He judged, too, that of all people, such were the most likely to have been surprised in the camp, because they would be employed in collecting the baggage; he accordingly ordered proclamation to be made, that all the stewards should come to him, and, wherever there was no steward, the oldest man of the tent; and he denounced the severest penalties to such as should disobey. They all however rendered obedience instantly, as they had already seen their masters obey. 36. When they were come, he first ordered all such as had provisions in their tents for more than two months to sit down. 37. When he had taken note of these, he then ordered such as had provisions for one month to sit down. Upon this almost all of them sat down. When he perceived that such was the case, he addressed them thus: "Attend to me, my friends. If any of you dislike evil, and desire to obtain any good from us, take especial care that in each tent there be prepared double the portion of meat and drink that you used to provide, each day, for your masters and their domestics; and have everything else ready that will furnish a handsome entertainment; the party that conquers, whichever it be, will soon be with you, and will require to have all things necessary for them in abundance. Be assured, therefore, that it may be of service to you to receive them in the most unexceptionable manner." 38. Having heard this announcement, they executed the orders with the greatest diligence; while Cyrus, calling the centurions together, spoke to them to this effect:

“We know, friends, that it is now in our power to take our dinners before our absent allies dine, and to apply the choicest meats and drink to our own use ; but it does not appear to me that such a dinner would be of more service to us than to appear careful of our allies ; nor would such entertainment add more to our strength, than we should gain by making our confederates zealous for our interest.<sup>1</sup> 39. If we appear so negligent of those that are pursuing and killing our enemies, and fighting any that oppose them, as to be found to have dined before we know how they are faring, take care lest we appear dishonourable in their sight, and grow weak by losing our allies? But to have regard to those who are engaged in dangers and toils for us, so that they may have everything prepared when they come in, is a treat that should more delight us, as I conceive, than the present gratification of our appetites. 40. Consider also,” continued he, “that if we paid no respect to our friends, still it is by no means proper for us at present to indulge in feasting or drinking ; for what we proposed has not yet been accomplished, while everything has now reached a point requiring care ; we have enemies in the camp many times more numerous than ourselves, and unconfined ; against whom we must be upon our guard, and over whom we must place guards, that we may have people to do necessary services for us. Our cavalry are absent, causing us some anxiety as to where they may be, whether they will come back to us, or whether they will stay away. 41. So that, in my opinion, friends, only so much meat and drink ought now to be taken by us, as may least tend to overwhelm us with sleep and want of thought.<sup>2</sup> 42. There are besides great treasures in the camp ; of which, as being common to all that were concerned in capturing them, I am not ignorant that it is in our power to appropriate what we please ; but to take them does not seem to me likely to be more profitable to us than to appear honest, and by that means to make our allies regard us with still more affection than at present. 43. And I am inclined,” added he, “to give up the distribution of these treasures to the Medes, Hyrcanians, and Tigranes, when they

<sup>1</sup> Οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτῇ ἡ εὐωχία, κ. τ. λ.] “Nor would this entertainment make us stronger so much as if we should be able to make our allies zealous.”

<sup>2</sup> That is, only a moderate quantity of meat and drink.

come ; and even to consider it an advantage, if they allot us the smaller share ; for, for the sake of such profit, they will the more readily remain with us. 44. To gain a present advantage might, indeed, afford us short-lived riches, but to relinquish this temporary gain, and acquire those possessions from which riches arise, will probably, in my opinion, procure much more lasting wealth to ourselves and all belonging to us. 45. It was for this end, I think, that we practised at home to gain a command over our appetites, and refrain from unseasonable gains, that we might be able, if occasion required, to exert these qualities for our advantage ; and in what more important circumstances than the present we could give a proof of our education, I do not see."

46. Thus spoke Cyrus ; and Hystaspes, a Persian, one of the Equals-in-honour, expressed himself in favour of his opinion, in the manner following : " It would, indeed, be strange, Cyrus, if, in hunting, we should often persevere in abstaining from food, in order to get possession of some beast, perhaps of very little value, but, when we are in pursuit of all that is valuable in the world, should think it not at all dishonourable to us, if we should suffer any of those things to be an obstacle to us, which have command, indeed, over base men, but are under the control of the high-minded." 47. Thus spoke Hystaspes ; and all the rest approved his sentiments. Cyrus then said, " Well, since we agree on this point, send out five men of each company, such as are the most respected ; let these walk round, and whomsoever they find employed in providing necessaries, let them commend them ; but such as they find negligent, let them chastise, even less sparingly than if they were their masters." These men did as they were directed.

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### CHAPTER III.

Cyrus acknowledges the superior skill of the Medes and Assyrians in horsemanship. His institution of cavalry, and equestrian exercises, among the Persians.

1. SOME of the Medes were now bringing up waggons which had gone forward from the enemy's camp, (having overtaken and turned them back,) laden with things of which the army

stood in need. Others brought chariots that they had taken, belonging to women of rank, some lawful wives, others concubines, that were carried about by these people on account of their beauty; 2. for, to this day, all the inhabitants of Asia, when they take the field, go to it accompanied with whatever they value most; and say that they fight the better if their dearest objects of affection are present with them; for they declare that they feel compelled to defend them with ardour. Perhaps, indeed, it is so; but perhaps they observe the custom merely to gratify their inclinations.

3. Cyrus, observing what was done by the Medes and Hyrcanians, was almost angry with himself and those that were with him, as the others seemed to outshine them at that time, and to be continually making some capture or other, while they themselves appeared to stand in comparative inaction. They that brought the prizes, after showing them to Cyrus, rode off again, in pursuit of the rest of the enemy; for they said that they had been ordered to do so by their commanders. Cyrus, though annoyed at this, yet ordered the things away to proper places. He then called the centurions again together, and, standing in a place where they would easily hear him, spoke thus: 4. "I believe, friends, you are all convinced, that if we had had the taking of these things that now appear before us, great gain would have been got by the Persians in general, and the greatest, probably, by us, by whose agency this enterprise has been effected. But how we, who are not able of ourselves to acquire these possessions, can possibly become masters of them, I do not yet see, unless the Persians provide a body of horse of their own. 5. For you observe," continued he, "that we Persians have arms with which we can put to flight enemies that close with us, but when we have put them to flight, what cavalry, archers, peltasts, or javelin-men, can we possibly take or destroy in their flight, when we are without horse? What enemies, too, would fear to come up and annoy us, whether archers, javelin-men, or cavalry, when they know very well that there is no more danger of receiving any hurt from us, than from trees that grow fixed in the ground? 6. If such be the case, it is certain that the horsemen, now with us, must consider all things that fall into our hands not less theirs than ours, and perhaps, by Jupiter, even more so. 7. Upon this footing, therefore, things

now necessarily stand. But if we should get a body of horse; not inferior to them, is it not evident to you all, that we should be able, without them, to achieve the same things against the enemy that we now achieve with them, and that we shall find them more submissively disposed towards us? for, when they feel inclined either to remain or go away, it will be of less concern to us which course they take, if we are sufficient to ourselves without them. 8. But, be this as it may, no one, I believe, will be of a contrary opinion to me in this, that for the Persians to have a body of horse of their own, will be in the highest degree advantageous to them. But perhaps you are considering how this object may be effected. If then we should resolve upon raising a body of horse, let us examine what we have, and what we want. 9. Here are numbers of horses that have been taken in the camp of the enemy, and bridles with which they are managed, and all other things which horses must have when we use them. We have also such things as a horseman must use, corslets as defences for the person, and lances which we may either use in throwing or hold in the hand. What then is wanting? 10. Doubtless we shall want men. But these we certainly have, for there is nothing so much our own as we ourselves. But, perhaps, some will say, that we do not know how to ride; but, by Jove, none of those who do know, knew before they learned. But they learned it, somebody may say, when they were boys. 11. And whether are boys more intelligent in learning what is told them and shown them, or men? which of the two are best able to carry into effect, with bodily exertion, what they have learned, boys or men? 12. We have leisure, too, for learning such as neither boys nor other men have; for we have neither to learn the use of the bow, as boys have, for we know it already; nor to throw the javelin, for we know that too; nor is it with us as with other men, to some of whom agriculture gives occupation, to others various arts, and to others domestic affairs; 13. but to us there is not only leisure for military exercises, but necessity for them. Nor is this, like many other military matters, a thing of difficulty, as well as of use; for is not riding on a journey more pleasant than travelling on foot? And is it not a pleasure to reach a friend quickly, whenever despatch is required? Or, if it be necessary to pursue a man or a beast, is it not a pleasure to overtake it?



quickly? And is it not a convenience that, whatever arms are necessary to be carried, the horse helps to carry them; for, to have arms and to carry them is the same thing.<sup>1</sup> 14. And as to what a person may have most reason to fear, that we may possibly have to come to action on horseback, before we are yet well skilled in the exercise, and accordingly be no longer either footmen or able horsemen, even this is not an irremediable difficulty; for, whenever we please, we shall at once be at liberty to fight on foot, since we shall unlearn nothing of our skill as foot-soldiers by learning to ride."

15. Thus spoke Cyrus; and Chrysantas expressed himself in favour of his proposal as follows: "I am," said he, "so desirous of learning to ride, that I think, if I were a horseman, I should be a flying man. 16. As things now are, I am content, if, starting fair in a race with a man, I get before him merely by the head, and, when I see a beast running by, if, by exerting myself, I can contrive to reach him with my javelin or arrow, before he is at a great distance from me. But, if I become a horseman, I shall be able to overtake a man, though as far off as I can see; and in pursuing beasts, I shall be able to come up with some, and strike them down with my weapon in my hand, and to reach others with my javelin, as well as if they stood still; for, if the animals are both swift, yet, if they be near one another, they will be as if they stood still. 17. And as to the sort of animal which I think I most envy, the Centaurs, if they ever existed, and were of such a nature as to contrive with the forethought of a man, to execute what was necessary with their hands, and to exert the swiftness and strength of the horse, so as to overtake whatever fled from them and to overthrow whatever opposed them, I, assuredly, if I become a horseman, shall confer all these advantages on myself; 18. for I shall be able to contrive everything with the understanding of a man, I shall carry my arms with my hands, I shall pursue with the aid of my horse, and shall overthrow whoever opposes me with my horse's force; yet I shall not grow and be united together with him like the Centaurs; 19. and this is certainly better than to grow together; since I conceive that the Centaurs must have been at a loss how

<sup>1</sup> Foot-soldiers may properly be said to *carry* or *bear* arms; horse-soldiers to *have* arms. Bornemann. The arms of a horse-soldier may properly be said to be carried by his horse.

to profit by many conveniences discovered by men, and how to enjoy many of the pleasures natural to horses. 20. But I, if I learn to ride, shall, when I am mounted on horseback, perform, I trust, the part of a Centaur; and, when I have dismounted, shall take my meals, dress myself, and take rest, as other men do; so that what else shall I be but a Centaur, separated and unitable again? 21. Besides, I shall have the advantage over the Centaur," said he, "in these respects, that he saw but with two eyes, and heard but with two ears, but I shall discover objects with four eyes, and receive notice of them with four ears; for the horse, they say, warns men<sup>1</sup> of many things, from seeing them previously with his own eyes, and gives them notice of many things, from hearing them previously with his own ears. Write me down, therefore," concluded he, "as one of those that are extremely desirous to serve on horseback." 22. "And us too, by Jupiter," exclaimed all the others. Cyrus then said, "Since this proposal is so strongly approved, what if we should make a law for ourselves, that it shall be dishonourable for any amongst us, to whom I shall furnish horses, to be seen travelling on foot, whether he has a long or short distance to go, that men may imagine us to be altogether Centaurs?" 23. He put this question to them, and they all expressed their assent; so that, from that time even to this day, the Persians still observe this custom; and no man of rank or honour among them is ever willingly seen travelling to any place on foot. With such discourse did they occupy their attention.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Cyrus, in order to attach the prisoners to him, sets them free.

1. WHEN it was past mid-day, the Median and Hyrcanian cavalry rode up, bringing with them both horses and men, that they had taken; for such as delivered up their arms they had not killed. 2. When they came forward, Cyrus first asked

<sup>1</sup> 'Ανθρώποις—δηλοῦν.] Dindorf's text has, in some editions, ἀνθρώπου: a misprint.

them, whether they had all returned safe? When they said that it was so, he next asked them what they had done; and they related what they had achieved, and gave magnificent accounts how manfully they had acted in every particular. 3. He listened with pleasure to all that they wished to tell him, and then commended them thus: "It is evident that you have been brave fellows, for you are now taller, more handsome, and more terrible to look upon, than before." 4. He then asked them what distance they had gone, and whether the country was inhabited. They told him that they had gone a great distance, and that the whole country was inhabited, and abounded in sheep, goats, oxen, and horses, corn, and everything desirable. 5. "There are two things then," said he, "that we must consider: how to make ourselves masters of the people that possess these things; and how the people may be induced to remain in the country. For a country well inhabited is a very valuable acquisition, but if destitute of men, becomes destitute of everything that is good. 6. Those that offered resistance," added he, "I know that you have killed; and you did right; for to do so is of the greatest importance for preserving a victory. Those that delivered up their arms you have made prisoners; and if we should let them go, we should do, I think, the very thing that would be for our advantage; 7. for, in the first place, we shall have to be upon our guard against them, or to keep a guard over them, or to supply them with provisions; for, doubtless, we should not let them die of starvation. Besides, by releasing them, we shall gain a greater number of captives; 8. for, if we conquer the country, all will be our captives that inhabit it; and the rest, when they see these alive, and set at liberty, will the more readily remain, and choose rather to submit than to continue at war. I, at least, am of this opinion; but if any other person sees anything better, let him speak." 9. But all who were listening agreed to do what was proposed.

Cyrus, accordingly, having called for the prisoners, addressed them thus: 10. "Friends," said he, "in consequence of your present submission, you have preserved your lives; and for the future, if you conduct yourselves in the same manner, no ill whatever shall befall you, unless it be that the same person will not govern you that governed you before; but you shall inhabit the same houses, you shall cultivate the same

lands, you shall live with the same wives, and you shall rule your children as you do at present; but you shall not make war upon us, or upon any one else; and whenever any one injures you, we will fight for you. 11. And that nobody may require you to take the field, bring your arms to us; to those that bring them, there shall be peace; and what I promise shall be honourably performed. But upon such as do not bring their arms, we will assuredly make war ourselves. 12. If any of you, however, shall appear to come to us in friendship, and to do anything for our service, or to give us any information, we will treat him as a benefactor and a friend, not as a slave. Receive these assurances yourselves, and communicate them to the rest. And if, when you wish to act thus, there be any that will not comply with your wishes, lead us against them, that you may master them, and not be mastered by them." Thus spoke Cyrus; and they paid him obeisance, and said that they would perform what he enjoined them.

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## CHAPTER V.

Vigilance of Cyrus while his troops are taking their supper. He receives an angry message from Cyaxares; his politic conduct towards the messenger, whom he detains. He solicits a reinforcement from the Persians; his letter to Cyaxares. He causes most of the enemy's arms to be burned; distributes much of the spoil among the allies; and arranges that the horses and cavalry equipments may be assigned to his own troops.

1. WHEN they were gone, Cyrus said, "It is time, O Medes and Armenians, for all of us to take our suppers. Everything necessary has been prepared for you, in the best manner that we could. Go then, and send us half the bread that has been made; for enough has been made for us both; but send us neither meat with it, nor anything to drink, for of these we have enough with us already provided. 2. And you," said he, "Hyrcanians, conduct them to the tents; the officers to the largest, (for you know which they are,) and the others as may seem best to you. For yourselves, take your suppers where it is most agreeable to you; for the tents are safe and uninjured, and preparation has been made there for you, as well as for the others. 3. But understand this, both of you, that

we shall keep the night-watch without the camp ; look yourselves to what passes in the tents, and keep your arms in readiness ; for they who are in the tents<sup>1</sup> are not yet our friends."

4. The Medes, then, and the troops of Tigranes, went to bathe, and, having changed their clothes, (for garments had been provided for them,) took their suppers ; and their horses were supplied with all necessaries. Half their bread they sent to the Persians, but sent no meat with it, nor wine ; thinking that Cyrus's troops were sufficiently provided, because he had said that they had them in plenty. But what Cyrus meant was, that their accompaniment to their bread was hunger, and that they would have water from the river that ran by. 5. Cyrus, therefore, after seeing that the Persians took their supper, sent many of them out, as soon as it was dark, by fives and tens, and ordered them to go round the camp privately ; judging that they would be a guard to it, if any enemy came upon them from without ; and that if any one ran off with property of any kind, he would be taken. And so it happened ; for many ran away, and many were taken. 6. Cyrus allowed those that made the captures to keep the property, but ordered them to kill the men ; so that, afterwards, even though a person desired it, he would not easily find a man going off in the night. 7. Thus the Persians employed themselves ; but the Medes drank and feasted, entertained themselves with the music of flutes, and indulged themselves in all kinds of pleasure ; for abundance of what was subservient to such purposes had been taken ; so that those who kept awake were in no want of occupation.

8. But Cyaxares, king of the Medes, during the night that Cyrus went out on this expedition, drank to intoxication, as well as those whom he had with him in the tent, as on an occasion of success ; and he thought that the rest of the Medes, excepting some few, were still remaining in the camp, because he heard a great noise ; for the servants of the Medes, as their masters were gone, drank without ceasing, and were very disorderly ; the more so, as they had taken from the Assyrian army great quantities of wine and other supplies. 9. But when the day came, and nobody was in attendance at his gates, except those who had supped with him, and when he heard that the camp was deserted by the Medes

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrians.

and their cavalry, and saw himself, when he went out, that such was really the case, he was enraged at both Cyrus and the Medes for going away, and leaving him alone; and, (as he is said to have been violent and rash,) he immediately commanded one of those about him to take his own body of cavalry, and ride with the utmost despatch to Cyrus and his troops, and deliver this message: 10. "I should not have thought, Cyrus, that you would have taken measures so imprudently for me; or, if Cyrus had thought fit to do so, I should not have expected that you, Medes, would have consented to leave me thus unguarded. But now, whether Cyrus will come or not, return to me with the utmost despatch." 11. This was the message which he sent; but he that was ordered to go, said, "But how, O king, shall I be able to find them?" "In the same manner," replied Cyaxares, "as Cyrus and his party found those whom they pursued." "Because I hear," continued the messenger, "that certain Hyrcanians, who had revolted from the enemy, came hither, and went off to show him the way." 12. Cyaxares, on hearing this, was still more enraged at Cyrus, for not having told him of the circumstance, and sent off still more hastily to the Medes, that he might draw away his troops from him; he repeated his message of recall with much more vehemence than before, and with threats; and also threatened the messenger with his displeasure, if he did not deliver his message with decision.

13. The officer thus sent, set off with about a hundred of his own horse, feeling sorry that he himself had not also gone with Cyrus. As they proceeded on their way, they were misled<sup>1</sup> by some beaten track, and did not reach the army of their friends, till, meeting with some Assyrians that were coming back, they forced them to be their guides; and, by this means, getting sight of their own people's fires, they came up with them about midnight. 14. When they rode up to the camp, the guards, as had been ordered by Cyrus, refused to admit them before day.

When day appeared, Cyrus, calling to him the Magi, commanded them to select what was usual for the gods on an occasion of such success. The Magi employed themselves

<sup>1</sup> Διασχισθέντες.] "Separated" from the right way, appears to be the sense in which the word must be taken. But there are various readings.

accordingly. 15. He then summoned the Equals-in-honour, and addressed them thus: "My friends, the gods are pleased to lay many advantages before us; but we, O Persians, are, at present, but few in number, to secure to ourselves the possession of them; for if we do not guard what we have gained, it will fall again into the power of others; and, if we leave some of our own men as guards over what falls into our power, we shall soon be found to have no strength remaining. 16. It appears to me, therefore, that some one of you should go, as soon as possible, to the Persians, acquaint them with what I say, and request them to send an army with the utmost despatch, if the Persians desire that the dominion and revenues of Asia should be theirs. 17. Go then," said he, "you who are the oldest, and, when you arrive, deliver this message, and add, that whatever soldiers they send, I, when they come to me, will provide for their maintenance. You see what advantages we have gained; conceal no part of them. What part of the spoil I shall act honourably and legally in sending to the Persians, consult my father, at least as to what concerns the gods; as to what regards the public, inquire of the magistrates. Let them send also inspectors of what we do, and counsellors as to what we desire from them. For your part," added he, "make yourself ready, and take your company to attend you."

18. Soon after he called the Medes, and with them the messenger from Cyaxares presented himself, and, before them all, announced the anger of Cyaxares towards Cyrus, and his threats to the Medes, and in conclusion said, "That he commanded the Medes to return, even though Cyrus should desire to stay." 19. The Medes, on hearing the messenger, were silent, not knowing how they could disobey the summons of Cyaxares, and yet in fear how to obey him while he thus threatened them, especially as they knew the violence of his character. 20. But Cyrus said, "I do not at all wonder, O messenger, and you Medes, that Cyaxares, who then saw a multitude of enemies, and knew not what we were doing, should be under concern both for us and for himself; but when he finds that a great many of the enemy are destroyed, and that they are all driven off, he will cease, in the first place, to fear, and will next feel convinced, that he is not deserted at this time, when his friends are destroying his ene-

mies. 21. But how can we deserve blame, when we do him service, and not of ourselves merely? for I did not enter on this expedition till I had prevailed on him to allow me to go, and to take you with me. It was not you that, from any desire of your own for the journey, begged his leave to march, and are now come hither; but it was because orders were given by himself to go, to every one of you that was not averse to it. This anger of his, therefore, I feel assured, will be allayed by our successes, and will pass off as his fear ceases. 22. You, therefore, messenger, take some rest for the present, since you have undergone a great deal of fatigue; and let us, O Persians, since we expect the enemy to be with us, either to fight or to surrender, keep ourselves in the best order; for, if we are observed to be so, it is probable we shall succeed the better in what we desire. You, prince of the Hyrcanians," concluded he, "attend here, after you have commanded the officers of your men to put them under arms."

23. When the Hyrcanian had done so, and came to him, Cyrus said, "I am gratified, O Hyrcanian, to see that you attend me, not merely as you give us tokens of friendship, but as you appear to me to show intelligence. It is now evident that the same things are advantageous for us both; for the Assyrians are enemies to me, and are now greater enemies to you than to myself. 24. We must both of us, therefore, take precautions that none of our allies that are at present with us, may fall off, and that we may, if we can, secure others. You heard the Mede<sup>1</sup> recalling the cavalry; but if they leave us, we, the infantry, shall be left unsupported. 25. You and I, therefore, must contrive that this messenger, who comes to recall them, may himself consent to stay with us. Do you, therefore, find out a tent for him, and give it to him, where he may pass his time in the most pleasant manner, with all things convenient about him. I meanwhile will endeavour to give him some commission, which he may have more pleasure in executing than in going away. Converse with him on the many advantages that are expected to accrue to all our friends, if these matters are well managed; and, when you have done so, come again to me." 26. The Hyrc-

<sup>1</sup> The messenger sent from Cyaxares.



canian accordingly went away, and conducted the Mede to a tent.

He that was going to Persia<sup>1</sup> then came forward, prepared for his journey. Cyrus directed him to tell the Persians what has been before mentioned in our narrative, and to deliver Cyaxares a letter. But," said he, "I wish to read you what I have written in it, that, being apprized of its contents, you may speak in accordance with them, if any one question you on the subject." What the epistle contained was as follows :

27. "CYRUS TO CYAXARES, greeting. We neither left you deserted, (for no man, while he conquers his enemies, can be without friends,) nor did we imagine that by quitting you we brought you into danger ; but the greater distance we withdrew from you, the more security did we consider that we procured you ; 28. for it is not those who sit down nearest to their friends, that procure their friends most security ; but it is those who drive off their enemies to the greatest distance, that rather put their friends out of danger. 29. Consider, then, after what conduct of mine towards you, and after what conduct of yours towards me, you now blame me. I brought you allies ; not merely as many as you persuaded me to bring, but as many as I was able. You granted me, while I was yet upon friendly ground, as many as I could persuade to follow me ; and now, when I am in the enemy's territory, you call away from me not simply every one that is willing to go, but the whole body. 30. At that time, accordingly, I thought myself indebted both to yourself and them ; but now you oblige me to forget you, and to prepare to make my whole return of gratitude to those that followed me. 31. And yet I cannot act like you ; but even now, when I am sending to the Persians for an army, I give directions that, whatever troops come to join me, you, if you should be in want of them before they reach us, shall be at liberty to employ them, not as they may wish, but as you yourself may desire. 32. And I advise you, though I am the younger, not to take away what you have once given, lest ill-will be due to you, instead of thanks ; and do not send for any person, whom you would have to come quickly to you, with threats ; nor, when you talk of being deserted, threaten a multitude, lest you teach them not to regard you. 33. We will prepare

<sup>1</sup> See sect. 16.

to attend you, as soon as we have effected what we think will be, when accomplished, of advantage both to you and us. Farewell."

34. "Deliver him this letter, and whatever he asks you with reference to these affairs, answer conformably to what is here written; for indeed, with respect to the Persians, I give you such directions as are expressed in the letter." Having spoken thus to him, and given him the letter, he dismissed him; enjoining him also to use diligence, as he knew that it would be of advantage to him to return speedily.

35. Soon after, he observed all the Medes and Hyrcanians, and the force of Tigranes, in full armour; the Persians were also under arms; and some of the neighbouring people were now beginning to bring in arms and horses. 36. The javelins he ordered them to throw down where he had ordered others before to throw theirs; and those, whose business it was, burned such of them as they did not want. The horses he ordered those who brought them to stay and watch, until some further directions should be given them. Then, calling to him the officers of the cavalry, and those of the Hyrcanians, he addressed them thus: 37. "My friends and allies, do not wonder that I frequently call you together; for, as our present circumstances are new to us, many things are yet in disorder; and things that are in disorder, must of necessity give trouble, until they are assigned their proper places. 38. We have now in our possession much captured property, and many prisoners with it; and, from our uncertainty what proportion of the property belongs to each of us, and from the prisoners not knowing who is master over each of them, we do not see very many of them performing their proper duties, but perceive almost all of them at a loss what they ought to do. 39. That things, therefore, may not continue thus, distribute the spoil; and whoever is assigned a tent containing plenty of meat and drink, with people to act as attendants, and with carpets, apparel, and all other things with which a military tent is properly furnished, there is nothing further incumbent on him but to understand that the possessor of such property must take care of it as his own. But whoever is fixed in quarters deficient in any of these points, you must look to his case, and supply what is wanting; 40. for I know that of many things there will be more than enough, as the

enemy was possessed of everything more than proportionate to our numbers. Besides, there have been with me certain stewards, both of the Assyrian king and of other great men, who told me, that they had with them sums of coined gold, arising, they said, from certain tributary payments. 41. Make proclamation, therefore, for the people to bring all these things to you wherever you may fix your quarters; and strike terror into him who shall not execute your commands. Receive what they bring, and distribute it: to a horseman, a double portion; to a foot-soldier, a single one; so that, if you want anything, you may have money with which to buy it. 42. Let proclamation be made, too," added he, "that nobody injure the market in the camp; but that the sutlers sell whatever each of them has for sale; and that when they have disposed of these articles, they must fetch more in order that our camp may be supplied."

They immediately caused these things to be proclaimed. 43. But the Medes and Hyrcanians said, "And how can we distribute these things, without you and your people?" 44. Cyrus to this question replied, "Do you think then, friends, that whatever is to be done, we must all attend to everything? Shall not I be sufficient to do what may be required for you, or you for us? By what other means could we create for ourselves more trouble, or do less business, than by acting thus? 45. But consider for yourselves," added he; "we have guarded these things for you; and you have relied on us that they were well guarded; do you, on the other hand, distribute these things, and we will rely on you that you have distributed them well. 46. We again, on some other occasion, will endeavour to exert ourselves for the public service.

"Observe, at present," continued he, "in the first place, how many horses we have with us, while others are continually brought in; if we leave these without riders, they will be of no use to us, and will give us trouble to take care of them; but, if we set horsemen upon them, we shall free ourselves from the trouble, and shall add to our strength. 47. If, then, you have other men to whom you would give them, and with whom you would share danger in the field, if it should be necessary, more willingly than with us, assign the horses to them; but, if you would rather have us for supporters, give them to us; 48. for, when you rode on without us, in the late

enterprise, and hurried to meet danger, you caused us great apprehension, lest you should incur some misfortune; and you made us greatly ashamed, that we were not with you wherever you were. 49. But if we are assigned horses, we will follow you; and if we appear to be of more service while engaging on horseback with you, we shall, in that case, not be deficient in zeal; but, if we seem more likely to support you properly on foot, it will be easy for us to dismount,<sup>1</sup> and we shall at once be with you as foot-soldiers, and will contrive to find people to whom we may intrust our horses."

50. Thus spoke Cyrus; and they replied, "We, O Cyrus, have neither men to mount upon these horses, nor, if we had, would we, when you make these suggestions, take any course contrary to them. Take, then," they added, "the horses, and do as you think best." 51. "I receive them," said he, "and may we become horsemen, and you divide the public property, with good fortune! First, however," said he, "select for the gods whatever the Magi shall direct; and then choose such things for Cyaxares, as you may think most likely to please him." 52. They laughed, and said, that they must then choose women. "Choose women, then," said he, "and whatever else you think proper: and when you have chosen for him, you Hyrcanians, render, as far as you can, all those that have voluntarily followed me, perfectly satisfied. 53. You too, O Medes, reward these, who first became our allies, in such a manner that they may think they decided well in becoming our friends. Out of the whole, also, give a share to the messenger that is come from Cyaxares, both for himself and the men that are with him, and exhort him to stay with us, on the understanding that I approve of his stay; so that, by acquiring additional information on every point, he may report to Cyaxares the true state of things. 54. For the Persians that are with me," continued he, "whatever remains over and above, after you are all well provided for, will be sufficient; for," said he, "we have by no means been brought up delicately, but in a frugal manner; so that you would laugh at us, perhaps, if anything magnificent should be left for us; as I know very well," added he, "that we shall

<sup>1</sup> Τό τε καταβῆναι ἐν μέσῳ.] Fischer takes ἐν μέσῳ in the sense of *in promptu erit*, "it will be easy." I see no better method, the text remaining unaltered.

afford you a great deal of laughter, when we are seated on horseback, and, I doubt not, when we tumble on the ground."

55. They then went off to the distribution, laughing heartily about the horsemen. But Cyrus, calling the centurions to him, ordered them to take the horses, the horse-furniture, and the men that were to have the care of them, and count them, and then to assign by lot an equal number for each century.

56. Next he ordered them to make proclamation, that whatever slave there might be, whether of the Medes, Persians, Bactrians, Carians, Cilicians, or Greeks, or from any other country, forced to serve in the army, either of the Assyrians, Syrians, or Arabians, he should appear. 57. These men, hearing the proclamation, presented themselves joyfully before him, in great numbers; and he, having chosen from among them the best-looking men, told them that they should now become free, and carry such arms as he should give them.

58. That they should have everything necessary, he said, should be his care; and, bringing them immediately to the centurions, he put them under their charge, and bade them give them shields and light swords, that, being thus equipped, they might follow the cavalry; and he told them to take provisions for these men, as well as for the Persians that were with him. He also directed that the centurions themselves should always march on horseback, with corslets and lances, a practice which he began himself; and that, over the infantry of the Equals-in-honour, each of them should, out of the number of the Equals-in-honour, appoint a commander in his own stead. In such affairs did Cyrus and his troops employ themselves.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Gobryas, incensed at the king of Assyria, comes to join Cyrus; his speech, and reception. The Medes give an account of the division of the spoil.

1. MEANWHILE Gobryas, an Assyrian, a man in years, came up on horseback, attended by a retinue of cavalry, all provided with arms proper for equestrian service. Those who had been appointed to receive the arms, bade them deliver their lances, that they might burn them, as they had burned

the rest ; but Gobryas said that he desired first to see Cyrus. The officers then left the other horsemen there, and conducted Gobryas himself to Cyrus. 2. As soon as he saw Cyrus, he addressed him thus : " My lord, I am, by birth, an Assyrian ; I hold a strong fortress, and have the command of a large territory ; I have two thousand three hundred cavalry, which I used to furnish to the king of Assyria, and was very much his friend ; but since he, who was an excellent man, has lost his life in the war with you, and his son, who is my greatest enemy, now possesses the government, I come to you, and throw myself at your feet as a suppliant, offering myself to you as a servant and assistant in the war, and entreating you to be my avenger. 3. I make you my son, as far as is possible ; as, with respect to male issue, I am childless ; for he, O sovereign, that was my only one, a noble and excellent youth, who loved and honoured me as much as a son could do to make a father happy,<sup>1</sup>—the present king, (the late king, the father of the present, having sent for my son, as intending to give him his daughter, when I let him go, proud, indeed, that I should see my son the husband of a king's daughter,) the present king, I say, invited him to hunt with him, and permitted him to exert himself in the chase to the utmost, as he thought that he himself was a much better horseman than my son, who accordingly hunted with him as a friend ; and, upon a bear appearing in view, they both pursued, and the present king, throwing his javelin, missed his aim, (would that he had never done so !) and my son hurling his, (as he should not have done,) brought the bear to the ground. 4. The king was then enraged, but kept his envy concealed. Afterwards however, when, on a lion coming in their way, he missed a second time, (doing nothing, I conceive, at all wonderful,) and my son, again hitting his mark, brought down the lion, and exclaimed, ' I have hurled twice in succession, and struck down a beast each time,' the impious prince could no longer restrain his malice, but snatching a lance from one of his attendants, struck it into his breast, and took away the life of my only and beloved son ! 5. Thus I, miserable man ! brought him away a corpse, instead of a bridegroom ; and I, who am of these years, buried him, my excellent and

<sup>1</sup> It has been observed that the loose structure of this sentence is suitable to the agitation of mind in the speaker.

dear son, a youth but just bearded. He who slew him, as if he had destroyed an enemy, has never yet shown any remorse; nor has he, as some amends for the atrocious act, distinguished with any honour him who is under ground. 6. His father, indeed, felt compassion, and plainly appeared to sympathize with me at my misfortune; and I therefore, had he been alive, should never have applied to you to his prejudice; for I had received many instances of friendship from him, and had done him some service. But since the government has fallen to the murderer of my son, I should never be able to bear him the least good-will; nor could he, I know very well, ever regard me as a friend; for he knows how I stand affected towards him; and how, having lived with pleasure before, I am now reduced to this condition, childless and wearing out my old age in sorrow. 7. If you receive me, therefore, and I have hopes of obtaining, by your means, revenge for my dear son, I shall think that I rise to new life; I shall no longer be ashamed to live, nor do I think that, when I die, I shall end my days with sorrow."

8. Thus spoke Gobryas. Cyrus replied, "If you show, Gobryas, that you really are disposed towards us as you express, I receive you as a suppliant, and, with the help of the gods, I promise to take vengeance for you on the murderer of your son. But tell me," said he, "if we do this for you, and allow you to hold your fortress, your territory, and the power that you had before, will you do us any service in return for these things?" 9. He answered, "I will give you my fortress for a home, whenever you come to me; I will pay you the same tribute from my lands that I used to pay to him; and wherever you shall make war, I will attend you in the field, with the forces from my territory: Besides," said he, "I have a maiden daughter, whom I tenderly love, just of an age for marriage; whom I once thought that I was bringing up as a wife for the person now reigning; but she herself has now entreated me, with many tears, not to give her to the murderer of her brother; and I have myself similar feelings; and I here give you leave to act with regard to her, as I appear to act by you." 10. Cyrus then said, "On the understanding that what you say is true, I give you my right hand, and take yours; let the gods be witnesses between us." When these things had passed, he bid Gobryas go, and keep his

arms; and asked him what distance it was to his residence, signifying that he would go thither. Gobryas replied, "If you set out to-morrow morning, you may quarter with us the next day." 11. He then went away, leaving a guide.

The Medes now came up, after having delivered to the Magi such things as they had directed them to choose for the gods. They had chosen for Cyrus a most beautiful tent; a Susian woman, that was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia; and two other women, that were excellent singers. For Cyaxares, in the next place, they had chosen such as were next in merit. They had fully supplied themselves with all such things as they wanted, that they might take the field deficient in nothing; for there was everything in great abundance. 12. The Hyreanians took likewise whatever they wanted; and they made Cyaxares's messenger an equal sharer with them. Whatever tents were not wanted, they gave to Cyrus, that the Persians might have them; the money, they said, they would divide as soon as it was collected; and they divided it accordingly.

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## BOOK V.

### CHAPTER I.

Cyrus makes presents to others from his share of the spoil. Panthea, a woman of great beauty and merit, is intrusted to Araspes, who converses with Cyrus on love, and boasts himself invulnerable to it, but is at last captivated by the charms of Panthea. Cyrus takes the sense of the Medes and allies as to the prosecution of the war, who all exhort him to continue it, and promise not to desert him.

1. SUCH things they did and said. Cyrus next directed such as he knew to be the greatest friends of Cyaxares, to take each a portion of what had been selected for Cyaxares, and to keep it for him. "And whatever portions you give me," added he, "I accept with pleasure; but whoever of you is most in want, shall always have the use of them." Upon this, a certain Mede, a lover of music, said, "In the even-



ing, Cyrus, I heard those female singers that you now have, and heard them with delight; and if you were to give me one of them, I think I should go to the war with more pleasure than I should stay at home. Cyrus replied, "I give her to you, and I think myself more obliged to you for asking her of me, than you are to me for taking her; so very desirous am I to please you all." Accordingly he that asked for her, received her.

2. Cyrus then calling to him Araspes the Mede, (him that had been his companion from a boy, to whom he gave the Median robe,<sup>1</sup> that he took off when he left Astyages to go to Persia,) desired him to keep the woman and tent for him.<sup>2</sup>

3. This woman was wife of Abradates, of Susa; and when the camp of the Assyrians was taken, her husband happened not to be in it, but was gone upon an embassy to the king of the Bactrians. The Assyrian king had sent him to treat of an alliance between them; for he happened to be a guest-friend to the king of the Bactrians. This woman Cyrus directed Araspes to keep, till he should take her himself. 4. But Araspes, on receiving this order, asked him this question:

"Have you seen," said he, "Cyrus, the woman that you bid me keep?" "Assuredly," said he, "I have not." "But I saw her," said he, "when we chose her for you. When we first went into her tent, we could not, to say the truth, distinguish her from the others; for she was sitting upon the ground, with all her women-servants round her, and had indeed a dress like that of her servants; but when we looked round on them all, desiring to know which was the mistress, she at once was seen to excel all the others, though she was sitting with a veil over her, and looking down upon the ground.

5. When we asked her to rise, all the servants round her stood up with her; and she was then distinguishable above them all, not only in stature, but in beauty and grace, though she was standing with a dejected air, and tears were seen falling from her eyes, some upon her clothes, and some at her feet. 6. But when the eldest of us said to her, 'Take courage, lady; we have heard that your husband is, indeed, an honourable and excellent man, but we now select you for a man that, he assured, is not inferior to him in person, or possessed of less understanding, or power; for, as we think, if there be

<sup>1</sup> i. 4. 26.

<sup>2</sup> iv. 6. 11.

a man in the world that deserves admiration, it is Cyrus, to whom you shall henceforth belong ;' the woman, on hearing these words, tore down the upper part of her robe, and uttered a lamentable cry ; and her servants cried out at the same time with her ; while the greater part of her face discovered itself, and her neck and hands were also visible ; 7. and believe me, Cyrus," continued he, "it was thought by me, and all the rest that saw her, that never was yet produced, or born of mortals, such a woman, throughout all Asia. But by all means," said he, "go yourself to see her."

8. "Certainly not," rejoined Cyrus, "much less if she be such a one as you say." "Why so?" said the young man. "Because," said Cyrus, "if, on now hearing from you that she is handsome, I should be persuaded to go and see her, at a time that I have not much leisure, I am afraid that she will much more easily persuade me to come and see her again ; and, in consequence, perhaps I might neglect what I ought to do, and sit gazing at her." 9. The young man then laughed, and said, "And do you think, Cyrus, that the beauty of a human being can necessitate a person, against his will, to act contrary to what is best? If this were naturally the case," added he, "it would necessitate all men alike. 10. You see how fire burns all people indiscriminately ; for such is the order of nature ; but of beautiful objects, people love some, and not others ; and one loves one, and another another ; for it is voluntary, and every one loves those that he pleases. For example, a brother does not fall in love with a sister, but somebody else falls in love with her ; a father does not fall in love with his daughter, but some other person falls in love with her ; for fear and the law are sufficient to prevent love. 11. If indeed," continued he, "the law should enjoin, that those who did not eat should not be hungry, and that those who did not drink should not be thirsty ; that men should not be cold in the winter, or hot in the summer ; no law could make men obey such injunctions, for men are formed by nature to be subject to these things. But to love is a voluntary matter ; and every one loves that which suits him, as he loves his clothes or his shoes." 12. "But if to love be voluntary," said Cyrus, "how is it that a person cannot desist from loving when he pleases? For I have seen persons," continued he, "in tears from grief, in consequence of love ; slaves to those with whom they were in love,

though they thought slavery a very great evil before they were in love; giving away many things with which they had better not have parted; wishing to be rid of love, as they would of any other distemper, and yet not able to rid themselves of it, but bound to it by a stronger necessity than if they had been bound with iron chains! They give themselves up therefore to those they love, to serve them in many unaccountable ways; yet, with such troubles, they never attempt to escape, but keep continual watch upon the objects of their affection, lest they should escape from them."

13. The young man, in reply, said, "There are people, indeed, who act thus, but such persons are miserable; and this, I believe, is the reason why they are always wishing themselves dead, as being unhappy; but, though there are ten thousand ways of ridding themselves of life, they yet do not rid themselves of it. Just such wretches as these, are they that attempt thefts, and will not abstain from what belongs to others; but when they have seized or stolen anything, you see," said he, "that you are the first to accuse the thieves and plunderers, not considering theft to be a matter of necessity; and you do not pardon, but punish them. 14. So persons that are beautiful do not necessitate others to love them, nor to covet what they ought not; but weak and unhappy men are powerless, I know, over all their passions, and then they lay the blame upon love. But honourable and worthy men, though they may feel a desire for gold, or fine horses, or beautiful women, can yet with ease abstain from any of them, so as not to touch them contrary to what is right; 15. I, at least," said he, "though I have seen this woman, and though she appears very beautiful to me, am yet here attendant on you, and ride my horse, and discharge my duty in other respects."

16. "But, by Jove," said Cyrus, "you, perhaps, retired before the time that love naturally lays hold of a man. It is possible that a person touching fire, may not immediately be burned; and wood does not immediately blaze up; yet I do not willingly touch fire, or gaze on beautiful persons; and I advise you, Araspes, not to let your eyes dwell long upon beautiful persons; for as fire burns those that touch it, beautiful persons inflame those that look at them even from a distance, so that they are set on fire with love." 17. "Have no fear," said he, "Cyrus; though I look at her without ceasing, I shall

not be so overcome, as to do anything that I ought not to do." "You speak," said he, "extremely well; guard her, therefore," added he, "as I tell you, and be careful of her; for perhaps this woman may be of great service to us upon some occasion or other." After conversing in this manner they separated.

18. This young man, however, partly from seeing the woman to be extremely beautiful, and observing her worth and goodness, partly from waiting upon her and thinking that he pleased her, and partly from finding her not ungrateful in return, but taking care, by means of her servants, that everything necessary should be provided for him when he came in, and that he should want nothing if he happened to be ill, was by all these means made her captive in love; and perhaps incurred nothing wonderful. Such was the course of this matter.

19. But Cyrus, wishing that both the Medes and allies should stay with him of their own accord, called together all the chief officers, and, when they were met, spoke to them to this effect: 20. "Medes, and all you that are here present, I know very well that you came with me, not from any desire to get money, nor with the thought of thus serving Cyaxares, but that you were willing to oblige me in the matter, and, in honour to me, consented to march by night, and to face danger with me. 21. For such conduct I must feel grateful to you, unless I have lost all sense of justice; but to make you a due return for it, I do not think that I have yet the power; and this I am not ashamed to say. But to say, 'I will make you a return, if you will stay with me,' I should, I assure you, feel ashamed; for I should think that I should seem to say this only that you might be more willing to stay with me. Instead of saying so, therefore, I say this: 'Even if you now go away in obedience to Cyaxares, I will yet endeavour, if I meet with any success, to act towards you in such a manner as that you may commend me.' 22. For my own part, I shall not go; but shall adhere to the promises and engagements which I made to the Hyrcanians, and shall not be found betraying them; and to Gobryas also, who delivers up to us his fortresses, his territory, and his whole power, I will endeavour to act in such a manner, that he shall not repent his journey to me; 23. and, what is more than all, when the gods so evidently offer advantages to us, I ought to reverence them, and be ashamed to make a causeless retreat and abandon all. Thus, then," con-

cluded he, "shall I act; you must do as you think proper, and tell me what your inclination is." Thus spoke Cyrus.

24. He who had previously said that he was related to Cyrus was the first to reply: "For my own part," said he, "O king! (for<sup>1</sup> you seem to me to be a king by nature, not less than the chief of the bees in a hive is naturally a queen; for the bees always willingly obey her; where she remains, not one departs thence; and if she goes out, not one of them stays behind; so strong a desire to be governed by her is innate in them; and men seem to me to be similarly disposed towards you; 25. for when you left us to go to Persia, what Mede, either young or old, stayed behind, and did not follow you, till Astyages caused us to return? and when you set out from Persia to our assistance, we again saw almost all your friends voluntarily following you; when you were desirous to undertake the expedition hither, all the Medes willingly attended you; 26. and we now feel so disposed, that, with you, though we are in an enemy's country, we are full of courage, but without you we should even be afraid to go home;) the rest, therefore, shall say for themselves how they will act, but I myself, Cyrus, and those whom I command, will remain with you, and will hear to look upon you,<sup>2</sup> and endure to receive benefits from you."

27. Tigranes next said, "Do not at all wonder, O Cyrus, if I am silent; for my mind," added he, "is not prepared to advise you, but to do what you command."

28. The Hyrcanian then said, "For my part, O Medes, if you were now to go away, I should say that it was the malicious design of some deity, not to suffer you to be in the highest degree happy; for who, with ordinary human prudence, would turn back when the enemy are fleeing, or would not take their arms when they deliver them up, or would refuse to receive their persons and their possessions when they surrender them, especially when we have such a leader as seems to me, I swear to you by all the gods, to be more pleased

<sup>1</sup> Artabazus, after calling Cyrus king, might have thrown in his reasons for doing so in a very few words, but, being carried away by his admiration of him, he runs into a parenthesis of extravagant length, and does not conclude what he was going to say till sect. 26, ἐγὼ δὲ, ὦ Κύρε, καὶ ὡν ἐγὼ κρατῶ, &c. *Weiske*.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to i. 4. 27. *Bornemann*.

with doing us good, than with enriching himself?" 29. Upon this the Medes exclaimed, "You, O Cyrus, have led us out, and when you think it time to return, lead us back again with you." Cyrus, hearing this exclamation, offered the following prayer: "O supreme Jove, grant me, I entreat thee, to surpass in good offices those that pay me such honour!"

30. He then ordered the rest to place their guards, and attend to their comforts; but the Persians he directed to distribute the tents, assigning to the horse-soldiers such as were proper for them, and to the foot such as were sufficient for the foot; and desired them so to regulate matters, that they who were in the tents, despatching the business there, should bring all necessaries to the Persians at their stations, and present them their horses in proper condition, that the Persians might have nothing to do but to attend to matters of war. Thus they passed this day.

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## CHAPTER II.

Cyrus goes to see Gobryas, who surrenders into his hands himself and all his possessions. Gobryas invited to sup with the Persians; his admiration of their manners and conversation. Cyrus ascertains from Gobryas and the Hyrcanian what additional allies he may procure; inquires about the road to Babylon, and decides on marching thither.

1. THE next morning, as soon as they arose, they set out to visit Gobryas. Cyrus went on horseback with the Persian cavalry, who were in number about two thousand. They who carried their shields and swords<sup>1</sup> followed them, being equal to them in number; and the rest of the army marched in regular order. He directed them each to tell their new servants, that whoever of them should either be seen behind the rear-guard, or should advance before the front, or should be found on the outside of those that were in their rank upon either wing, should be punished.

2. On the second day, towards the evening, they arrived at the dwelling of Gobryas. They saw that it was an exceedingly strong fortress, and that all things were provided on the

<sup>1</sup> From what is said in iv. 3. 13, it would hardly be supposed that the cavalry needed any men to carry their arms.

walls, to enable him to make a vigorous defence; and they observed abundance of oxen and sheep driven up close under the fortifications. 3. Gobryas, sending to Cyrus, asked him to ride round, and see where the access was most easy, and to send in to him some of those in whom he confided, who, having seen how things stood within, might give him an account of them. 4. Cyrus accordingly, desiring in reality to see whether the fortress might be taken on any side, should Gobryas be found false, rode round the whole, but saw every part too strong to be assailed. Those whom Cyrus sent in to Gobryas brought him an account, that there was such a store of provisions within, as could not, they thought, even in a generation of men, fail the people that were there. 5. Cyrus was somewhat concerned as to what might be the object of such preparation; when Gobryas himself came out to him, and brought out all his men, some carrying wine, barley-meal, or flour, and others driving oxen, goats, sheep, and swine; and they brought abundance of everything that was eatable, so that the whole army of Cyrus might take their supper. 6. Those who were appointed for this service,<sup>1</sup> distributed all these provisions, and prepared supper.

Gobryas, when all his men were come out, invited Cyrus to enter, as he might think most safe. Cyrus, therefore, sending in some of his officers to see the state of things, and a force with them, went in, after this precaution, himself. 7. When he had entered, keeping the gates open, he summoned all his friends and the commanders of the troops with him; and, when they were come in, Gobryas, producing cups of gold, pitchers, and urns, all manner of furniture, a vast number of darics,<sup>2</sup> and magnificent things of every kind, and, at last, bringing out his daughter, a person of admirable beauty and stature, but in affliction for the death of her brother, spoke thus:

“I give you, Cyrus, all these treasures, and intrust to you this my daughter, to dispose of her as you think fit; and we are both your suppliants: I, as before, that you would be the avenger of my son; and she, now, that you would be the avenger of her brother.”

s. Cyrus, in reply, said, “I promised you then, that, if you

<sup>1</sup> These, as Fischer thinks, were the tent-stewards. See iv. 2. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Anab. i. 1. 9.

told me no falsehood, I would avenge you to the utmost of my power; and now, when I find that you speak truth, I am bound to perform my promise; and I promise your daughter, with the help of the gods, to do exactly as I said. These treasures," continued he, "I accept, but give them to this your daughter, and to the man that shall marry her. But I shall go away with one present from you, in exchange for which, though I could have the riches of Babylon, extremely great as they are, or even those of the world, instead of that which you have given me, I should not go away with more pleasure." 9. Gobryas, wondering what this could be, and suspecting that he might mean his daughter, put the question to him, and said, "O Cyrus, what is it?" Cyrus replied, "It is this, Gobryas. I believe that there may be numbers of men that would not be guilty either of impiety or injustice, or be voluntarily false; but, because nobody has thought proper to throw either great treasures, or power, or strong fortresses, or lovely children, into their hands, die before they could show what kind of persons they were; 10. but you, by having now put into my hands both strong fortresses, and wealth of all kinds, your whole army, and your daughter, a most valuable possession, have made it manifest to all men with regard to me, that I would neither be guilty of impiety towards friends that entertain me, nor of injustice for the sake of riches, nor be willingly faithless to compacts. 11. This, therefore, be assured I will never forget as long as I am a just man, and as long as I am praised by men for being thought to be such; but I will endeavour to distinguish you in return with every honour. 12. And do not be afraid of wanting a husband for your daughter worthy of her; for I have many excellent friends, of whom some one shall marry her. Whether however he will have as much treasure as you give, or many times more, I cannot say; but be assured, that there are some of them, who, for all the treasures you give, do not esteem you at all the more; but they now emulate me, and supplicate all the gods, that they may at some time be able to show that they are not less faithful to their friends than I am, and that, while alive, they will never yield to their enemies, unless some god render them powerless; and be certain that, in exchange for virtue and good reputation, they would not accept of all the treasures of the Syrians and Assyrians added to your own.



Such men, believe me, are sitting here." 13. Gobryas, with a smile, said, "By the gods, Cyrus, show me where these men are, that I may beg of you one of them to be my son." "It will not be at all necessary for you," rejoined Cyrus, "to ask that question of me; for if you will but attend us, you yourself will be able to show every one of them to anybody else."

14. Having said this, he took Gobryas by the right hand, rose, went out, and led out all that were with him; and though Gobryas repeatedly invited him to sup within, he would not do so, but supped in the camp, and took Gobryas to sup with him. 15. After he had stretched himself on a mat, he put this question to him: "Tell me," said he, "Gobryas, whether do you think that you, or we here, have the greatest plenty of furniture for couches?" "By Jove," replied he, "I know very well that you have more furniture of this kind, and more couches too; and your dwelling is much larger than mine; for you have the earth and the heaven for a habitation, and couches as many as there are spots upon the ground to lie on; and for their furniture, you do not think that you have as much merely as sheep produce of wool, but as much as the mountains and plains produce of brushwood."

16. Gobryas, on supping with him for the first time, and observing the plainness of the meats set before them, thought that he and his people lived in a much nobler manner than the Persians. 17. But when he noticed the temperance of those who sat at meat with him; for no Persian, among the well-educated, would ever indicate that he was struck with any sort of meat or drink, either by his looks, or by eagerness to help himself, or by abstraction of mind, so as not to notice such other matters as he would notice, if he were not at his meal; but, as good horsemen, from being undisturbed on horseback, are able, at the same time that they ride, to see, hear, and speak what is requisite; so the Persians, at their meals, think that they ought to appear discreet and temperate; and to be much moved with any sort of meat or drink, they consider to be rude and offensive; 18. and when he contemplated, likewise, their manner of conversation, how they asked each other such questions as were more agreeable to be asked than not; how they rallied each other on points on which it was more agreeable to be rallied than not; and how the jests which they uttered were far from being offensive,

and far from giving rise to anything unbecoming, or from rendering them irritated at one another; he was constrained to alter his opinion, and to acknowledge that the Persian mode of living was preferable to his own.<sup>1</sup> 19. But what seemed to him most extraordinary of all, was, that when they were engaged in military service, they did not think that greater plenty should be set before themselves than before any one of those entering into the same dangers with them; but thought it the noblest of feasts to put those that were to be their fellow-combatants into the best possible condition. 20. And when Gobryas rose up to go home, he is reported to have said, "I no longer wonder, Cyrus, that though we possess fine vessels, rich habits, and gold, in greater abundance than you do, we are men of less worth than you are; for we endeavour to obtain as many of these things as we can, but you seem to study how you may become most excellent men." 21. Thus he spoke; and Cyrus added, "See that you attend in the morning, Gobryas, with your cavalry fully equipped; that we may see your force, and that you may conduct us, at the same time, through your territory, that we may know what we are to regard as belonging to our friends, and what to our enemies." 22. After holding this conversation, they went each to his own abode.

When it was day, Gobryas came with his cavalry, and conducted them. Cyrus, as became a commander, was not only attentive to his present route, but, as he advanced, tried to ascertain whether it would be in his power, by any means, to render the enemy weaker, and his own party stronger. 23. Calling, therefore, the Hyrcanian and Gobryas to him, (for he thought that they understood best what he deemed it necessary for him to learn,) he said, "My friends, I think that I shall not be in the wrong, if I consult with you upon the subject of this war, as with trustworthy persons; for I find that it is more your business than mine, to take care that the Assyrian may not get the better of us; for to me, if I fail in my undertaking here, there may possibly be some other resource; but, as to you, if he gain the mastery, I see that all is lost.

<sup>1</sup> He was constrained—preferable to his own.] These words are inserted, to complete the sense, agreeably to the notion of Poppo and Hutchinson. Lange and Zeune regard all as parenthetical from *τῶν συσσίτων* in sect. 17, to *εἰπεῖν λέγεται* in sect. 20.

24. For to me he is an enemy, not because he hates me, but because he thinks it disadvantageous to himself that we should be powerful, and for this reason he makes war upon us; but you he hates, as supposing that he has been injured by you." To this they both answered similarly, "That he should proceed to say what he meant,<sup>1</sup> as they knew his views, and were greatly concerned in what the course of affairs might result.

25. Cyrus then began thus: "Tell me," said he, "does the Assyrian think that you are the only people at enmity with him, or do you know anybody else that is his enemy?" "Yes, by Jove," said the Hyrcanian, "the Cadusians are his enemies in the highest degree, and are a strong and numerous people; the Sacians too, that are our borderers, and who have suffered many hardships at the hand of the Assyrian, for he endeavoured to subdue them as well as us." 26. "Do you not think, therefore," said he, "that they would both gladly fall upon the Assyrian, in conjunction with us?" "Most gladly," said they, "if they could by any means join us." "What is there then between," said he, "to hinder them from joining us?" "The Assyrians," replied they; "the very nation through which you are now marching."

27. After Cyrus had heard this, "Do you not then, Gobryas," said he, "charge this young man, that is now placed on the throne, with great insolence of disposition?" "Yes," said Gobryas, "for such is the treatment that I have experienced from him." "And has he," said Cyrus, "shown himself such only towards you, or to others besides?" 28. "By Jove," said Gobryas, "to others as well. But why need I mention the wrongs that he has done to the weak? For he took the son of a man far more powerful than myself, when he was his companion, as mine was, and was drinking with him at his own table, and emasculated him; because, as some say, a mistress of his had commended him as a handsome man, and declared that woman happy that was to be his wife. But, as the king himself now says, it was because he had attempted to seduce his mistress. This man is now a eunuch, and since the death of his father, holds his father's government." 29. "Do you not think, then," said he, "that this man would see

<sup>1</sup> Περαινεῖν ὅ, τι μέλλει.] There has been much dispute about the sense of *περαινεῖν* in this passage; I follow the interpretation of Bornemann.

us with pleasure, if he thought that we would support him?" "I know it very well," said Gobryas: "but to come at the sight of him, Cyrus, is a difficult matter." "How so?" said Cyrus. "Because whoever would join him, must pass by Babylon itself." 30. "And why should that be difficult?" "Because, by Jove," said Gobryas, "I know the forces sent out from Babylon alone, are much greater than those which you have at present with you; and be assured, that the Assyrians are now less forward than before to bring you arms and horses, for this very reason, that your force appears to be but small to those that have had a view of it; and a rumour to this effect has been already widely spread abroad; and it seems better to me," added he, "that we should march with great caution."

31. Cyrus, after listening to this intimation from Gobryas, answered him as follows: "You appear to advise us well," Gobryas, "when you admonish us to pursue our march with the utmost caution; and, upon consideration, I cannot think of any route safer for us to pursue than that to Babylon itself, if the principal strength of the enemy lies there; for, as you say, they are numerous; and, if they have courage, they will also, I think, show themselves<sup>1</sup> to us. 32. By not seeing us, however, but imagining that we remain out of their sight from fear of them, be assured," continued he, "that they will be relieved from the dread that has fallen upon them, and courage will spring up in its stead; a courage which will be so much the greater, the longer they are without seeing us. But if we march upon them at once, we shall find many of them still lamenting for those that have been killed by us, many with the wounds bound up which they have received from our people, and all yet remembering the courage of this army as well as their own flight and loss. 33. And believe me, Gobryas, that you may feel assured of this,<sup>2</sup> that a multitude, when they are in spirits, raise in themselves a courage not to be resisted, but, when they are in fear, the more numerous they are, the greater and more overpowering is the terror that they conceive; 34. for it comes upon them, increased by nu-

<sup>1</sup> If they have courage, they will show themselves; if they have none, their numbers will be of little avail. *Bornemann.*

<sup>2</sup> Εἴ δ' ἰσθῆ—*iva kai roûr' eîdῆs.*] *Mihi crede, ut hoc quoque scias. Bornemann.*

merous evil reports, and gathers to a head from many unhappy circumstances, and from many dejected and astonished looks; so that, from its greatness, it is not easy either to suppress it by words, or to excite courage in the people by leading against the enemy, or to revive a spirit in them by retreating; but, the more you exhort them to take heart, the more they imagine themselves to be surrounded with perils. 35. Let us consider, however, exactly how the matter stands; for if victories in warlike enterprises are henceforth to fall to whatever party has the greatest numbers, you are in the right to fear for us, and we are in reality in dangerous circumstances; but if engagements, as heretofore, are still to be decided by the merit of the combatants, you will not be wrong in being of good courage; for, with the help of the gods, you will find more among us eager to engage, than among them. 36. And, that you may be still more encouraged, reflect also that the enemy are at this time much fewer<sup>1</sup> than they were before they were beaten by us, and much less courageous<sup>1</sup> than when they fled from us; but we are stronger since we have gained a victory, more confident since we have met with the favour of fortune, and more numerous since you have joined us; for you need not still think meanly of your people, now that they are with us; for be assured, Gobryas, that they who attend the victorious, follow with confidence; 37. nor let this escape your consideration," said he, "that the enemy is even now at full liberty to see us; but that we should by no means appear more terrible to them by waiting their approach, than by marching against them. As this, therefore, is my opinion, conduct us straight to Babylon."

<sup>1</sup> ἑλάττωτες—ἐλάττωτες.] The first refers to the number, the second to the spirit, of the enemy. *Bornemann*.

## CHAPTER III.

Assyria is again ravaged, and much of the booty given to Gobryas. Cyrus advances towards Babylon, and challenges the Assyrian king to battle, but without effect. Gadatas, a nobleman, who had been ill-treated by the Assyrian king, revolts from him, and puts his fortress into the hands of Cyrus; who is also joined by the Cadusians and Sacians. Gadatas goes to defend his possessions; Cyrus follows to support him, and instructs his officers how to conduct a march by night. Cyrus's reason for addressing his officers and others by name; his care and attention on the march.

1. PURSUING their march, accordingly, they reached the boundaries of Gobryas's territory upon the fourth day. When Cyrus had entered the enemy's country, he took the foot to himself, and as many of the horse as he thought proper, and drew them up in order; the rest of the horse he sent out upon excursions; and ordered them to kill those that were in arms, but to bring the rest, with whatever cattle they might take, to him. He ordered the Persians also to join in these excursions; and many of them returned, after being thrown from their horses, but many of them brought off considerable booty. 2. When the spoil was set before him, he called together the officers of the Medes and Hyrcanians, together with the Equals-in-honour, and addressed them thus: "Gobryas, my friends, has entertained us all with good things in great abundance; if, therefore, after having selected what is usual for the gods, and what will be sufficient for the army, we should give the remainder of the spoil to him, should we not do a proper thing, by making it at once apparent, that we endeavour to surpass our benefactors in doing kindness to them?" 3. When they heard this proposal, they all commended and applauded it; and one of them spoke thus: "We will do so, Cyrus," said he, "by all means; for Gobryas seems to me to take us for indigent people; because we did not come with abundance of darics, and do not drink out of golden cups; but, if we do what you propose, he may understand that it is possible to be generous, even without gold." 4. "Go then," said Cyrus, "and, having delivered to the Magi what is due to the gods, and taken what is sufficient for the army, call Gobryas, and give him the remainder." Accordingly, having taken as much as was necessary, they gave the rest to Gobryas.

5. He then marched on towards Babylon itself, disposing his army in the same order as on a day of battle. As the Assyrians declined to come out against him, Cyrus desired Gobryas to ride forward, and to say that, if the king were willing to come out and fight for his country, he would engage with him;<sup>1</sup> but if he would not defend his country, he must of necessity submit to his conquerors. 6. Gobryas rode on as far as it was safe, to deliver this message; and the king sent a person out with an answer, to the following effect: "Gobryas, your sovereign says, I do not repent that I put your son to death, but I repent that I did not put you to death likewise! If you would fight, come hither upon the thirtieth day from hence; we are not yet at leisure, for we are still employed in our preparations." 7. Gobryas then said, "May that repentance never leave you! for, it is evident that I have caused you some affliction ever since such repentance took possession of you."

8. Gobryas reported this message from the Assyrian; and Cyrus, having heard it, drew off the army, and calling Gobryas to him, "Tell me," said he, "did you not say, that you thought the man who had been emasculated by the Assyrian king, would join us?" "I think I am sure of it," replied he; "for he and I have often conferred together with great freedom." 9. "When you think proper, therefore," said Cyrus, "go to him: and, in the first place, contrive that you and he alone<sup>2</sup> may know what he says upon the subject; and, when you have conferred with him, if you find him inclined to be our friend, you must then contrive that he may not be known to be our friend; for no one can do greater service to his friends in war by any other means than by appearing to be their enemy; or do greater harm to his enemies by any other means than by appearing to be their friend." 10. "I know

<sup>1</sup> *Αὐτὸς σὺν ἐκείνῳ μάχοιτο.*] It has been much disputed whether, by *αὐτὸς*, Cyrus or Gobryas is meant. Zeune, Weiske, and Lange refer it to Cyrus, considering *σὺν ἐκείνῳ μάχεσθαι* to be the same as *ἐκείνῳ μάχεσθαι* without *σὺν*: Schneider, Poppo, and Bornemann refer it to Gobryas, interpreting *σὺν ἐκείνῳ* "on his side," and supposing that Gobryas makes an offer to fight on the side of the Assyrian king, not in earnest, but as a *ruse*. The former interpretation, to which I have adhered, is the far more straightforward one; though the *σὺν* will not allow it to be altogether satisfactory.

<sup>2</sup> *Αὐτοὶ—εἰδῆτε.*] By *αὐτοὶ* are meant Gobryas and Gadatas, apart from their attendants.

indeed," said Gobryas, "that Gadatas would even pay a price for the power of doing some great harm to the Assyrian king; but we must consider what it is that he can do." 11. "Tell me, then," said Cyrus, "with regard to that fortress which lies upon the frontiers of this country, and which you say was built as a defence to it in war against the Hyrcanians and Sacians, do you think," said he, "that the eunuch would be allowed by the commander to enter it if he came with a force?" "Certainly," said Gobryas, "if he came to him unsuspected as now he is." 12. "And," said Cyrus, "if I should fall upon the places that are in his possession, as if I wished to make myself master of them, and he should defend them against me with his whole force; and if I should take something of his, and he, on the other hand, should capture either some of our people, or some messengers sent by me to such people as you say are enemies to the Assyrian; and if the persons so captured should declare that they were going to bring forces, and to fetch ladders for the attack of the fortress, and the eunuch, on hearing these statements, should pretend that he came with the intention of making a similar communication, he would assuredly continue unsuspected."

13. Gobryas then said, "If matters are managed thus, I know very well that he would admit him, and would beg him to stay till you should depart." "And then," said Cyrus, "if he once gained an entrance, could he not give up the fortress into our hands?" 14. "Very probably," said Gobryas, "if he took part in the arrangements within, and you made a vigorous assault from without." "Go then," said he, "and, after you have given him these instructions, and arranged the proceedings, endeavour to join us here again; but as for pledges of faith, neither mention, nor intimate to him, any greater than those which you yourself received from us."

15. Soon after, Gobryas set out. The eunuch saw him with great pleasure, consented to everything, and arranged with him what was proper to be done.

When Gobryas had brought word that the whole business of his mission to the eunuch appeared satisfactorily settled, Cyrus proceeded to attack him the following day. 16. Gadatas defended himself; and Cyrus took some other place such as Gadatas had pointed out; while of some messengers that Cyrus had sent, directing them, beforehand, which way they



should go, Gadatas suffered a part to escape, that they might bring up forces and fetch ladders; but such as he took, he examined, in the presence of many persons; and, when he had heard for what purpose they said that they were going, he immediately prepared for a journey, and marched off in the night, as if to go and give an account of the matter; in fine, he was trusted, and entered the fortress, as an ally to defend it. 17. For a while he concurred with the governor in every arrangement, as far as he could; but when Cyrus came up, he seized the fortress, making the prisoners, whom he had taken from Cyrus, his assistants in securing it.

18. When this was done, Gadatas, having settled matters within, came out immediately to Cyrus, and, having paid him obeisance in the usual manner, he said, "Joy to you, O Cyrus!" 19. "I have it," said he, "already; for, with the help of the gods, you not only bid me, but oblige me to rejoice; for, be assured," said he, "that I esteem it of great importance to leave this place to my allies in these parts. The power of procreating children, Gadatas, the Assyrian, it seems, has taken from you; but he has not deprived you of the power of acquiring friends, and, be assured that, by this act, you have made friends of us, who will endeavour, if we are able, to be not less valuable supporters to you, than if you had sons or grandsons."

20. Thus spoke Cyrus; and the Hyrcanian, who just now understood what had been done, ran to Cyrus, and taking him by the right hand, said, "Oh how great a blessing, Cyrus, are you to your friends! What a debt of gratitude and thanks do you make me owe to the gods, for having joined me in alliance with you!" 21. "Go then, presently," said Cyrus, "and take possession of the place on account of which you are so pleased with me, and dispose of it in such a manner, that it may be of the utmost advantage to your own nation, and to our other allies; but chiefly," said he, "to Gadatas here, who has taken it, and delivered it up to us." 22. "Then," said the Hyrcanian, "when the Cadusians, the Sacians, and my countrymen are come, shall we call in Gadatas also, that all of us, whom it concerns, may consult in common how we may use the fortress to the best advantage?" 23. This proposal Cyrus applauded, and, when all that were concerned about the fortress were met, they jointly determined that it should be kept by

those who had an interest in its being friendly to them, that it might be a place of defence to cover them, and a bulwark against the Assyrians.

24. When this enterprise was concluded, the Cadusians engaged with more zeal, and in greater numbers, in the service, as well as the Sacians and Hyrcanians. Hence there was collected a force of Cadusians, consisting of twenty thousand peltasts and four thousand cavalry; and of Sacians, consisting of ten thousand archers on foot, and two thousand on horseback; while the Hyrcanians sent all the infantry that they could, and made up their cavalry to the number of two thousand; for most of their cavalry had before been left at home, because both the Cadusians and Sacians were enemies to the Assyrians. 25. During the whole time that Cyrus lay employed in making regulations about the fortress, many of the Assyrians, in those parts, were bringing horses, and many were bringing arms, being now afraid of all their neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

26. Soon after, Gadatas came to Cyrus, and acquainted him, that there were messengers come to tell him, that the Assyrian king, when he heard of the affair of the fortress, was extremely incensed, and began to make preparations to invade his territory. "If, therefore, you would let me go, Cyrus," said he, "I would endeavour to save my places of strength; of the rest there is less account to be taken." Cyrus then said, 27. "If you set out now, when shall you be at home?" Gadatas replied, "I shall sup in my own territory the third day." "And do you think," said he, "that you will find the Assyrian already there?" "I know very well," said he, "that I shall; for he will make haste, while he still thinks you at a great distance." 28. "And in how many days," inquired Cyrus, "could I march thither with the army?" To this Gadatas answered, "You have a very great army, my sovereign, and would not be able to reach my residence in less than six or seven days." "Go, then," said Cyrus, "as soon as you can, and I will march after with all possible despatch."

29. Gadatas then took his departure, and Cyrus called together all the officers of his allies, (and there seem now to

<sup>1</sup> The Sacians, Cadusians, and Hyrcanians, against whom the fortress had previously served them as a defence. See the end of sect. 24, where "had before been left," means before the Hyrcanians revolted to Cyrus.

have been present many men of merit and valour,) and addressed them to this effect: "30. Friends and allies, Gadatas has done such services for us, as we all judge to be of great value, and has done so before receiving the least benefit whatever at our hands. The Assyrian king is now said to have invaded his territory, and both intends, it is evident, to take vengeance on him, because he thinks that he has been greatly injured by him, and also, perhaps, considers, that if those who revolt to us receive no harm from him, and those who continue on his side are destroyed by us, it is probable that in a short time nobody will remain with him; 31. therefore, my friends, we shall act but honourably, I think, if we afford zealous assistance to Gadatas, a man who has been our benefactor; we shall at the same time act justly by discharging a debt of gratitude; and we shall, in my opinion, do what will be for our own advantage; 32. for if we make it apparent to all men, that we endeavour to surpass those who injure us in returning injury, and exceed our benefactors in doing them service, it is likely that, through such conduct, many will be willing to be friends to us, and nobody will desire to be our enemy; 33. but if we appear neglectful of Gadatas, with what arguments, in the name of the gods, shall we persuade others to do us kindnesses? how shall we dare to commend ourselves; and how will any of us be able to look Gadatas in the face, if we are outdone by him in good offices, we, who are so many, by him who is but one, and one in such circumstances?"

34. Thus spoke Cyrus, and they all earnestly expressed their assent to what he proposed. "Proceed, then," said he, "since my proposal pleases you. Let us each leave, with the carriages and beasts of burden, all those that are fittest to travel with them, and let Gobryas command and conduct them; 35. for he is acquainted with the roads, and well qualified in other respects; and let us march forward ourselves with the best of our horses and men, taking provisions with us for three days; and the more lightly and frugally we furnish ourselves, the more pleasantly shall we dine, sup, and sleep on the succeeding days. 36. Let us order our march in the following manner: You, Chrysantas, in the first place, lead on those armed with corslets, (since the way is level and open,) and let each century march in single file, keeping all the centurions in front; for, by keeping compact order, we shall march with greater

despatch and greater safety. 37. I desire those armed with corslets to lead, for this reason, that they are the heaviest part of the army; and, when the heaviest lead the way, the troops that march more expeditiously must all follow them with ease; but when the lighter troops lead, especially in the night, it is not at all wonderful that the forces become separated; for the body that is at the head runs off from the rest. 38. Next after these," continued he, "let Artabazus lead the Persian peltasts and archers; next to these, let An-Jamyas the Mede lead the Median infantry; next to these, Embas the Armenian infantry; next to these, Artuchas the Hyrcanians; next to these, Thambradas the Sacian infantry; next to these, Datamas the Cadusians. 39. Let all these proceed with their centurions in front, and their peltasts on the right, and their archers on the left of their own oblong bodies; for, by marching in this manner, they will be the more ready for service. 40. Behind these, let the baggage-bearers of the whole army follow; let their officers look to them all, that they have everything packed up before they sleep, and that they attend early in the morning in their appointed places, and follow in proper order. 41. Next after the baggage-carriers, let Madatas the Persian bring up the Persian cavalry, and let him also keep the equestrian centurions in front; and let each centurion lead his century in single file, in the same manner as the officers of the foot. 42. Next to these, let Rambacas the Mede lead his cavalry in the same manner; next to these, you, Tigranes, bring up your own cavalry; and the rest of the cavalry officers the bodies of cavalry with which each joined us. After these, let the Sacians follow; and let the Cadusians, as they came in to us the last, bring up the rear of the whole army; you, Alceunas, who command them, take care on the present occasion to be in the rear of all, and suffer none to fall behind your horse. 43. And you, commanders, and all of you that are wise, take care to march in silence; for it is by means of the ears, rather than the eyes, that you must observe and manage everything during the night; and to be thrown into disorder in the night is of much worse consequence than in the day, and more difficult to be remedied. Silence must therefore be maintained and order preserved. 44. And the night-watches, when you are to rise and march in the night, you must make as short and as numerous as is possible, that

long watching on the night-guard may not incapacitate any one for marching; and when the time comes for setting forward, the signal is to be given with the horn. 45. And be ready, all of you, on the road to Babylon, each furnished with everything necessary; and let those in advance from time to time exhort those in the rear to follow."

46. They then went off to their tents, and, on their way, observed among themselves how retentive a memory Cyrus had, and how, as he gave his orders to those to whom he assigned their places, he addressed each of them by name.<sup>1</sup> 47. This Cyrus was enabled to do by giving his attention to it; for he thought it very strange, if, while artificers know the names of their tools, each in his own art, and a physician knows the names of all the instruments and medicines that he uses, a general should be so foolish as not to know the names of the commanders under him, whom he must necessarily use as his instruments whenever he wishes to seize on any post, to keep on guard, to encourage his men, or to strike terror into the enemy; and when he desired to do honour to any one, he thought it became him to address him by name. 48. He was of opinion, too, that those who thought themselves known to their commander, would thus be more eager to be seen performing some honourable action, and more anxious to abstain from doing anything that was disgraceful. 49. He thought it very foolish also, when a person wished anything to be done, for him to give orders as some masters give theirs in their families, "Let somebody go for water, let somebody cleave the wood;" 50. for when orders were given in such a manner, all the servants seemed to him to look one at another, and no one to execute what was ordered; and while all appeared to be in fault, yet no one was ashamed or afraid on account of his culpability, because he shared the blame equally with several others. For these reasons, he named every one when he gave his orders. Such was Cyrus's judgment on this point.

51. The soldiers, having taken their suppers, arranged the watches, and packed up everything that was necessary, went to rest. 52. When it was midnight, the signal was given with the horn; and Cyrus, having told Chrysantas that he would

<sup>1</sup> Ὡς μνημονικῶς ὁ Κύρος, ὁπόσοις συνέταττε, πᾶσιν, ὀνομάζων, ἐνετέλλετο.] "With how good a memory Cyrus gave orders to all, as many as he assigned posts, calling them by name"

wait in the road in advance of the army, rode off, taking his attendants with him. In a short time after, Chrysantas came up at the head of those that were armed with corslets. 53. Cyrus, assigning him guides, ordered him to march gently on till a messenger came to him, as the troops were not yet all upon the march; he himself, standing by the way-side, sped forward, in order, those that came up, and sent to hurry on such as were dilatory. 54. When they were all in motion, he despatched horsemen to Chrysantas, to tell him, that all were now upon the march: "Lead on, therefore," said he, "at a quicker pace;" 55. and, riding forward himself to the front, he observed, at leisure, the several divisions, and to such as he saw marching orderly and silently, he rode up, and inquired who they were, and when he was informed, commended them; but if he perceived any of them disorderly, he inquired into the cause, and endeavoured to put a stop to the confusion.

56. One particular only, in his precautions for the night, has been omitted; which is, that, in advance of the whole army, he sent a small body of light-armed foot, who were kept in sight by Chrysantas, and kept him in their sight;<sup>1</sup> so that, listening attentively, or getting notice of things, if they could, by any other means, they might communicate to him whatever the occasion seemed to require. There was a captain over them, who kept them in order, and notified what was worthy of notice; what was not so, he gave no disturbance by telling. Thus they proceeded during the night.

57. When it was day, Cyrus left the Cadusian horse with the Cadusian foot, because they marched in the rear, in order that they might not march uncovered by horse. But the rest of the cavalry he ordered to advance to the front, because the enemy were before them; in order that, if any force opposed him, he might meet it with his troops in battle-array, and come to an engagement, and, if any party should be seen fleeing, he might pursue with the utmost expedition. 58. He had always ready, in order, both those that were to pursue, and those that were to remain by him; but the general order of the whole he never suffered to be broken. 59. This was the order in which Cyrus led his army. He himself was not always in the same place, but, riding about, sometimes to one

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that it must have been moon-light.

part and sometimes to another, inspected the whole, and, if they had need of any directions, took care to give them. Thus did Cyrus's forces pursue their march.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Gadatas, wounded by a traitor, is saved by Cyrus. Rash excursion of the Cadusians, who lose their leader and many others. Cyrus receives them kindly on their return, admonishes them, and makes reprisals on the enemy with their new leader. A compact between Cyrus and the Assyrians to spare the husbandmen. Gadatas, leaving a garrison in his fortress, accompanies Cyrus. Cyrus explains why he wished, in passing Babylon, to leave it at some distance. He captures three forts.

1. A CERTAIN officer of Gadatas's troop of cavalry, one of the chief men, when he saw Gadatas revolt from the Assyrian, had conceived the notion, that if Gadatas should meet with any ill-fortune, he himself might obtain from the Assyrian king all that belonged to him. He accordingly sent one of those whom he trusted most to the king of Assyria; and ordered the messenger, if he found the Assyrian army already in Gadatas's territory, to tell the king, that, if he would lay an ambuscade, he might take Gadatas and all that were with him. 2. He directed him also to state what force Gadatas had, and to say that Cyrus was not accompanying him; and he told him the road that he intended to take. Moreover, in order to be the better trusted, he sent orders to his own people to deliver up to the Assyrian king a fort of which he had possession, in the territory of Gadatas, and all that was in it; and he said that he would come himself, after he had, if he could, put Gadatas to death, but if this should be impracticable, at least to continue with the king of Assyria for the future. 3. When the person intrusted with this commission, having ridden with all possible speed, was come to the Assyrian king, and had made known the object with which he came, the king, on hearing it, at once took possession of the fort, and placed himself in ambush, with a great number of cavalry and chariots, in some villages that lay very close together. 4. Gadatas, when he came near these villages, sent forward some scouts to explore them. The Assyrian king, when he perceived the

scouts approaching, ordered two or three chariots and a few horse to quit their post, and betake themselves to flight, as being terrified from being but few. The scouts, as soon as they saw this, went on themselves in pursuit, and made signals to Gadatas; who, being thus deceived, pursued with all speed. The Assyrians, when they thought Gadatas near enough to be taken, started up from their ambuscade. 5. Gadatas and his party, seeing their approach, took, as was natural, to flight; and the others, as was natural, pursued; when the contriver of the plot against Gadatas struck at him, and though he failed in inflicting a mortal injury, hit him upon the shoulder, and wounded him; and, having done this, he made off to join the pursuers. When it was known who he was, he urged on his horse with zeal, in company with the Assyrians, and continued the pursuit with the king. 6. Here those who had the slowest horses were of course overtaken by those who had the fleetest; and when all Gadatas's cavalry were hard pressed, from being exhausted with their previous march, they beheld Cyrus advancing with his army; and we may imagine that they made up to them with joy and pleasure, as if they were putting into a port after a storm.

7. Cyrus was at first surprised to see them, but when he understood what the matter was, he continued, during the time that the enemy were riding up towards him, to lead his men forward in order; but when the enemy, finding how things were, turned and fled, Cyrus commanded those that were appointed for that purpose to pursue; while he himself followed with the rest of the troops, in such a manner as he thought most advantageous. 8. Upon this occasion, several chariots were taken, some from the drivers falling off, (partly in wheeling round, and partly in other ways,) and some from being intercepted by the horse; and the pursuers killed a great number, and amongst them the man that wounded Gadatas. 9. Of the Assyrian foot, that were besieging the fortress of Gadatas, some fled to the fort that had revolted from Gadatas, and some escaped to a large city that belonged to the Assyrian king, where also the Assyrian monarch himself, with his cavalry and chariots, took refuge.

10. Cyrus, having made an end of the pursuit, retreated into the territory of Gadatas, and after directing the proper persons to attend to the booty, proceeded at once to see how much



Gadatas was suffering from his wound ; but, as he was on his way, Gadatas met him with his wound already bound up. Cyrus, at sight of him, was greatly delighted, and said, "I was coming to you to see how you were." 11. "And I, by the gods," said Gadatas, "was coming to gaze on you again, and to see what sort of person you are to look upon, you who are possessed of such a soul ; you who, neither having, I know, any need of me, nor having promised to do such services for me, nor having personally received any benefit whatever from me, have yet, because I was thought to have done some service to your friends, so zealously assisted me, that, as far as I myself was concerned, I had now perished, but, by your means, am saved. 12. By the gods, Cyrus, if I were such as I once was, and were to have children, I do not know whether I could ever have a son so affectionate to me ; for I know that not only many another son, but that this present king of the Assyrians particularly, has caused more affliction to his father than he can now cause to you.

13. To this address Cyrus replied, "Do you now wonder at me, Gadatas, and omit to notice a much greater wonder ?" "What is that ?" said Gadatas. "That so many Persians," rejoined Cyrus, "so many Medes, so many Hyrcanians, as well as all these Armenians, Sacians, and Cadusians, have been so earnest in your service." 14. Gadatas then prayed, saying, "O Jupiter ! may the gods bestow many blessings upon them, but most upon him who is the cause that they are such as they are ! But that we may properly entertain those whom you commend, Cyrus, accept these presents of friendship, such as I am able to tender you." He at the same time brought up supplies in great abundance, so that he who wished might sacrifice, and that the whole army might be entertained in a manner worthy of their noble acts and their great good fortune.

15. Meanwhile the Cadusian general still commanded in the rear, and had no share in the pursuit ; but being desirous himself also to achieve something splendid, he made an excursion into the territory of Babylon, without communicating his intention, or saying anything of it to Cyrus. But the Assyrian, as he was going from that city of his to which he had fled, with his army in close array, fell in with the cavalry of the Cadusian, which were then dispersed ; 16. and, as soon as

he found that they were the Cadusians alone, attacked them, killed their commander and many others, captured numbers of their horses, and took from them the spoil that they were carrying off. Having then pursued as far as he thought safe, he turned back, and the Cadusians got safe to the camp, at least the foremost of them, towards evening.

17. Cyrus, as soon as he learned what had happened, went out to meet the Cadusians, and of such as he saw wounded, some he took and sent to Gadatas, that they might be attended to, and others he lodged in tents, and took care that they should have everything necessary, taking some of the Persian Equals-in-honour to be his assistants; for, in such circumstances, men of good feeling willingly afford their aid; 18. and he seemed evidently to be greatly afflicted; so that, while others were taking their suppers, when the time for it was come, Cyrus, continuing still with the attendants and surgeons, did not willingly leave any one neglected, but looked to all with his own eyes; or, if he could not attend to them himself, he was observed to send others to take care of them. 19. Thus at length they went to rest.

But as soon as it was day, he summoned the officers of the other troops, and all the Cadusians, to assemble before him, and addressed them to this effect: "Friends and allies, the misfortune that has happened to us, is such as is incident to human nature; for I think it not at all wonderful, that, being men, we should be guilty of error. We ought, however, to reap some profit from the calamity, and to learn never to separate from our whole body a force inferior to that of the enemy. 20. I do not say," continued he, "that we are never to march, where it may be necessary, with a detachment even yet less than that with which the Cadusian marched on this occasion; but if a general march away, after having concerted with another who is able to support him, though he may indeed be deceived, yet he that remains behind may, by deceiving the enemy, turn them in another direction, away from those that have gone forth; he may procure safety to his friends by giving other employment to his enemies, and thus he that separates himself will not be wholly detached, but will continue dependent on the strength of the main body; but he that marches off without communicating whither he is going, is in the same condition as if he were making war alone. 21.

But," he proceeded, "if the gods please, we shall shortly have our revenge on the enemy for this infliction. As soon as you have breakfasted, I will lead you out to the spot where the affair took place, and we will both bury our dead, and, if the gods permit us, will let the enemy see men superior to themselves upon the very ground where they think they have triumphed, that they may not look with pleasure upon the place where they butchered our fellow-combatants. If they will not come out against us, we will burn their villages and lay waste their country, that they may not be delighted at contemplating what they themselves have done to us, but be afflicted at the sight of their own calamities. 22. "Go, then," said he, "the rest of you, and take your breakfasts; and you, Cadusians, first go and choose a commander according to your custom, who, with the help of the gods, and in concert with us, may attend to you, in whatever way you may require; and when you have made your choice and taken your breakfast, send him you have chosen to me."

23. The Cadusians acted accordingly; and Cyrus, when he had led out the army, placed the commander chosen by the Cadusians in his station, and ordered him to lead on his force near to himself, "that we may, if we can," said he, "restore the courage of the men." They then marched on, and coming to the place, buried the Cadusians, and laid the country waste. Having done this, and supplied themselves with provisions from the enemy's country, they again retreated into the territory of Gadatas.

24. But, considering that those who had revolted to him, being in the neighbourhood of Babylon, would suffer severely, unless he himself was always at hand to protect them, he desired all those of the enemy that he dismissed, to tell the Assyrian, and he himself sent a herald to him with a message to the same effect, "that he was ready to let the labourers employed in the culture of the lands alone, and to do them no injury, if he, on the other hand, would allow the labourers of such as had revolted to himself, to pursue their work; 25. "though indeed," added he, "if you are able to hinder them, you will hinder but a few, for the land belonging to those that have revolted to me, is but little; while I should allow a large portion of land to be cultivated for you; and, as to gathering in the crop, if the war continues, he that is superior in arms,

I suppose, must gather it; but if there be peace, it is plain that it must be you; but if any of my people take up arms against you, or any of yours against me, we will both, if we can, take vengeance on them." 26. Having delivered this message to the herald, he despatched him.

When the Assyrians heard of this proposal, they did all that they could to persuade the king to comply with it, and to leave as little of war remaining as was possible. 27. The Assyrian monarch, accordingly, whether from being persuaded by his people, or from his own inclination, consented; and an agreement was made that there should be peace to those that were employed in labour, and war to those that should bear arms. 28. Such an agreement did Cyrus make with respect to the labouring people; but the pastures of the cattle he ordered his own friends to settle, if they thought fit, within their own jurisdiction. Booty from the enemy they carried off wherever they could, in order that the service might be more agreeable to the allies; for the dangers were the same, even if they did not take provisions, and to subsist by plundering the enemy seemed to render the service the lighter.

29. When Cyrus was preparing to march away, Gadatas came to him, bringing and leading forward presents of all kinds, and in great abundance, as coming from large possessions, and a great many horses which he had taken from his own horsemen whom he mistrusted, in consequence of the late plot against him. 30. When he drew near, he spoke thus: "I offer you these things, Cyrus, for the present; use them, if you have need of them; and consider," added he, "that everything else belonging to me is yours; for there neither is, nor will be, any one sprung from myself, to whom I may leave my possessions; but my whole family and name," said he, "must of necessity be extinguished with me when I die. 31. And this misery I suffer, Cyrus," said he, "I swear to you by the gods, who see everything, and hear everything, without having said or done anything unjust or dishonourable." As he said this, he burst into tears at his wretched fate, and was unable to say more.

32. Cyrus, on hearing these words, pitied his unhappy lot, and replied to him thus: "The horses," said he, "I accept; for I shall do you service, by giving them to men better affected to you, it seems, than they who had them before; and shall soon

make up the Persian cavalry to ten thousand men, a number which I have long desired; the rest of your property take away, and keep until you see me in such a condition as not to be outdone by you in making presents; for, if you part from me, giving me more than you receive from me, I know not, by the gods, how it is possible for me not to feel ashamed."

33. To this address Gadatas answered, "I intrust them to you, for I see your disposition; and as to keeping them myself, consider whether I am fit to do so. 34. While, indeed, we were friends with the Assyrian king, my father's possessions seemed to be the finest that could be; for, as they were near our metropolis, Babylon, we enjoyed all the advantages that we could possibly receive from a great city; and whatever annoyances we might suffer from the bustle, we escaped by retiring hither to our home; but now, since we are at enmity with him, it is plain that, when you are gone, both we ourselves, and all that belongs to us, will be assailed with machinations, and we shall, I conceive, live in the greatest uneasiness, having our enemies close upon us, and seeing them stronger than ourselves. 35. Perhaps somebody may remark to me, And why did you not consider this before you revolted? Because, by reason of the injuries which I received, and the resentment which I felt, my mind, Cyrus, never dwelt upon the consideration of what was safest, but was always teeming with the thought, whether it would ever be in my power to take revenge upon this enemy both to the gods and men, who passes his days in hating, not the man that may have done him an injury, but every one that he imagines to be superior to himself. 36. This villain, therefore, will, I conceive, find supporters in such as are worse than himself. But if any one appear better than he, there will be no need for you, Cyrus, (be assured,) to fight against a good character, for the villain himself will be sufficient to carry on the work till he has cut off the man better than himself; and indeed, in annoying me, he will, I feel certain, even with the aid of bad characters, easily get the advantage."

37. Cyrus, on hearing this speech, was of opinion that Gadatas said what was worthy of attention; and he immediately replied, "Have we not, then, strengthened your fortresses with garrisons, that they may be safe for you to use them as you please, whenever you go thither? And are you not going on military service with us, that, if the gods continue as a

present to support us he may be in fear of you, and not you of him? Whatever of yours you would like to see with you, and whomsoever you like to converse with, bring with you, and accompany us. You will be, as I expect, extremely useful to me, and I will endeavour to be useful to you in whatever respects I can."

38. Gadatas, hearing this, recovered himself, and said, "Should I be able to collect my baggage, and be ready before you march? for I should like," added he, "to take my mother with me." "Yes, by Jupiter," said Cyrus, "you will be ready soon enough; for I will wait till you say that all is right." 39. Gadatas accordingly went and strengthened the several fortresses, in concert with Cyrus, with garrisons,<sup>1</sup> and prepared every thing to bring with him with which a large house might be handsomely furnished. He took with him, of those whom he trusted, such as he liked, and several of those also whom he distrusted, obliging some of them to take their wives, and some their sisters with them, that, by their means, he might hold them, as it were, bound. 40. Cyrus immediately proceeded on his march, keeping Gadatas among those about him, as one able to give him information about the roads, springs of water, forage, and provisions, so that he might encamp in the best supplied places.

41. When, in the course of his march, he came in sight of the city of Babylon, and the way that he was going appeared to lead close under the walls, he called Gobryas and Gadatas, and asked whether there was any other way, that he might not lead the army quite so near to the wall. 42. Gobryas then said, "My sovereign, there are many ways; but I thought that you desired to march as near to the city as possible, that you might show them that your army is now numerous and of fine appearance; because, when you had a less force, you marched up to the walls, and they saw that we were not very numerous; and now, though the Assyrian king is in some degree prepared, as he said that he would be prepared, to give you battle, I know that, when he sees your strength, his preparations will appear to him to be very insufficient."

43. Cyrus, in reply, said, "You seem to me, Gobryas, to

<sup>1</sup> In sect. 37, it is said, that the fortresses *had been already strengthened with garrisons*. We may suppose that Xenophon intended to say that some addition was now made to the strength of the garrisons, but we may well ask why he did not so express himself.

wonder that, when I came with a less army, I led it up to the very walls ; 44. but that now, when I have a greater force, I am unwilling to march near them : but do not be surprised at my determination," continued he, "for to lead up to a place, and to march by it, is not the same thing. All commanders advance upon a place with their men in such order that they may be most efficient for fighting ; and those who are wise will retreat so as to go off in the safest manner, not in the quickest ; 45. but it is necessary to march past a place with the carriages extended in a line, and with the rest of the baggage in loose order ; and all this line must be covered by armed troops, and the baggage-train must nowhere appear to the enemy unprotected by a force ; 46. and, marching in this manner, the strength of the army must of necessity be extended in a comparatively slender and weak line. If then the enemy should have a mind, from within the walls, to make an attack on any part in a close body, they would engage, wherever they might make their assault, with much more effect than those upon the march ; 47. and to men that are marching in a train, succours must be brought from a great distance ; but, to those that march out from within their walls, the distance is short to the nearest point of the enemy, either to retire to it or to return from it. 48. But if we do not pass by at less distance than we have our line now extended on the march, they will see our numbers ; and the whole multitude, by reason of the armed men covering it, appears terrible ; 49. and if, while we are marching thus, they attack us in any part, we shall, from seeing them from a distance, not be taken unprepared ; but they will rather, my friends," said he, "forbear to attack us, when they would have to march a great distance from their walls, unless they think themselves, with their whole force, superior to our whole force ; for retreat will be perilous to them."

50. As he said this, he appeared to those present to speak with judgment, and Gobryas led the way, as he directed him ; and while the army was moving past the city, he always, as he drew off, made that part of it that was left in the rear the strongest.

51. When, marching on thus, he had arrived in the due number of days,<sup>1</sup> at the confines of the Assyrians and Medes,

<sup>1</sup> 'Εν ταῖς γινόμεναις ἡμέραις.] This is Fischer's interpretation

from whence he had set out, as there were here three forts belonging to the Assyrians, he attacked one, the weakest of them, and took it by force; the other two, Cyrus by terror, and Gadatas by persuasion, prevailed with the garrisons to surrender.

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## CHAPTER V.

The reinforcement, for which Cyrus had sent to Persia, comes to join Cyaxares, who proceeds with it to the camp of Cyrus. Cyrus goes with his cavalry to meet Cyaxares, who expresses displeasure at Cyrus's proceedings, but is at length conciliated, and accompanies Cyrus to the camp. Attention shown to Cyaxares. Cyrus addresses his troops respecting the mode in which the allies should be treated.

1. WHEN this matter was concluded, he sent to Cyaxares, and requested him, in a letter, to come to the army, that they might consult what use to make of the forts which they had taken; and that, after surveying the army, he might advise, with regard to the rest of their proceedings, what he thought proper for them to do next: "And tell him," said he, "that if he wishes, I will come and encamp with him." The messenger set out to deliver this message. 2. Cyrus meanwhile gave orders to prepare the Assyrian king's tent, which the Medes had chosen for Cyaxares, in the most handsome possible manner, not only with the other furniture which they had, but also to introduce into the women's apartment the two women, and together with them the female musicians, that had been selected for Cyaxares. The men that received these orders executed them accordingly.

3. When he that was sent to Cyaxares had delivered his message, Cyaxares, after listening to him, decided that it was best for the army to remain on the borders; for the Persian troops, for whom Cyrus had sent, had arrived, and consisted of forty thousand archers and peltasts. 4. As he saw that these troops did hurt, in many ways, to the Median territory, he thought it would be better to get rid of them, rather than admit another multitude. The Persian general therefore, who and appears to be right. Some have translated, "on the following days."



had brought this force from Persia, having inquired of Cyaxares, according to the letter of Cyrus,<sup>1</sup> whether he had need of the army, and Cyaxares telling him that he had none, proceeded that very day, as he heard that Cyrus was at hand, to conduct the army to him.

5. The next day Cyaxares set forward with the Median horse that remained with him; and Cyrus, as soon as he perceived him approaching, taking the Persian horse, who were now very numerous, with all the cavalry of the Medes, Armenians, and Hyrcanians, and such of the other allies as were best horsed and armed, rode to meet him, and to show Cyaxares his force.

6. Cyaxares, when he saw a great many splendid and excellent troops attending Cyrus, and but a small and comparatively mean retinue accompanying himself, felt it as something dishonourable; and great concern fell upon him. When Cyrus, alighting from his horse, came up to him, intending to kiss him according to custom, Cyaxares indeed also alighted, but turned from him, and did not kiss him, but burst openly into tears. 7. Cyrus in consequence ordered all the rest that were there to retire and wait; while he himself, taking Cyaxares by the right hand, and conducting him out of the road under some palm-trees, ordered Median quilts to be spread for him, and, making him sit down, sat down himself by him, and spoke thus:

8. "O uncle," said he, "tell me, I beg you, by the gods, for what reason you are angry with me, and what disagreeable thing you have seen, that you take thus amiss?" Cyaxares then answered, "It is, Cyrus," said he, "that I, who am regarded as sprung from a long line of ancestors, as far back as the memory of man can reach, and from a father who was a king, and who am myself esteemed as a king, should see myself marching thus meanly and unbecomingly, and you, with my retinue, and other forces, appearing here in power and magnificence. 9. I should think it hard to be placed in such circumstances even by enemies, and find it much harder (O Jupiter!) to be placed in them by those by whom I ought least of all to be thus treated; for I think that I could sink into the earth ten times more willingly than be seen with this poor attendance, and behold my own people thus slighting and

<sup>1</sup> iv. 5. 31.

scorning me; for I am not ignorant, not only that you are more powerful than myself, but that my own slaves meet me in greater power, and are in such a condition as to be rather able to do me harm, than liable to suffer it at my hands." 10. As he said this, he was still more overcome by his tears, so that he drew tears also into the eyes of Cyrus.<sup>1</sup>

Cyrus, after pausing a little, said, "In this, Cyaxares, you neither say truly nor judge rightly, if you think that the Medes, by my presence, are put into such a condition as to have the power of doing you harm. Yet I do not wonder that you feel some displeasure. 11. But whether you are justly or unjustly offended at the Medes, I shall forbear to consider; for I know you would be displeased to hear me make an apology for them. But for a ruler to show anger towards all his people at once, I regard as a grave error; for, by threatening a multitude, he must of necessity make that multitude his enemies, and, by exhibiting resentment at them all together, he must inspire them with unity of feeling against him. 12. Hence it was, be assured, that I would not send these men away without me, being afraid lest something might happen through your anger that might afflict us all. This point, however, with the aid of the gods, may be comfortably settled while I am present. But that you should think yourself injured by me, is a circumstance at which I am greatly concerned, and shall feel sorry, if, while I have been striving, as much as was in my power, to do all possible service to my friends, I am now thought to have done quite the contrary. 13. But let us not thus charge one another at random; let us, if possible, consider fairly what offence there is on my part. I have a proposal, then, to make to you, the fairest that can be between friends: if I shall appear to have done you any harm, I will confess that I have acted wrong; but if I appear neither to have done nor to have wished you any harm, will not you, on the other hand, confess that you have not been wronged by me?" 14. "I must," said he, "of necessity." "But if I plainly appear to have done you service, and to have been zealous to do you all the service that I could, shall I not deserve commendation from you, rather than reproach?" "It is but just," said he. 15. "Come then," said Cyrus, "and let

<sup>1</sup> Ὡστε καὶ τὸν Κύρου ἐπεσπάσατο ἐμπλησθῆναι δακρύων τὰ ὄμματα.<sup>1</sup> "Drew Cyrus to be filled as to his eyes with tears."

us consider all the things that I have done, one by one ; for thus it will appear, most evidently, which of them was good and which was ill. 16. Let us begin from the commencement of this military command of mine, if this be, in your opinion, to go back far enough. When you perceived that a large force of your enemies was assembled, and that they were about to make an attempt upon you and upon your country, you sent immediately to the public council of Persia to solicit assistance, and to me individually to desire me to endeavour, if any Persians marched to join you, to come as their commander. Was not I, by you, persuaded to this undertaking, and did I not come, and bring you as many and as brave men as I could ?” 17. “ You did come,” said he. “ First, then,” said he, “ tell me whether in this proceeding you had to attribute to me any wrong towards you, or rather benefit ?” “ It is plain,” said Cyaxares, “ that in this particular I must impute benefit to you.” 18. “ And then,” said Cyrus, “ when the enemies advanced, and we had to engage them, did you perceive that at that juncture I spared any pains, or shrunk from facing any danger ?” “ No, by Jove,” said Cyaxares, “ not in the least.” 19. “ And when, with the assistance of the gods, the victory was ours, and the enemy retreated, I exhorted you that we should jointly pursue them, take joint revenge upon them, and, if anything honourable or beneficial should befall us, jointly share it ; can you charge me in any of these points with any unreasonable regard for myself ?” 20. At this question Cyaxares was silent, and Cyrus again spoke thus : “ But if it is more agreeable to you to be silent than to answer this question, tell me,” said he, “ whether you thought yourself injured, because, when you did not consider it safe to pursue, I did not allow you to share in the danger, but only desired you to send me some of your cavalry ? For if I wronged you in making this request, especially after having devoted myself to you as an ally, let this fact be demonstrated by yourself.” 21. When Cyaxares kept silence at this inquiry also, “ If you will not reply to this,” said Cyrus, “ tell me then whether I did you any wrong, when you gave me for answer, that, as you saw the Medes indulging themselves in pleasure, you were unwilling to put a stop to it, and oblige them to run again into danger ; and whether you think that I put any hardship upon you, when, forbearing from all resentment

towards you, I again made you a request, than which I knew there was nothing more easy for you to grant to me, or more easy to be imposed on the Medes; for I merely asked you to allow any of them, that wished, to follow me; 22. and when I had obtained this favour from you, I had effected nothing unless I could persuade them; I went therefore, and persuaded them, and those with whom I prevailed I took, and marched away with them with your permission. If you consider this to be deserving of blame, it is not blameless, it would appear, to take from you what you yourself grant. 23. Thus, then, we set forward; and when we were out in the field what was done by us there that was not apparent? Was not the camp of the enemy taken? Were not many of those, that had advanced upon you, killed? and of the enemies that remained alive, were there not many despoiled of their arms, and many of their horses? The property of those that before plundered and ravaged yours, you now see your friends plundering and ravaging, and bringing some of it to you, and some to those that are under your dominion. 24. But, what is the most important and honourable of all, you see your own territory enlarged, and that of your enemies diminished; you see the fortresses of the enemy occupied by your own troops and yours, that had been taken and annexed to the Assyrian dominion, now, on the contrary, yielded to you. 25. Of these things whether any be evil, or whether any be not good, I know not how I can say that I desire to learn; but nothing hinders me from hearing; tell me accordingly what your opinion is concerning them."

Cyrus, having spoken thus, was silent. Cyaxares, in answer, said, "Indeed, Cyrus, I do not know how I can say that what you have done is ill, but be well assured," said he, "that these services of yours are of such a kind, that the more numerous they appear, the more they distress me. 26. I should rather wish to enlarge your territory with my forces, than to see mine thus enlarged by yours; for these acts, to you that perform them, are glorious, but on me they seem in some degree to throw dishonour. 27. Wealth, also, I feel that I should be better pleased to bestow upon you, than to receive it from you as you now offer it to me; for I see myself enriched by you with such gifts that I feel, as it were, made poorer; and if I were to see my subjects, in some de-

gree, injured by you, I believe that I should feel less concerned than I am now, when I see them receiving great benefits at your hands. 28. If I appear to you to think unreasonably in this respect, do not contemplate these things with reference to me, but transfer them all to yourself, and then consider how they appear. For if any one should caress your dogs, which you keep to protect you and yours, and make them more familiar with himself than with you, would he please you by such attention? 29. Or if this appear to you but a trifling matter, consider this: if any one should treat your servants, whom you have procured to guard and attend you, in such a manner, that they become more willing to be his servants than yours, would you think yourself obliged to him for his kindness? 30. And again, with reference to a matter on which men most set their affections, and cherish with the deepest regard, if any one should pay such court to your wife, as to make her love him better than you, would he delight you with such a service? Far from it, I think," added he; "nay, I know that, in acting thus, he would do you the greatest of injuries. 31. But that I may mention what is most applicable to my own case, if any one should pay such attention to the Persians that you have conducted hither, that they would become more willing to follow him than to follow you, would you think that man your friend? I believe you would not, but would think him more your enemy, than if he killed great numbers of them. 32. Or if any friend of yours, when you might tell him, in a friendly way, that he might take as much of what belonged to you as he pleased, should, on hearing this, go and take all that he could, and enrich himself with what belonged to you, while you would not have enough for moderate use, could you possibly think such a one an unexceptionable friend? 33. Yet I seem now to have been treated by you, if not in the same, yet in a very similar, manner; for what you say is true; when I told you to take such of the troops as were willing to go, you went off with my whole force, and left me deserted; and now you bring me what you have captured with my own army; and you enlarge my territory with the aid of my own power; while I, having had no share in obtaining these advantages, seem to give myself up, like a woman, to receive favours; and you, in the eyes of others as well as my own subjects here, appear to be a man,

and I to be unworthy to rule. 34. Do you consider such acts as benefits, Cyrus? Be sure that if you had any concern for me, there is nothing of which you would be so careful not to rob me as my dignity and honour. What advantage is it to me, to have my land extended and myself brought into contempt? For I do not hold my dominion over the Medes by being in reality superior to them all, but rather from their estimation that we<sup>1</sup> are, in every way, superior to themselves."

35. Cyrus, interposing while Cyaxares was yet speaking, said, "I entreat you, uncle, by all the gods, if I ever before gratified you in anything, gratify me now in what I shall ask of you. 36. Desist from censuring me for the present, and when you have had experience of us, how we stand affected towards you, then, if what has been done by me appears to have been done for your service, when I salute you, salute me in return, and regard me as having been of advantage to you; but if otherwise, then blame me." "Perhaps, indeed," said Cyaxares, "you speak reasonably; and I will do so." "Well then," said Cyrus, "shall I kiss you?" "If you please," said he. "And you will not turn from me, as you did just now?" "I will not," said he. Cyrus then kissed him.

37. As soon as the Medes and Persians, and the rest, (for they were all anxious to see what would be the issue of the affair,) saw this termination to the conference, they were gratified and delighted.

Cyaxares and Cyrus, mounting their horses, then rode on before; the Medes followed Cyaxares, (for Cyrus gave them a signal to do so,) and the Persians followed Cyrus; and after these went the rest. 38. When they came to the camp, and had lodged Cyaxares in the tent that was furnished for him, those to whom orders had been given prepared everything suitable for him. 39. During the time that Cyaxares was disengaged, before supper, the Medes went in to him, some of themselves, but most of them at the direction of Cyrus, and brought him presents; one a beautiful cup-bearer, another an excellent cook, another a baker, another a musician; some brought him cups, and others fine raiment; and almost every one presented him with something out of what they had taken; 40. so that Cyaxares changed his opinion, and no

<sup>1</sup> 'Hμᾱς.] Cyaxares means himself and his ancestors. He had previously used the singular number.

longer thought either that Cyrus had alienated them from him, or that the Medes themselves were disposed to pay him less attention than before.

41. When it was time for supper, Cyaxares invited Cyrus, and desired that, since he had not seen him for some time, he would sup with him; but Cyrus said, "Do not require me to do so, Cyaxares. Do you not observe, that all those that are here with us, attend here at our summons?<sup>1</sup> I should not, therefore, act properly, if I were to appear to neglect them, and mind my own pleasure. When soldiers think themselves neglected, the best of them become much more despondent, and the worst of them much more presuming. 42. But you, especially after having come a long journey, take your supper at once; and if people come to pay their respects to you, receive them kindly, and entertain them well, that they may feel confidence in you. I will go and attend to the business to which I allude. 43. To-morrow," added he, "in the morning, all the proper persons shall attend here at your doors, that we may all consult together, how we are to proceed henceforward; and you, being present, will propose for our consideration, whether it will be proper to continue the war, or whether the time is come for disbanding the army."

44. Cyaxares then went to supper; and Cyrus, assembling such of his friends as were best able to judge, and to act with him if it should be necessary, addressed them to this effect: "What we at first prayed for, my friends, is now, by the favour of the gods, in our hands; for, wherever we march, we are masters of the country; we see our enemies weakened, and ourselves increased in numbers and strength; 45. and if they, who have now joined us as allies, be still willing to continue with us, we shall be much more likely to command success, whether we have occasion to act by force, or find it advisable to proceed by persuasion; that it may be the resolution of as many of our allies as possible, therefore, to stay with us, is not more my concern to effect than yours. 46. But as, when fighting is necessary, he that overcomes the greatest number is thought to be the most valorous; so, when it is necessary to use persuasion, he that makes the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Ὑφ' ἡμῶν—ἐπαιρόμενοι.] Compare sect. 1, where it is said that Cyrus had invited Cyaxares to a conference with respect to their future proceedings.

number to be of his opinion, may justly be esteemed the most eloquent and serviceable. 47. Do not, however, enter on that business, as if you expected to give us a specimen of the sort of speech that you use to each individual, but exert such influence that those who are persuaded by each of you may distinguish themselves by what they do. 48. You, then, attend to these matters; and I will try to make it my care that the soldiers, while they deliberate about continuing the war, may be supplied, as far as I can, with everything necessary."

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## BOOK VI.

### CHAPTER I.

The allies, assembling before the tent of Cyaxares, entreat Cyrus not to disband the army. Cyaxares comes forth, and it is decided to continue the war. Cyrus advises that the fortresses of the enemy should be taken from them, and new ones erected; his advice is approved. Cyrus chooses ground for his winter-quarters. The Persian cavalry is augmented in number, and chariots armed with scythes are constructed. Araspes falls in love with Panthea; Cyrus sends him as a spy among the enemy. Ab-radatas, the husband of Panthea, joins her, and assists Cyrus in preparing chariots. Cyrus builds towers on wheels.

1. HAVING passed the day in this manner, and taken their suppers, they went to rest. The next day, in the morning, all the allies came to the tent-door of Cyaxares; and, while Cyaxares, who had heard that there was a great number of people at his door, was dressing, Cyrus's friends presented to him several people, who entreated him to stay, some introducing Cadusians, some Hyrcanians, some Sacians, and one Gobryas; and Hystaspes presented the eunuch Gadatas, who also solicited Cyrus to remain. 2. Cyrus, who knew before that Gadatas had been almost killed with fear lest the army should be disbanded, laughed, and said, "It is evident, Gadatas, that you have been persuaded by Hystaspes here to entertain such feelings as you express." 3. But Gadatas, lifting up his hands to heaven, vowed that indeed he was not persuaded by Hystaspes to entertain such feelings; "but I know,"



said he, "that if you depart, my affairs will fall utterly to ruin. It was on this account," added he, "that I had some talk with Hystaspes, and asked him whether he knew what your intention was concerning the dismissal of the army."

4. Cyrus then said, "I have therefore, it appears, brought an unjust charge against Hystaspes." "Unjust indeed, Cyrus, by Jupiter," exclaimed Hystaspes; "for I merely told Gadatas that it would be impossible for you to continue in the field, as your father had sent for you." 5. "What do you say?" said Cyrus, "Durst you spread abroad such an assertion, whether I would or not?" "Yes, indeed," said he; "for I see that you are exceedingly desirous to go about among the Persians as an object to be gazed upon, and to exhibit to your father how you performed everything." Then Cyrus said, "And are not you desirous to go home?" "No, by Jove," said Hystaspes, "nor will I go, but stay and command here, till I make our friend Gadatas master of the Assyrian king." 6. Thus did they jest, with a mixture of seriousness, one with another.

Cyaxares then came forth in a magnificent dress, and seated himself on a Median throne. When all had assembled whose presence was required, and silence was made, Cyaxares spoke thus: "Friends and allies, since I am present, and am older than Cyrus, it is perhaps proper for me to open the council. It appears then to me, that it is now time to deliberate, in the first place, whether it be proper to proceed with the war, or at once to disband the army. Let any one who wishes, therefore," added he, "say what he thinks on this subject." 7. Upon this the Hyrcanian first spoke: "Friends and allies, I do not know whether there is any need of words, where facts themselves declare what is best to be done; for we all know that, by keeping together, we do more harm to our enemies than we suffer from them; but, when we were asunder, they treated us as was most agreeable to them, and most grievous to us." 8. After him the Cadusian general said, "Why should we speak of separating and going each of us to our homes, when it is not for our interest to separate, as it appears, even while we continue in the field; we ourselves, at least, attempted an enterprise, apart from your main body, and paid the penalty of it, as you all know." 9. After him, Artabazus, he who had once said that he was related to

Cyrus,<sup>1</sup> spoke thus: "I differ in opinion, Cyaxares, from those who have already spoken, so far as this: they say, that we ought to continue on military service, remaining here; but I say that it was when I was at home that I was on military service; 10. for I had often to go out with succour, when our property was driven off; I had frequently trouble with regard to our fortresses, as being liable to attacks; and I was continually in fear, and kept myself on guard; and all this I did at my own expense. But now I am in possession of the fortresses of the enemy; I am in no fear of them; I feast on what belongs to them, and I drink at the enemy's cost; since, then, there is war for me at home, and feasting here, it does not seem advisable to me to disband this common force." 11. After him Gobryas said, "Friends and allies, thus far<sup>2</sup> I applaud the faith of Cyrus; for he has been false in nothing that he promised; but, if he quit the country, it is plain that the Assyrian will be at rest, and not suffer the punishment due to him for the injuries which he has endeavoured to do you, and which he has in fact done to me; and I, in my turn, shall again suffer punishment at his hands for having become a friend to you."

12. After all these Cyrus spoke. "Nor has it escaped my consideration, friends," said he, "that, if we disband the army, our own power will be diminished, and that of the enemy will be again increased; for as many of them as have had their arms taken from them, will quickly make others; they that have lost their horses, will soon procure fresh ones; in the room of the men that have been killed, others will grow up and succeed; so that it will not be at all wonderful if they become able to give us trouble again very soon. 13. Why then did I request Cyaxares to propose a debate respecting the separation of the army? It was, you may be certain, because I was in fear for the future; for I know that there are adversaries advancing upon us, that we shall not be able, if we keep the field as at present, to resist. 14. The winter is coming on, and if we have tents for ourselves, we have none, by Jove, either for our horses, or for our attendants, or for the common soldiers; and, without these, we

<sup>1</sup> i. 4. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Gobryas hints that Cyrus will not have fully performed his promise to avenge the death of his son, if he should now break off the war and return to Persia.

shall be unable to prosecute the war. The provisions, wherever we have gone, have been consumed by us, and where we have not been, the enemy have carried them off, for fear of us, to their fortresses, so that they have them, and we are unable to procure them. 15. Which of us then is so brave or so strong, that he can carry on war, while struggling at the same time with hunger and cold? If therefore we have a prospect of continuing the war thus, I say that we ought rather to disband the army of our own accord, than be dispersed, against our will, by irremediable difficulties. But, if we resolve still to persevere with the war, I say that we ought to take the following course: We ought to endeavour, as soon as possible, to take from the enemy as many of their strong places as we can, and to erect as many places of strength as we can for ourselves; for, if this be done, that side will have provisions in the greatest abundance, who can secure and lay up the most, and the side that is inferior in strength will be besieged. 16. But now we are in a similar case with men who are sailing on the ocean; for they sail forward perpetually, but do not leave the part over which they have sailed at all more their own, than that over which they have not sailed; but, if we get fortresses, they will alienate the territory from the enemy, and everything on our side will be calm and undisturbed. 17. As for what some of you may perhaps fear, in case you should be placed in garrisons at a distance from your territory, you need be apprehensive of nothing of the kind; for we, since we are even now away from our own country, will take upon us to guard those parts of yours that are the nearest to the enemy; and you may occupy the parts of Assyria bordering on yourselves, and cultivate them; 18. for, if we can guard and preserve those parts that are near the enemy, you, who occupy the parts at a distance from them, will live in much peace; since they will not, I should think, neglect dangers that are close upon them, and form designs against you that are far off?"

19. When these suggestions were made, all the rest, as well as Cyaxares, stood up and declared that they would heartily join in executing them. Gadatas and Gobryas said, that if the allies would give them leave, they would each build a fortress which might be in the interest of the allies. 20. Cyrus, therefore, when he saw them all so zealous to do what he had

proposed, said, in conclusion, "If then we resolve to execute what we say ought to be done, we must as soon as possible procure machines to demolish the strong-holds of the enemy, and builders to erect fortresses of our own." 21. Accordingly Cyaxares promised to construct and supply one machine, Gadatas and Gobryas another, and Tigranes another; and Cyrus said that he would endeavour to furnish two.<sup>1</sup> 22. When these matters were settled, they procured artificers to make the machines, and each prepared the materials necessary for their fabric, and men, such as seemed the best qualified for the office, were appointed to have the charge of the work.

23. Cyrus, when he found that some time would be occupied in these affairs, encamped the army in such a situation as he thought most healthy and most accessible for everything necessary to be brought to it. He also did whatever was requisite for making it strong, that those who remained there might always be in safety, though he himself might encamp at a distance with the main body of the army. 24. Having inquired likewise of those whom he supposed to be best acquainted with the country, from what parts of it the army might be best supplied, he led out the troops from time to time in foraging parties, both that he might procure the greatest possible abundance of provisions for the army, that his men, inured to labour by these excursions, might gain health and vigour, and that, by marching, they might preserve in their memories the order that they were to keep. 25. Such were the occupations in which Cyrus employed himself.

Deserters now came from Babylon, with some prisoners, who brought word that the Assyrian king was gone towards Lydia, carrying with him many talents of gold and silver, and other treasures, and rich furniture of all kinds. 26. The most part of the soldiery supposed that he was conveying his treasures out of the way for fear; but Cyrus, feeling convinced that he was gone to collect, if he could, a force against him, made vigorous preparations for opposition, in the belief that

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *δύο* some copies have *ἄλλην*, which seems a preferable reading, because it is not likely that Cyrus would furnish two machines, when Cyaxares, who had plenty of means at command, and was now inclined to be munificent, furnished only one. Fischer supposes that Xenophon substituted *ἄλλην* for *δύο* in a second edition, "ut modestiæ Cyri serviret."

he should still have to fight. He accordingly made up the complement of Persian cavalry, getting some horses from the prisoners, and some from his friends ; for such gifts he accepted from all, refusing nothing, neither a fine weapon nor a steed, if any person presented him with one. 27. Chariots, likewise, he fitted up, both out of those that were taken, and by whatever other means he could.

The Trojan way<sup>1</sup> of managing chariots, that was practised of old, and the way of managing them that is yet in use amongst the Cyrenæans, he abolished ; for formerly the people of Media, Syria, and Arabia, and all those of Asia,<sup>2</sup> used the same method in managing their chariots which the Cyrenæans now use ; 28. as he was of opinion, that when the bravest of the men were mounted upon chariots, men who naturally constituted the chief strength of the army, they acted the part only of skirmishers at a distance, and contributed nothing of any importance to the attainment of victory. For three hundred chariots take three hundred combatants, and these chariots require twelve hundred horses ; and their drivers, doubtless, are men in whom these brave warriors can best confide, and there are three hundred others, who do the enemy not the least harm. 29. This mode of managing chariots therefore he abolished ; and in place of it provided a sort of war chariot, with wheels of great strength, so as not to be easily broken, and with long axletrees, as anything broad is less liable to be overturned. The seat for the drivers he made like a turret, of strong pieces of timber ; the height of these seats was up to the elbows of the drivers, so that the horses could be managed by reaching over the seats ; and he covered the drivers, all but their eyes, with complete armour. 30. To the axletrees, on each side of the wheels, he fixed steel scythes,<sup>3</sup> of about two cubits in length ; and others below, under the axletree, pointing to the ground ; intending with these chariots to break through the line of the enemy. As Cyrus, at that time, contrived these chariots, so, to this day,

<sup>1</sup> The Trojan chariots carried two men, a driver and a combatant ; the latter, when he had to fight, leaped down from the vehicle, and fought on the ground, as appears from Il. xi. 91 ; xvi. 426 ; Scheffer, R. V. 2. 15. The Cyrenæan chariots were manned in the same way ; but the fighting men remained in them in the field. *Fischer.*

<sup>2</sup> Used in a restricted sense, for a part of Asia.

<sup>3</sup> See Anab. i. 8. 10.

they use them in the king's territory. He had likewise camels in great number, some collected from his friends, and others taken from the enemy, all assembled together. 31. Thus were these matters arranged.

Being desirous to send a spy into Lydia, and to learn what the Assyrian king was doing, he conceived that Araspes, who had the beautiful woman under his care, was a proper person to go upon that enterprise ; for, with Araspes, things had taken a turn as follows. Being seized with a strong affection for the woman, he was led to make proposals to her concerning a union. 32. But she repulsed him, and continued faithful to her husband, though he was absent ; for she loved him very much ; yet she did not accuse Araspes to Cyrus, being unwilling to make a quarrel between friends. 33. But when Araspes, thinking that he would thus further the attainment of what he desired, threatened that if she would not submit willingly, she should do so against her will, she, from dread of violence, concealed the matter no longer, but sent a eunuch to Cyrus, with orders to tell him everything. 34. Cyrus, when he heard it, laughing at him who had said that he was above the power of love, sent Artabazus with the eunuch, desiring him to tell Araspes, that he was to use no violence to such a woman ; but that if he could prevail with her by persuasion, he would make no objection. 35. But Artabazus, coming to Araspes, reproached him, calling the woman a deposit that had been trusted to him, and telling him of his impiety, injustice, and inability to control his passion ; so that Araspes shed many tears for grief, sunk down with shame, and became almost dead with fear, lest he should suffer some penalty at the hands of Cyrus.

36. Cyrus, being informed of his distress, sent for him, and spoke to him by himself alone. "I find, Araspes," said he, "that you are in fear of me, and very much ashamed. But lay aside these feelings, for I have heard that gods have been conquered by love ; I know how much men, that have been accounted extremely wise, have suffered from love ; and I laid it to my own charge, that if I associated with beautiful people, I should not have strength of mind enough to be insensible to them. And I am the cause of what has befallen you, for I shut you up with this irresistible object." 37. Araspes said, in reply, "You are in this matter too, Cyrus, as

you are in others, mild, and disposed to forgive men's errors; but other men," added he, "overwhelm me with grief; for, since the rumour of my misfortune has gone abroad, my enemies exult over me, and my friends come to me, and advise me to keep myself out of the way, lest I suffer some severity at your hands, as having done you great wrong."

38. Cyrus then said, "Know, therefore, Araspes, that, by means of this very report, it is in your power to oblige me greatly, and to do very much service to our allies." "Would that it might happen," said Araspes, "that I might again have an opportunity of being of service to you!" 39. "If, then," said Cyrus, "you would pretend to flee from me, and go over to the enemy, I think that you would be trusted by them." "I know, by Jove," said Araspes, "that I should give occasion to have it said even by my friends that I fled from you." 40. "You might then return to us," said Cyrus, "with a knowledge of the enemy's affairs; for I believe that, from giving credit to you, they would make you a sharer in their debates and counsels, so that nothing of what we desire to know would be concealed from you." "I will go then," said he, "at once; for the supposition that I have made my escape from you, as being about to receive punishment at your hands, will be one of the things that will gain me credit."

41. "Will you be able, then," said Cyrus, "to leave the beautiful Panthea?" "Yes, Cyrus," said he, "for I have plainly two souls; I have now learned this point of philosophy by the aid of that wicked sophist Love; for a single soul cannot be good and bad at the same time, or affect, at the same time, both noble actions and dishonourable ones, or wish and not wish the same things at the same time; but it is plain that there are two souls,<sup>1</sup> and, when the good one prevails, noble acts are done; when the ill one prevails, dishonourable acts are attempted. But the good one, since it has found a supporter in you, has now the superiority, and to a very great degree." 42. "If you think it proper, then, to go," said Cyrus, "you must, in order to gain the greater credit with the enemy, act in this manner: you must tell them the state of our affairs, and tell it so that what is said by you may be the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this notion, which was advocated, seriously or in jest, by some of the old philosophers, see Plato de Repub. lib. iv pp. 360, 367, ed. Bip.

possible discouragement to what they intend to do; and it would be some discouragement if you were to say, that we are preparing to effect an entrance at some point of their territory; for, when they hear this, they will be less likely to assemble their whole force together, every one being in fear for what he has at home. 43. And stay with them," he concluded, "as long as you can; for what they do when they are nearest to us, will be the most for our purpose to know; and advise them, also, to form themselves into such order as may be thought the best; for, when you come away, and are supposed to have a knowledge of their order, they will be under a necessity to adhere to that order, as they will be afraid of making a change in it; or, if they do make a change, they will instantly throw themselves into confusion."

44. Araspes, accordingly, taking with him such of his adherents as he most trusted, and making such communications to certain persons as he thought would conduce to the success of his enterprise, took his departure.

45. Panthea, as soon as she heard that Araspes was gone, sent to Cyrus, and said, "Be not afflicted, Cyrus, that Araspes is gone over to the enemy; for, if you will allow me to send to my husband, I engage that there will come to you a much more faithful friend than Araspes. I know that he will join you with all the force that he can bring; for the father of the king now reigning was his friend, but the present king attempted once to part my husband and myself from each other; and, regarding him therefore as an insolent tyrant, I know that he would joyfully revolt from him to such a man as you are." 46. Cyrus, hearing these assurances, desired her to send to her husband. She accordingly sent; and when Abradatas recognised the tokens brought from his wife, and learned how other matters stood, he marched joyfully away to join Cyrus, having with him about a thousand<sup>1</sup> horse. When he came up to the Persian sentinels, he sent to Cyrus to let him know who he was. Cyrus immediately gave orders to conduct him to his wife.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους.] This is Dindorf's reading. Schneider, Weiske, and Hutchinson have ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. Zeune preferred χιλίους, as coming nearer to the number of chariots which Abradatas is said to have made in sect. 50. But as these would require only four hundred horses, they do not afford much ground for conjecture. Whichsoever of the two numbers we adopt, there seems to be no reason why the article should be retained.



47. When Abradatas and his wife saw each other, they mutually embraced, as may be supposed, at a meeting so unexpected. Panthea then told him of the integrity and discretion of Cyrus, and of his compassion towards her. Abradatas, on hearing this, said, "And how can I act, Panthea, so as to show my gratitude to Cyrus for you and for myself?" "How else," said Panthea, "but by endeavouring to behave towards him as he has behaved towards you?" 48. Upon this, Abradatas went to Cyrus, and, as soon as he saw him, taking him by the right hand, he said, "In return for the benefits which you have bestowed upon us, Cyrus, I can say nothing more than that I give myself to you as a friend, a servant, and an ally; and in whatever enterprises I see you engage, I will endeavour to be as efficient a supporter to you in them as I can." 49. Cyrus said, "I accept your kindness, and take leave of you for the present, that you may go to supper with your wife; at some other time, you must be my guest in my tent, together with your friends and mine."

50. Soon after, Abradatas, observing Cyrus engaged about the chariots armed with scythes, and about the horses and horsemen that were to be clothed in armour, endeavoured, out of his own body of horse, to fit up chariots, such as his were, to the number of a hundred; and he prepared to lead them, riding in a chariot himself. 51. His own chariot he formed with four poles, and for eight horses; (his wife Panthea, out of what she had with her, made him a breastplate of gold, and a golden head-piece, as well as arm-pieces;)<sup>1</sup> and the horses of his chariot he equipped with brazen mail. 52. In this manner did Abradatas occupy himself.

Cyrus, observing his chariot with four poles, conceived that it might be possible to make one with eight, so as to draw the lower story of the machines with eight yoke of oxen; this story, with its wheels, was about eighteen feet from the ground. 53. Towers of this kind, following in the line of the army, seemed to him likely to be a great support to his own troops, and a great means of doing mischief to the body of the enemy. Upon these stories he made galleries and parapets; and upon each tower he mounted twenty men. 54. When

<sup>1</sup> The words in the parenthesis are generally thought spurious or out of place. Bornemann suggests that they may have been manufactured by some meddler from c. iv. sect. 2.

everything about the towers was settled for him, he made trial of their draught; and the eight yoke of oxen drew a tower, and the men upon it, with more ease than each single yoke drew the common baggage weight; for the weight of baggage was about five and twenty talents<sup>1</sup> to each yoke; but the draught of a turret, with boards as thick as those of a tragic stage, and with twenty men and their arms, was but fifteen talents for each yoke. 55. When he found that the draught was easy, he prepared to take these towers with the army, considering that to secure advantage in war was safe, just, and likely to lead to success.

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## CHAPTER II.

The ambassadors from the Indian king, on their return, are sent to learn the state of affairs among the Assyrians. Preparations of Cyrus. The report brought by the Indian ambassadors excites some alarm among the Persians, which Cyrus allays by a speech to them. It is resolved to march at once against the enemy; and Cyrus instructs his men how they should prepare themselves.

1. At this time there came an embassy from the Indian king, bringing presents, and stated that the Indian sent the following message: "I am pleased, Cyrus, that you have told me what you wanted; I am desirous to be your friend, and I send you presents; if you wish for anything else, send for it. Orders have been given to those who come from me to do whatever you desire of them."

2. Cyrus, hearing this, said, "I desire then, that some of you, remaining here, where you have pitched your tents, may take care of the presents, and live as is most agreeable to you. But go forward, three of you, to the enemy, as if you came from the Indian king to treat of an alliance, and, informing yourselves of what they are saying and doing there, bring me and the Indian monarch an account of it as soon as is possible. If you serve me well in this matter, I shall feel yet more obliged to you, than for your coming and bringing me presents; for spies that appear like men of mean condition, can neither learn

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hussey, *Essay on Ancient Weights, &c.*, p. 43, gives the Attic talent as nearly 57 lbs. avoirdupois.

nor communicate anything more than what every one knows ; but such men as you are can often gain a knowledge of what is designed." 3. The Indians heard this proposal with pleasure, and, after being entertained on the occasion by Cyrus, prepared their baggage and went off the next day, promising faithfully to learn as much as they could of the enemy's plans, and to return as soon as possible.

4. Cyrus made all other preparations for the war in a magnificent manner, as a man who was meditating no mean enterprise, and not only attended to what was approved by the allies, but also excited among his friends a mutual emulation that they might appear each as handsomely armed as possible, each most skilled in horsemanship, most expert in throwing the javelin, most skilful in the use of the bow, and most ready to endure fatigue. 5. This he effected by leading them out to hunt, and rewarding such as were most meritorious in the several exercises. The officers that he observed most anxious that their men should excel, he animated by praising them, and by gratifying them in every way that he could. 6. Wherever he made a sacrifice, or solemnized a festival, he celebrated games on the occasion, in all the exercises that men practise with a view to war, and gave magnificent rewards to the conquerors ; and great alacrity prevailed throughout the army.

7. Almost everything that Cyrus wished to take with him to the field was now completed, except the machines ; for the Persian cavalry were made up to ten thousand ; the chariots, armed with scythes, that he himself had equipped, were now a full hundred ; those that Abradatas of Susa undertook to provide, like those of Cyrus, were also a complete hundred ; 8. and the Median chariots, which Cyrus had persuaded Cyaxares to alter from the Trojan and Libyan<sup>1</sup> form, were made up to another hundred. Men were also appointed for the camels ; two archers to each. Most of the troops, too, felt in such spirits as if they were already quite victorious, and as if the power of the enemy was nothing.

9. While they were in this temper, the Indians, whom Cyrus had sent to get intelligence from the enemy, returned, and said that Crœsus had been chosen leader and commander of

<sup>1</sup> See chap. i. sect. 27. Libyan is the same as Cyrenæan, Cyrene being in Africa or Libya.

all the enemy's forces ; that it had been determined by all the princes in their alliance that each should join the army with his whole force ; that they should contribute large sums of money, and expend them in hiring such troops as they could, and in making presents to those to whom it was proper to make them ; 10. that a great number of Thracians, armed with short swords,<sup>1</sup> were already hired ; that the Egyptians were under sail to join them, the number of whom, they said, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand, armed with shields that reached down to their feet, and large spears, such as they use at this day, and small swords ; they said that there was also a force of Cyprians ; that all the Cilicians, the people of both Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, Phœnicians, and Assyrians, with the prince of Babylon, had already arrived ; that the Ionians, the Æolians, and all the Greek colonies in Asia, were obliged to attend Crœsus ; 11. that Crœsus had sent to Lacedæmon, to propose an alliance ; that the army was assembled on the river Pactolus, and was about to advance to Thymbrara, where the place of assembly still is for all the barbarians of Lower Syria that are subject to the king ;<sup>2</sup> and that orders had been given to all, to bring thither provisions for sale. The prisoners gave nearly the same account ; for Cyrus had contrived that some of his own men should be taken by the enemy, in order that he might learn something from them ; and he sent out spies in the garb of slaves, pretending to be deserters.

12. When the army of Cyrus heard this news, every one, as was natural, was under concern ; they went about more sedately than usual, and did not appear at all cheerful ; they collected in groups, and all places were full of people, asking each other questions, and discoursing together concerning these matters.

13. As Cyrus perceived that alarm was spreading through the army, he called together the commanders of the several

<sup>1</sup> Μαχαροφόρους.] The Thracians, as well as the Sarmatians and the Getæ, (Ovid, Trist. v. 7, 19,) fought with knives or short swords, (cultris,) which were attached to their sides, and called μάχαραι. Fischer. Some fought with ἀκόντια, javelins, as appears from Xenophon's Mem. Soc. iii. 9. 2. Weiske.

<sup>2</sup> See note on Anab. i. 1. 2.

bodies, with all those from whose dejection any harm might arise, or whose cheerfulness might be of good effect, and gave notice to the inferior officers, that if any others of the soldiers wished to come and hear his speech, they should not hinder them. When they were assembled, he said,

14. "Friends and allies, I have called you together, because I observed that, since these accounts have come from the enemy, some of you appear like men that are afraid: for if any of you are really afraid because the enemy are assembling, it appears to me extremely surprising; and also, that since we are at this time collected in much greater force than when we defeated them, and, with the help of the gods, are now better equipped than before, you, seeing this to be the case, are not in the highest spirits. 15. In the name of the gods!" continued he, "how would you, who are afraid now, have felt, if people had brought you word that such an array as is now on our side was advancing against us, and you had heard, first of all, that they who had defeated us before were coming upon us again, thinking of the victory which they then obtained; 16. then, that they, who at that time repelled the discharge of missiles from the archers and javelin-men, were now coming, with multitudes more like themselves; next, that as these heavy-armed men, at that time, conquered our foot, so, now, their cavalry, fully equipped, were advancing against our horse, and that, laying aside bows and javelins, each of them, wielding one strong lance, was resolved to ride up to us, in order to contend hand to hand; 17. that there are besides chariots coming, which will not stand still as heretofore, turned away as for flight,<sup>1</sup> but that the horses of these chariots are covered with mail, the drivers stand in wooden towers, covered on all the upper parts of their bodies with corslets and helmets, while steel scythes are fixed to the

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπεστραμμένα ὥσπερ εἰς φυγὴν.] The fighter entered the chariot at the back, and, consequently, when he had quitted it to combat on the ground, the driver wheeled it round with its back towards the enemy, the better to allow the fighter to retreat, if he should be obliged or inclined to do so. This is the sense in which Weiske and Bornemann understand the words, and which appears to be the true sense. Schneider, referring to iii. 3. 64, and vii. 1. 29, supposed that the allusion was to the position of the chariots behind the front line; but this supposition does not account for the use of the word ἀπεστραμμένα.

axle-trees, in order to cut at once through the ranks of the enemy; 18. that they have camels, too, on which they will ride up to us, and of one of which a hundred horses would not endure the sight; 19. and that they are advancing, moreover, with certain towers, from which they can support their own people, and, by discharging their weapons upon us, hinder us from fighting with those on even ground;—if any one told you that the enemies were possessed of these advantages, how, I say, would you, who are afraid now, have felt then? But, when it is told you that Cræsus is chosen the enemy's general, he who was so much less courageous than the Syrians, inasmuch as the Syrians were beaten before they fled, but Cræsus, when he saw them beaten, instead of supporting his allies, took to flight and went off; 20. and when it is also told you that the same enemies do not think themselves sufficient to engage us, but are hiring others, in the belief that they will fight for them better than themselves;—if these things, such as they are, appear terrible to any of you, and the state of our own affairs weak, I think, my friends, that we ought to send such persons over to the enemy, for, by being there, they may do us more service than by remaining amongst us!”

21. When Cyrus had said this, Chrysantas the Persian stood up and spoke thus: “Do not wonder, O Cyrus! that some of us have gathered gloom on our countenances from having heard these accounts; for they have not been thus affected from fear, but from grief; just as if,” continued he, “when people were longing and expecting to dine, some work should be mentioned to them, that must be done before they dined, no one of them, I believe, would be pleased to hear of it. So we, while we are in present expectation of enriching ourselves, and hear that there is some work left that we must perform, have our countenances overcast, not from fear, but from wishing that the work were already done. 22. But, since we are not only to contend for Syria, where there is corn in abundance, and flocks, and fruitful palm trees, but for Lydia also, in which there is abundance of wine, abundance of figs, and abundance of oil, and, which the sea washes, from which more valuable things are imported into it than any one of us ever saw, we are, when we think on such prospects, no longer dejected, but conceive the highest possible courage, in order that we may the sooner enjoy these precious possessions of

Lydia." Thus spoke Chrysantas; and all the allies were pleased with his observations, and applauded them.

23. "Indeed, my friends," said Cyrus, "it appears to me that we should march upon the enemy as soon as we can, so that we may in the first place, if possible, take them by surprise, by forcing our way to the parts where their provisions are deposited; and besides, the sooner we come upon them, the fewer preparations shall we find made by them, and the greater deficiencies existing. 24. This I give as my judgment; if any one think any other course safer or easier for us, let him inform us."

After many had concurred in opinion that it was proper to march, as soon as possible, upon the enemy, no one offered a remark to the contrary. Cyrus, in consequence, began an address to them to the following effect:

25. "Friends and allies, our minds, our bodies, and the arms that we are to use, have been, with the help of the gods, long since provided for us; it is now necessary for us to procure provisions for a march for not less than twenty days, both for ourselves, and as many beasts as we may require; for, upon calculation, I find that our journey will occupy more than fifteen days, during the course of which we shall find no sort of provisions; for they have been carried off, partly by ourselves, and partly by the enemy, as far as they could. 26. We must therefore collect a sufficient quantity of food, without which we can neither fight nor live; but of wine, only so much as is enough to accustom us to drink water; for a great part of the way is entirely unprovided with wine, for which even were we to put up a very great quantity of it, it would not suffice us. 27. That we may not, therefore, by being suddenly left without wine, fall into diseases, we must act thus; let us at once begin to drink water with our food; for, by doing so now, we shall make no very great change; 28. since, whoever lives on barley-meal, eats his barley-cake made up with water; and he that feeds on wheaten bread, eats his loaf kneaded up with water; and all boiled meats are cooked with a great quantity of water. But if, after our meal, we drink a little wine upon it, our appetite, not having less than usual, rests satisfied. 29. We must however proceed to diminish the quantity that we drink after our food, until we become insensibly water-

drinkers ; for an alteration, little by little, brings any nature to bear a total change ; a circumstance which the gods themselves teach us, by leading us gradually, from the midst of winter, to bear violent heat ; and, from the heat, to bear severe cold ; and we, in imitation of them, ought, by practice, to reach the end that we would attain. 30. A weight of bed-clothes you may spare, and spend the price of them on provisions ;<sup>1</sup> for an extraordinary quantity of provisions may not be without its use ; but if you should be deficient in bed-clothes, you need not fear that you will sleep uncomfortably ; if it prove otherwise, blame me. Of wearing apparel, a great abundance is of advantage to him that has it, both in health and sickness. 31. Meats should be provided, such as are acid, sharp, and salt ; for they create appetite, and afford the most lasting nourishment. And when we come into those parts of the country that are untouched, where it is probable that we shall find corn, we ought to be ready provided<sup>2</sup> with hand-mills, with which we may prepare our corn ; for this is the lightest of the instruments used in making bread. 32. We ought likewise to carry with us such things as sick people want ; for their bulk is very small, and we may, if such fortune befall us, be very much in want of them. We must also have store of straps ; for most things, both about men and horses, are fastened by straps, and, when they wear out, or break, we shall have to stand still, unless some of us carry spare straps. 33. Whoever has learned to polish a lance, it will be well for him not to forget a rasp, and it will be well for him to carry a file ; for he that whets his spear, whets his courage at the same time ; as it is a sort of shame, that one who sharpens his lance, should himself be spiritless. We should likewise have plenty of timber with us, for the chariots and carriages ; for in many departments of action, there will be many things defective. 34. We ought to have, too, the instruments most necessary for all these works, for artificers are not found everywhere, nor will a few of them be able to do what will be required every day. For every carriage we should have a

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ τὸ τῶν στρωμάτων δὲ βάρος εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καταδαπανᾷτε.] "Spend the weight of bed-clothes upon provisions."

<sup>2</sup> Αὐτόθεν παρασκευάσασθαι.] "To prepare straightway, immediately, at once."



shovel and a mattock ; and for every beast of burden, an axe and a bill ;<sup>1</sup> for these instruments are useful to every one in particular, and are often serviceable for general use. 35. As to what is necessary for subsistence, therefore, you who are officers of the men in arms, examine those that are under you ; for we must overlook nothing of the supplies that each man may require, as we shall need them.<sup>2</sup> As to the things which I order the men to provide for the beasts of burden, you who have the care of the baggage-train, examine into their condition, and oblige the man that has them not, to procure them. 36. You, also, who are officers of the pioneers, get a list from me of such as have been expelled<sup>3</sup> from the javelin-men, the archers, and the slingers ; and those that come from among the javelin-men, you must oblige to march with an axe for cutting wood ; those from among the archers, with a mattock ; and those from among the slingers, with a shovel. These must march, carrying these instruments, in troops before the carriages, in order that, if it be necessary to clear the way, you may presently set to work, and that I, if I want anything done, may know from whence I must get men for my use. 37. I will take with me also smiths, carpenters, and leather-cutters, of an age for service, with all their proper tools, so that if anything is wanted in the army in such arts, it may not be left undone. These shall be detached from the troops under arms, but shall be in an appointed place, ready to do service for hire, in what they understand, for any one that wishes to engage them. 38. If any trader desires to attend us, with a view to selling any article, he shall, if he be found selling anything during the specified number of days for which the men are to bring provisions, be deprived of all that he has ; but when those days are past, he may sell as he pleases. And whoever of these traders shall be found to offer the greatest supplies for sale, shall meet with rewards and honour both from our allies and from me. 39. If any of them thinks that he

<sup>1</sup> These instruments were for cutting down trees, and removing other obstructions in the roads.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡμεῖς γὰρ τούτων ἐνδεεῖς ἐσόμεθα.] *Nos enim his rebus indigebimus.* Bornemann. This genitive τούτων is to be referred, with that critic, to τὰ εἰς τροφήν δέοντα: to which he also refers the other τούτων, which precedes ; but this is surely to be understood of the men.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀποδοκιμασμένους.] Rejected or expelled from among the javelin-men for bad conduct, indocility, or some other cause.

wants money to purchase goods, let him, on bringing forward people that know him, and will give bail that he will attend the army, receive a supply from the funds which we have.

“Such are the directions which I give. If any one notices anything else that is necessary, let him signify it to me. 40. You, for your parts, go and prepare your baggage; I, in the mean time, will sacrifice with a view to our march; and when the omens from the gods are favourable, we will give the signal. All must attend, with the things which I have mentioned, in their proper places, under their several commanders. 41. You, captains, after having put your several divisions in order, come all of you and confer with me, that you may know your several posts.”

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### CHAPTER III.

Description of the order of march, and arrangement of the carriages and baggage. Cyrus takes some prisoners, and questions them as to the condition of the enemy. Araspes returns and brings him further information. Disposition of the troops of Cyrus.

1. THE officers, after listening to this exhortation, proceeded to make their preparations; and Cyrus offered sacrifice. When the omens from the victims were favourable, he set forward with the army, and encamped the first day at as short a distance from home as he could, that if any one had forgotten anything, he might return for it; and that if any one found himself in want of anything, he might provide it. 2. Cyaxares, with the third part of the Medes, stayed behind, that affairs at home might not be left without a governor.

Cyrus marched with the utmost despatch, keeping the cavalry in front, but making the explorers and scouts, from time to time, mount up before, on places from which they could most conveniently look forward. Behind the cavalry he brought up the baggage, forming, where the country was level, several lines of the carriages and beasts of burden. As the body of foot followed next, if any of the baggage train fell behind, those of the officers that were at hand took care that it might not be hindered from making its way. 3. But, where the road was more contracted, the armed infantry,

ranging the baggage train in the middle, marched on each side of it ; and if any obstruction came in the way, those of the soldiers, again, that were near that part, attended to it. The several companies marched for the most part with their own baggage next them, for orders had been given to those who had charge of the baggage to march each near his own company, unless some unavoidable necessity prevented ; 4. and the baggage-captain of each centurion carried, on the march, his own ensign, known to the men of their several companies ; so that they marched in close order, and every officer took great care of his own men's baggage, that it might not be left behind ; and, by observing this order, they had no need to seek for each other, and all things were at hand and in greater safety, and the soldiers could more readily obtain what they wanted.

5. But as soon as the scouts in advance thought that they observed men in the plain collecting forage and wood, and saw beasts of burden laden with other such things, and others feeding, and then looking forward to a greater distance, thought that they perceived smoke, or dust, rising up into the air, they could pretty well conclude, from all these indications, that the army of the enemy was somewhere near at hand. 6. The captain of the scouts, therefore, immediately sent a messenger to Cyrus to tell him what they saw.

Cyrus, on receiving this information, directed the scouts to remain in the same places of observation, and to give him an account, from time to time, of whatever new appearance they might observe. He also sent a company of horse forward, and ordered them to endeavour to capture some of the men that were in the plain, that they might ascertain more accurately what was the real state of affairs. Those who received these orders acted accordingly. 7. The rest of his army he caused to halt where they were, so that the men might provide themselves with whatever he thought necessary before they came to close quarters with the enemy ; and, first of all, he gave notice that they should take their dinners, and then wait in their posts to attend to further orders. 8. When they had dined, he called together the officers of the horse, foot, and chariots, as well as those of the machines, baggage-train, and carriages ; and they assembled accordingly.

9. Those who had made an excursion into the plain, having

taken some prisoners, now brought them up. The prisoners, being questioned by Cyrus, told him, that they were from the enemy's camp, and, having passed their advanced guard, had come out, some for forage and some for wood; for, by reason of the great number of the army, everything was scarce. 10. Cyrus, on hearing this, said, "And how far is the army from hence?" They told him, about two parasangs. Cyrus then asked, "Is there any talk amongst them concerning us?" "Yes, by Jove," said they, "a great deal, to the effect that you are already advancing close upon them." "Well then," said Cyrus, "did they rejoice at hearing of our approach?" This he asked for the sake of those who stood by. "No, indeed," said they, "they did not rejoice, but were very much troubled." 11. "And what," asked Cyrus, "are they now doing?" "They are forming in order of battle," said they, "and both yesterday and the day before they were engaged in the same employment." "And who is it that is arranging them?" inquired Cyrus. "Cræsus himself," said they, "and with him a certain Greek, and another besides, who is a Mede, and who was said to be a deserter from you." Cyrus then exclaimed, "O supreme Jupiter, may it, be my fortune to take this man as I desire!"

12. He now ordered them to take away the prisoners, and turned to the by-standers as if he were going to say something. But at that instant there came another man from the captain of the scouts, who told him a great body of horse was visible in the plain, "and we conjecture," said he, "that they are riding forward with an intention to take a view of the army; for, in advance of this body, there is another party, of about thirty horse, that are riding on in compact order, directly over against us, perhaps with a design to seize, if they can, our place of observation, and we are but a single decad upon that station." 13. Cyrus then ordered a detachment of the cavalry, that always attended him, to ride up close to the place of observation, out of the enemy's sight, and to keep themselves quiet there. "And whenever our decad," said he, "quits the station, rush forth and attack those that mount it; and, that the enemy's greater body may not annoy you, you, Hystaspes," added he, "take a thousand horse, and march forth, and show yourself over against the enemy's body; but do not pursue to any place out of sight, but, after taking

care that the stations may remain in your own possession, advance onwards. And if any ride towards you holding up their right hands, receive them as friends.

14. Hystaspes then went away and armed himself. Those that attended Cyrus set off immediately, as he had directed, and, on this side of the places of observation, Araspes, with his followers, met them, he who had been some time before sent out as a spy, and who had been the guardian of the Susian woman. 15. Cyrus, as soon as he saw<sup>1</sup> him, leaped from his seat, met him, and took him by the right hand. The rest, knowing nothing of the matter, were, as was natural, surprised at it, till Cyrus said, "My friends, one of the most deserving of men has returned to us; for it is now fit that every one should know what he has done. This man went away, not from having sunk under any disgrace, or from any fear of my displeasure, but from being sent by me, in order that, learning the state of the enemy's affairs for us, he might bring us a clear account of them. 16. What I promised<sup>2</sup> you therefore, Araspes, I remember, and, in conjunction with all these that are here, will bestow it on you. And it is just that you, my friends, should all pay him honour as a brave man; for, to do us service, he both threw himself into dangers, and incurred that reproach under which he laboured." 17. Upon this they all saluted Araspes, and gave him their right hands.

Cyrus, at length, telling them that enough was done, said, "Give us an account, Araspes, of what it is proper for us to know; and neither abate anything of the truth, nor extenuate the strength of the enemy; for it is better that we should think it greater, and find it less, than hear it to be less, and find it greater." 18. "I acted, indeed," said Araspes, "in such a manner as to learn with the greatest certainty what the strength of the army is, for I assisted in person at their arrangements." "You know then," said Cyrus, "not only their numbers, but their order too." "I do, indeed," said Araspes, "and the manner in which they intend to engage." "In the first place, however," said Cyrus, "tell us, summarily, what their numbers are." 19. "They are all ranged,

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf's text has *ἤκουσεν*, to which I have thought fit to prefer Bornemann and Weiske's *εἶδεν*.

<sup>2</sup> What Cyrus had promised him we are nowhere told.

then," said he, "thirty in depth, both infantry and cavalry, except the Egyptians, and they extend in front about forty stadia, for I took great care to know what ground they occupied." 20. "As to the Egyptians, then," said Cyrus, "how are they ranged, for you said 'except the Egyptians?'" "The commanders of ten thousand drew up each body of ten thousand, a hundred on each side;<sup>1</sup> for they said, that this was the customary arrangement of their troops at home; but Croesus reluctantly allowed them to form in this manner, for he was desirous to out-flank your army as much as possible." "And why," said Cyrus, "does he desire to do so?" "Why, by Jove," said Araspes, "in order to surround you with the part that extends beyond your line." "But they shall see," rejoined Cyrus, "whether the encompassers will be themselves encompassed." 21. We have, however, heard what it was proper for us to ascertain from you; and you, my friends, must act in this manner:

"As soon as you go from hence, examine the equipments both of your horses and yourselves; for, frequently, from a deficiency in a small matter, both man, and horse, and chariot, become useless. To-morrow, in the morning, whilst I am sacrificing, you must first take your breakfasts, both men and horses, that whatever opportunity of action may present itself, we may not fail to take advantage of it. You, Araspes, keep the right wing as you do now, and you, the other commanders of ten thousand, retain the stations which you now occupy; for, when a chariot-race is going to begin, there is no longer time for any chariot to shift its horses; and give orders to the several centurions and captains to form in line, making each company two deep."<sup>2</sup> Each company consisted of four-and-twenty men.

22. One of the commanders of ten thousand then said, "And when we are ranged but so many deep, are we likely to be strong enough against phalanxes of so great a depth?"

<sup>1</sup> The squares being solid, with a hundred men on each side, each would contain ten thousand men. According to the number given in ch. 2, sect. 10, there would be twelve of these squares.

<sup>2</sup> There would thus be twelve men in front, there being only two in depth. But when the javelin-men were brought up behind the heavy-armed, the archers behind the javelin-men, and behind the javelin-men *οἱ ἐπὶ πᾶσι καλούμενοι*, (sect. 25, *seqq.*) the line would evidently be eight deep. *Bornemann.*

Cyrus replied, "As to phalanxes that are too deep to reach the enemy with their weapons, what injury can they possibly do to the enemy, or what service to their fellow-combatants? 23. Those soldiers that are ranged a hundred in depth," added he, "I would rather choose to have ranged ten thousand in depth, for, by that means, we should engage with a still smaller number, and have the fewer to engage; but from the number with which I shall deepen our phalanx, I think that I shall render the whole efficient and self-supporting. 24. The javelin-men I shall range behind those armed with corslets, and behind the javelin-men the archers; for how could any one place those in front who themselves confess that they can sustain no encounter hand to hand? But when they have those armed with corslets in front of them, they will stand; and the one line hurling their javelins, and the other discharging their arrows, over the heads of those ranged before them, will do execution upon the enemy; and as far as any one does harm to the enemy, it is plain that so far he relieves his fellow-combatants. 25. Last of all, I will place those that are called the rear; for as there is no value in a house, without a strong foundation of stone, and without men to form a roof, so there is no profit from an army without such as will be of service both in front and rear.<sup>1</sup> 26. You then," said he, "form as I order you; and you, commanders of the javelin-men, form your companies in the same manner behind these; and you, captains of the archers, form, in like manner, behind the javelin-men. 27. You, general, who command the rear, with your men placed last, give orders to those under you, to keep each his eye on those before him, to encourage those that do their duty, to threaten severely such as are deficient in courage; and, if any one turn about, with intention to desert, to punish him with death. For it is the business of those who are placed in front, to encourage, both by words and actions, those who follow; and you, who are placed in the rear of all, must inspire the cowardly with greater terror than that which they feel

<sup>1</sup> Οὐτ' ἄνευ τῶν πρώτων οὐτ' ἄνευ τῶν τελευταίων, εἰ μὴ ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται.] "No profit either without the first or without the last, unless they shall be efficient men." There is no efficiency in an army in the absence of men for the front and rear, *nor any efficiency in it when they are present*, unless they be good soldiers.

from the enemy. 28. You attend to these matters ; and you, Euphratas, who command those that belong to the machines, take care that the oxen that draw the towers follow as close to the main body as possible. 29. You, Dauchus, who have charge of the baggage, bring up all that train behind the towers, and let your officers severely punish those who advance or fall behind unseasonably. 30. You, Carduchus, who have the care of the carriages that convey the women, place these in the rear, behind the baggage-train ; for all these, following each other, will present the appearance of a great multitude, and will give us an opportunity of forming an ambuscade ; and, if the enemy attempt to surround us, will oblige them to take a greater circuit ; and the more ground they encompass, so much the weaker must they of necessity be. 31. You, therefore, act according to these instructions. But you, Artaozus and Artagerses, keep, each of you, your body of a thousand foot behind these. 32. You, Pharnuchus and Asiadatas, do not join your troops of a thousand cavalry, of which you each have the command, with the main line, but arm by yourselves, behind the women's carriages, and then come to us, together with the rest of the commanders ; but you must prepare yourselves as if you were to be the first to engage. 33. You, who have the charge of the men with the camels, form behind the women's carriages ; and do whatever Artagerses may desire you. 34. As for you, leaders of the chariots, after you have cast lots, let him among you, who obtains that post, range his hundred chariots in front, before the main line, and let the other hundreds of chariots attend the main body ranged in a long train, one advancing on the right side of the army, and the other on the left."

35. Thus Cyrus directed. But Abradatas, king of Susa, said, "I take it voluntarily upon myself, Cyrus, to hold that station in front, over against the line of the enemy, unless you have anything else in view." 36. Cyrus, admiring his spirit, and taking him by the right hand, asked the Persians, that had the command of the other chariots, saying, "Do you

<sup>1</sup> Ὡς πρώτους δεῖσιν ἀγωνίζεσθαι.] "Quasi primis," h. e. antè quàm prima acies cum hostibus congrediatur, "pugnandum sit vobis." Fischer. Why Pharnuchus and Asiadatas were to be so well prepared, appears from vii. 1. 22; namely, that they might attack the advancing enemy on the flank.



agree to this?" As they replied, that it would not be honourable in them to yield the post, he made them all cast lots, and Abradatas obtained by lot the station which he had offered to take, and took his place opposite to the Egyptians. 37. The officers having then gone away, and attended to the particulars which I have mentioned,<sup>1</sup> took their suppers, and, after placing the sentinels, went to rest.

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## CHAPTER IV.

The appearance of the troops under arms. Abradatas equipped by Panthea; their conversation and parting; Cyrus animates his officers by another speech.

1. NEXT day, early in the morning, Cyrus offered sacrifice; and the rest of the army, after taking their breakfast, and making their libations, proceeded to equip themselves with fine coats, in great number, and with many fine corslets and helmets. The horses, likewise, they armed with forehead-pieces and breastplates; the single horses with thigh-pieces, and those in the chariots with plates upon their sides; so that the whole army glittered with brass, and shone with purple garments.

2. The chariot of Abradatas, that had four poles and eight horses, was most handsomely adorned; and, when he was going to put on his linen corslet, which was the dress of his countrymen, Panthea brought him a golden helmet, and arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wrists, a purple habit that reached to his feet, and hung in folds at the bottom, and a crest of a violet colour. These things she had made, having, without the knowledge of her husband, taken the measure of his armour. 3. He wondered when he saw them, and inquired of Panthea, "Have you had these arms made for me, wife, at the sacrifice of your own ornaments?" "Not indeed," said Panthea, "at the sacrifice of the most valuable one; for you yourself, if you appear to others as you appear

<sup>1</sup> Προεῖπον.] Schneider proposes to read προεῖπεν, sc. Cyrus; which, as Bornemann observes, would be a great improvement.

to me, will be my greatest ornament." Saying this, she put on him the armour; while, though she endeavoured to conceal them, the tears flowed down her cheeks.

4. When Abradatas, who was before a man of striking appearance, was equipped in these arms, he appeared eminently handsome, as well as noble, such indeed being his nature. Having taken the reins from the driver, he was preparing to mount the chariot, when Panthea, desiring all that were present to retire, said, 5. "O Abradatas, if there ever was a woman who had more value for her husband, than for her own soul, I think you know that I am such a character. Why, then, need I speak of every single circumstance? for I think that actions have been shown you, on my part, more convincing than any words which can now be spoken. 6. But, though I stand thus affected towards you, as you know, I swear, by my friendship and your own, that I certainly would rather choose to be put under ground together with you, while you approve yourself a brave man, than to live dishonoured with you in dishonour; so much have I judged both you and myself worthy of the noblest distinctions. 7. I consider too, that we owe a great debt of gratitude to Cyrus, because, when I was a captive, and selected for himself, he neither thought fit to take me as a slave, nor as a free-woman under an ignominious name; but he took and kept me for you, as if I had been his brother's wife. 8. Besides, when Araspes, who was my guard, went away from him, I promised him, that, if he would allow me to send to you, you would come to him, and be to him a much more faithful and deserving friend than Araspes."

9. Thus she spoke; and Abradatas, struck with admiration at her words, and laying his hand gently upon her head, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed, saying, "O supreme Jupiter, grant me to prove myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of Cyrus, who has done us so much honour!"

10. Having said this, he mounted the chariot by the door of the driver's seat; and when, after he had got up, the driver shut the door of the seat, Panthea, who had now no other way to salute him, kissed the seat of the chariot. The chariot then moved on, and she followed him unperceived, till Abradatas, turning about, and seeing her, said, "Take courage, Panthea! Farewell; and now return." 11. Her eunuchs and women-servants immediately took her up and conveyed her to her

carriage; and, laying her down, concealed her with the awning. The people, though Abradatas and his chariot formed a noble spectacle, cared not to look at him, till Panthea was gone.

12. When Cyrus had found favourable omens in the sacrifices, and the army had been arranged for him as he had directed, he occupied places of observation, one in advance of another, and, calling the leaders together, addressed them thus: 13. "Friends and fellow-soldiers, the gods show us the same propitious omens in our sacrifices, as when they gave us victory before; and I wish to put you in mind of some particulars, that you may, while you bear them in remembrance, march with greater courage to the encounter. 14. You have practised the exercises of war much more than our enemies have; you have been bred up together, and have been united in the same army, a much longer time than our enemies have been; you have been fellow-conquerors together, while most of our enemies have been fellow-sharers in defeat; and of those on both sides, that have not yet seen a battle, those who are on the enemy's side, know that they have for their supporters men that are deserters of their posts, but you, that are on our side, know that you take the field with men zealous to assist their friends. 15. It is natural, then, that they who have confidence in each other, should unanimously stand and fight; but those who distrust each other must necessarily be severally contriving how they may soonest withdraw. 16. Let us march then, my friends, upon the enemy, with our armed chariots against those of the enemy unarmed, and with our cavalry in like manner, both men and horses, armed against those of the enemy unarmed, in the resolution to come to a close engagement. 17. As for the infantry, the rest are such as you have encountered already, but the Egyptians are both armed and disposed alike inefficiently; for they have shields too large to act or see with, and, being ranged a hundred in depth, it is evident they will hinder one another from fighting, except only a very few. 18. If they trust that they shall force us back by an impetuous onset, they must first sustain the charge of our horse, and steel driven upon them by the force of horses;<sup>1</sup> and if any of them withstand this, how will they be able to engage our cavalry, our

<sup>1</sup> Σιδήρεω ὑφ' ἱππων ἰσχυριζομένω.] The scythes attached to the chariots.

line of infantry, and our towers, at the same time? For the men on the towers will support us, and, by hurling their weapons on the enemy, will cause them, instead of fighting, to be perplexed how to act. 19. If you think that you are still in want of anything, tell it me; for, with the help of the gods, we shall be in want of nothing. 20. If any one of you wishes to say anything, let him speak; if not, betake yourselves to your devotions, and, having made your prayers to the gods, to whom we have sacrificed, go to your posts, and let each of you remind those under his command of what I have now impressed on your minds; and let each of you make it apparent to those whom he commands, that he is worthy of command, by showing himself fearless in his bearing, his countenance, and his words!"

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## BOOK VII.

### CHAPTER I.

The army of Cyrus marches against the enemy under favourable omens. When the two armies are in sight of each other, Cyrus rides round among his men, and shows them how he intends to commence the engagement. Croesus attacks Cyrus with his army in three divisions; his wings are routed at the first onset. Death of Abradatas. Firmness of the Egyptians; they repulse the Persians, but are attacked in the rear by Cyrus, and forced to surrender. What gave the Persians an advantage in this battle.

1. THE officers, after praying to the gods, went off to their posts. The attendants brought meat and drink to Cyrus, and those that were with him, while they were yet engaged in sacrificing. Cyrus, standing as he was,<sup>1</sup> and first making an offering to the gods, took his dinner, and distributed portions, from time to time, to such as were most in need. Having then made a libation, and prayed, he drank, and the rest that were with him followed his example. Afterwards, having made

<sup>1</sup> Without changing his position; without sitting down, as he might have done, if he had been engaged in a less important occupation than that of sacrificing.

supplication to Jupiter Patrius, to be their leader and supporter, he mounted his horse, and ordered those about him to mount theirs. 2. All those who were with Cyrus were furnished with the same equipments as himself; purple coats, brazen corslets, brazen helmets, white crests, short swords, and each with a single spear made of the cornel-tree. Their horses were armed with brazen forehead-pieces, breastplates, and shoulder-pieces, which also served as thigh-pieces to the rider.<sup>1</sup> The arms of Cyrus, however, so far differed from the others, that theirs were lackered over with a gold colour, but those of Cyrus shone like a mirror.

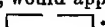
3. When he was mounted, and stood considering which way he should go, it thundered on the right; when he exclaimed, "We will follow thee, O supreme Jupiter!" He then set forward with Chrysantas, the commander of the cavalry, and his body of cavalry, upon his right hand, and Arsamas, with his body of foot, upon his left. 4. He directed them to look to his standard, and follow at an even pace; the standard was a golden eagle on a long lance.<sup>2</sup> This continues to be the standard of the Persian king to this day. Before they came in sight of the enemy, he made the army halt three times.

5. After they had advanced about twenty stadia, they began to observe the army of the enemy coming against them; and when they were all in view of each other, and the enemy found that they far outflanked them on both wings, they made their own line halt, (for otherwise there was no fetching a compass,) and wheeled round to enclose the enemy, causing their line, on each side, to take the form of the letter *gamma*,<sup>3</sup> so that they might commence the action from every part at once.

6. Cyrus, seeing this manœuvre, did not slacken his pace on account of it, but led forward just as before; and observing how far round on each side they fetched their compass, in

<sup>1</sup> "It is necessary to equip the horse with a forehead-piece, a breast-piece, and side-pieces; for these also serve as thigh-pieces for the rider." Xenophon de Re Equest. c. 12; where it is also observed that the legs and feet of the rider may perhaps hang down below the horse's side-piece, but that they may be protected with shoes of thick leather. Παράμηρίδιον is properly a thigh-piece, but, as applied to the horse, it seems better to render it side-piece, or flank-piece.

<sup>2</sup> See Anab. i. 10. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Thus their army, says Poppo, would appear in the shape of two gammas placed in this manner: .

which they wheeled and extended their wings, "Do you observe," said he, "Chrysantas, where they make their circuit?" "Yes, indeed," said Chrysantas, "and I wonder at it, for to me they seem to draw off their wings very far from their own line." 7. "Yes, by Jove," said Cyrus, "and from ours too."<sup>1</sup> "Why so?" said Chrysantas. "Plainly," said Cyrus, "because they are afraid, that if their wings come near us, while their main body is yet at a distance, we shall charge them." "Then," said Chrysantas, "how will they be able to support one another, when they are at such a distance from each other?" "It is plain," said Cyrus, "that when their wings have gained so much ground as to be over against the flanks of our army, they will wheel about, so as to form in line, and advance upon us from every side at once, in order to attack us on all quarters simultaneously." 8. "Do you think, then," said Chrysantas, "that they lay their plans well?" "Yes, with regard to what they see; but with regard to what they do not see,<sup>2</sup> they plan worse than if they advanced upon us in a column. But you, Arsamas, lead on quietly with your infantry, as you observe that I do; and you, Chrysantas, follow with your cavalry at the same pace with Arsamas. I shall ride off to the place where I think it proper to begin the engagement, and, as I pass along, I shall see how our several divisions stand. 9. When I reach the place, and when we are fast approaching each other, I will begin the pæan; and do you hasten forward. When we engage the enemy, you will perceive it, for there will, I suppose, be no small noise; and Abradatas will then proceed to charge the enemy with his chariots, for such directions shall be given him; you must follow, keeping as close as possible behind the chariots, for we shall thus fall upon the enemy while they are most in disorder. I will myself come up, as soon as I can, to pursue them, if the gods please."

<sup>1</sup> With regard to this compass or circuit of the Assyrian army, and the recession of the wings from the Persian force, we must suppose, with Bornemann, that Cræsus made such movements, and extensions of his line, as to keep his wings from coming in contact with the enemy before the centre was ready to attack, so that he might assail Cyrus in front and on the flanks simultaneously. No other commentator has made any successful attempt to explain these manœuvres.

<sup>2</sup> The troops and camels ranged behind the baggage. *Poppo*.

10. Having spoken thus, and given out the word, "JUPITER THE PRESERVER AND LEADER," he set forward. Making his way between the chariots and corslet-men, he would say, as he looked on some of those in the ranks, "My friends, how pleasing is it to see your faces!" To others, again, he would say, "Do you not consider, my friends, that our present contest is not merely for victory to-day, but to maintain the victory that you gained before, and for all good fortune hereafter. 11. Henceforward, soldiers, we shall have no cause to blame the gods, for they have put it in our power to acquire many great advantages; but, my friends, let us prove ourselves brave men." 12. Coming up to others, he spoke thus: "My friends, to what nobler association can we ever invite one another than to the present? For it is now in our power, by being brave men, to confer upon each other many great benefits." 13. To others, again, he said, "You know, my friends, I believe, that the prizes offered to those who conquer, are to pursue, to strike, to kill, to get gain, to win praise, to be free, to rule; but for cowards, evidently, the reverse of all these. Whoever, therefore, loves himself, let him fight as I fight, for I shall not willingly allow in myself anything weak or dishonourable." 14. When he came up with such as had been in battle with him before, he said: "And to you, my friends, what need I say? for you know what sort of day the brave, and what sort of day cowards, pass in the field."

15. When he came, as he passed along, over against Abradatas, he stopped; and Abradatas, delivering the reins to the driver, went up to him, and several others of those that were posted near, belonging both to the infantry and the chariots, ran to him; and as they gathered round him, he said, "The gods, as you desired, Abradatas, have granted to you, and those with you, to hold a chief place amongst all the allies; and, when you have to engage, remember that the Persians are to see you, and to follow you, and not suffer you to engage alone." 16. Abradatas replied, "Affairs with us, Cyrus, seem to promise well, but the flanks give me some uneasiness; for I see that the wings of the enemy are stretched out in great strength, with chariots and every kind of force; but on our side there is nothing opposed to them but chariots; so that," continued he, "had I not obtained this post by lot, I should be

ashamed to be here ; so much do I think myself in the safest post." 17. Cyrus replied, "If things are well with you, he at ease as to the rest ; for, with the help of the gods, I will show you those flanks of ours entirely clear of enemies. And do not you, I conjure you, attack the enemy, before you see those men fleeing of whom you are now afraid." Thus boastingly did he express himself as the battle was coming on, though, at other times, he was little inclined to boasting. "But," added he, "when you see those men fleeing, be sure that I am at hand, and rush upon the enemy, for you will then deal with them while they are most disheartened, and your own men in the best spirits. 18. But, while you have still time, Abradatas, ride along, by all means, by your own chariots, and exhort your people to the attack, inspiring them with courage by your looks, and animating them with hopes. And, that you may appear the bravest of all that belong to the chariots, excite emulation in your men ; for, be assured, that if things now fall out well, all will say, for the future, that nothing is more profitable than bravery." Abradatas then mounted and rode along the line, and did as Cyrus had suggested.

19. Cyrus, moving on again, and coming to the left wing, where Hystaspes was with the half of the Persian cavalry, calling him by his name, said, "Hystaspes, you now see work for your activity ; for, if we get beforehand with the enemy in killing them, not a man of us will be killed." 20. Hystaspes, laughing, replied, "We will take care of those in front of us ; give those upon the flanks in charge to others, that they may not want occupation." Cyrus then said, "I am going to those myself. But remember this, Hystaspes : to whichever of us the gods may give victory, if the enemy make a stand anywhere, let us always join in with our forces to charge those who resist."

21. Having spoken thus, he moved on, and when, in his progress, he came to the flank,<sup>1</sup> and to the commander of the chariots there, he said to him, "I am come to your support ; but when you perceive us attacking the extremity,<sup>2</sup> endeavour yourselves, at the same time, to force a way through the enemy, for you will be much safer when you are without their

<sup>1</sup> The left flank.

<sup>2</sup> The right extremity or wing of the army.



line, than while you are enclosed within it." 22. Then, passing on again, when he came behind the women's carriages, he ordered Artagerses and Pharnuchus, each with his thousand men, one of foot and the other of horse, to remain there; "And when you perceive me," said he, "attacking those opposite our right wing, do you likewise charge those that are opposite you. You will assail them in flank, where <sup>1</sup> a body of men is weakest, keeping yourselves in a phalanx, that you may be as strong as possible. The enemy's cavalry, as you see, are the hindmost; advance the body of camels everywhere upon them, and be assured that, before you come to engage, you will see the enemy made ridiculous." 23. Cyrus, having concluded these instructions, proceeded to the right wing.

Cræsus, judging that his main body, with which he himself marched, was now nearer to the enemy than his extended wings, gave the signal to the wings to advance no farther, but to wheel round in the place where they were. As soon as they stood facing towards the army of Cyrus, he gave them the signal to march upon the enemy. 24. Thus three dense bodies advanced upon the army of Cyrus; one in front, and, of the other two, one against the right wing, and the other against the left; so that great alarm pervaded all Cyrus's army. For, as a small brick placed within a large one, so was the army of Cyrus enclosed by the enemy, with their cavalry, their heavy-armed men, their peltasts, archers, and chariots, on every side except the rear. 25. Yet when Cyrus gave the signal, they all turned and faced the enemy; and there was a deep silence in every part, from apprehension respecting the event. As soon as Cyrus thought it the proper time, he began the pæan, and the whole army sung it with him. 26. Afterwards they raised the battle-shout to Mars; and Cyrus started forward, and instantly taking the enemy in flank with his cavalry, engaged hand to hand with them as soon as possible. The foot immediately followed him in close order, and swept round the enemy on every side; so that they had very much the advantage; for they were attacking a division in flank; hence a precipitate flight soon took place among the enemy. 27. As soon as Artagerses perceived that

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf's text has ὥπερ, but we must doubtless read ᾗπερ with Zeune, Schneider, Bornemann, and others.

Cyrus was engaged, he commenced an attack upon the left, making the camels advance, as Cyrus had ordered ; and the enemy's horses, even when at a great distance, were not able to endure them, but some of them, being maddened, ran away, some started from their ranks, and others fell foul of one another ; for thus are horses always affected by camels. 28. Artagerses, with his men in good order, charged the enemy that were in confusion ; and the chariots, both to the right and left, made their onset at the same time. Many of the enemy that escaped from the chariots, were killed by those that pursued in column,<sup>1</sup> and many that escaped from these were cut off by the chariots.

29. Abradatas then delayed no longer, but shouting aloud, "Follow me, friends !" rushed on, without sparing his horses, but drawing much blood from them with the goad. The other charioteers dashed forward with him. The chariots of the enemy instantly fled before them, some of them taking up their fighting men, and others leaving them. 30. Abradatas forced his way directly through them, to the Egyptian phalanx, and those that were ranged nearest him joined him in the charge. Upon many other occasions it has been seen, that a troop can never be stronger than when it is formed of fellow-combatants that are friends ; and it was seen upon this occasion ; for the companions and associates of Abradatas supported him in his onset ; but the other drivers, when they saw the Egyptians stand their ground in a close body, turned aside to the chariots that were fleeing, and pursued them. 31. As the Egyptians were unable to separate themselves, because those on each side of them remained firm, Abradatas and his troop, wherever they directed their charge, overthrew those who stood upright with the impetus of their chariots, and crushed those who fell, both men and arms, with the hoofs of their horses and their wheels ; and whatever the scythes caught, whether arms or bodies of men, they cut through with resistless force. 32. In this indescribable confusion, the wheels being jolted by heaps of every description, Abradatas, and some of those who joined in the charge with him, were thrown from their vehicles ; and here, while they proved themselves brave men, they were cut down and killed.

<sup>1</sup> Ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ κέρας ἐπομένων.] Fischer seems rightly to understand the cavalry, who usually pursue in column.

The Persians who followed close after them, rushing in where Abradatas and his friends had made their charges, cut to pieces such as were in disorder ; but, where the Egyptians remained unbroken, (and there were many in this condition,) they advanced to attack the Persians. 33. Then ensued a terrible combat of lances, javelins, and swords ; but the Egyptians had the advantage, both from their numbers and their arms, for their lances were strong and of great length, (such as they still use,) and their large shields were a better defence to their persons, than corslets and smaller shields ; and being set against their shoulders, assisted them in pushing against the enemy. Locking their shields together, therefore, they advanced and pushed forward. 34. The Persians, holding out their small sort of shields at arm's length, were not able to withstand them, but retreated with their faces toward the enemy, giving and receiving blows, till they came to the machines. When they came thither, the Egyptians were again galled from the towers. Those who were in the rear of all, would not suffer either the archers or javelin-men to flee, but, holding up their swords at them, forced them to shoot and to throw. 35. There then followed great havoc of men, great clashing of arms and weapons of all kinds, and great noise of people, some calling to each other, some making exhortations, and some invoking the gods.

36. At this time, Cyrus, in pursuit of those that had been opposed to him, came up ; and when he saw the Persians driven from their post, he was grieved ; and, knowing that he could not sooner stop the progress of the enemy forward, otherwise than by riding round to their rear, he commanded those that were with him to follow, and rode round to the rear ; where his men fell upon them as their backs were turned, and killed a great many. 37. The Egyptians, as soon as they perceived this, cried out, that the enemy was behind them, and faced about amidst the blows. Here infantry and cavalry fought promiscuously, and a man falling under Cyrus's horse, and being trampled upon, struck his sword into the horse's belly ; and the horse, thus wounded, plunged and threw Cyrus off. 38. In this juncture, it might be seen of what advantage it was for a commander to have the love of those around him ; for all immediately cried out, fell on, and fought, pushed, and were pushed, struck, and were struck ;

and one of the attendants of Cyrus, leaping from his horse, mounted Cyrus upon him. 39. When Cyrus was on horseback, he perceived that the Egyptians were now exposed to attacks on every side, for Hystaspes was come up with the Persian horse as well as Chrysantas; but he would not now suffer them to fall upon the phalanx of the Egyptians, but ordered them to gall them with arrows and javelins from a distance. Then, in riding round, as he came up to the machines, he thought proper to mount one of the towers, to see whether any other division of the enemy still made a stand and fought. 40. When he had ascended, he saw the whole plain full of horses, men, and chariots, some fleeing, others pursuing, some victorious, others defeated; but he could see no division, except that of the Egyptians, any longer keeping their ground; who, when they were at a loss what to do, formed themselves into a circle, so that their arms faced the enemy, and sat down under the shelter of their shields; they no longer acted, but suffered many grievous wounds.

41. Cyrus, being struck with admiration at their conduct, and concerned that men of such bravery should perish, made all those retreat that were engaged around them, and suffered none to continue fighting. He then sent to them a herald, to ask "whether they all preferred to die for men that had deserted them, or to be saved with the reputation of being brave men?" They replied, "How then can we obtain safety, and preserve our reputation as brave men?" 42. Cyrus rejoined, "Because we see that you are the only men that stand your ground, and are disposed to fight." "But then," said the Egyptians, "by what honourable means can we save ourselves?" Cyrus in reply said, "If you save yourselves, without betraying any of your allies; delivering up your arms to us, and becoming friends to those who prefer to save you, when it is in their power to destroy you." 43. Having heard this, they asked, "If we become your friends, how will you think fit to treat us?" Cyrus replied, "I shall think fit both to do you good offices, and to receive them from you." The Egyptians then again asked, "What good offices?" Cyrus replied, "As long as the war continues, I will give you larger pay than you now receive; and when we have peace, I will give to every one of you that will stay with me lands, cities, women, and servants." 44. The Egyptians, hearing this offer, begged him to

grant them an exemption from serving in the war with him against Crœsus; "for to him alone," said they, "were they known;"<sup>1</sup> but, consenting to the other proposals, they gave and received assurances of friendship. 45. The Egyptians, who then remained there, continue to this day faithful to the king; and Cyrus gave them cities, some inland, which are still called the cities of the Egyptians, and Larissa and Cyllene, which are situate on the sea near Cuma, and which their posterity still occupy.

Cyrus, having accomplished these affairs, retreated, as it was now growing dark, and encamped at Thymbrara. 46. In this battle, the Egyptians only, of all the enemy's people, at all distinguished themselves; and of those on the side of Cyrus, the Persian cavalry were thought to have been the best; hence the same sort of arms, with which Cyrus then equipped his cavalry continue in use to this day. 47. The chariots armed with scythes, too, were greatly approved; so that that engine of war continues still to be used by the successive kings of Persia. 48. The camels did no more than frighten the horses; they that mounted them did no execution upon the cavalry, nor were any of the men themselves killed by the cavalry, for no horse would come near them. 49. This animal, then, was reckoned of use; but no respectable man will breed camels for his own riding, nor exercise them with a view to fighting on their backs; so that, returning to their old condition, they continue in the baggage train.

## CHAPTER II.

Sardes taken. Crœsus made prisoner. The Chaldæans reproved for their excessive eagerness for plunder. Crœsus brought before Cyrus, who receives him with kindness, and listens to his advice about sparing Sardes. Crœsus speaks of the oracles given him by Apollo, and condemns his own rashness. Clemency of Cyrus.

1. CYRUS's men, having taken their suppers, and placed sentinels, as was necessary, went to rest. Crœsus imme-

<sup>1</sup> Γινώσκεισθαι.] Many editions have συγγινώσκεισθαι, which the commentators have in vain laboured to explain satisfactorily. Γινώσκεισθαι is found in at least three manuscripts, as appears from Schneider and Bornemann.

diately fled, with his army, to Sardes. The other nations went off in the night, each as far as they could, on their way homeward. 2. As soon as it was day, Cyrus led his army towards Sardes; and when he came up to the walls of that city, he raised machines, and provided ladders, as if he designed to attack the fortifications. 3. But while he was making these preparations, he caused a party of Chaldæans and Persians, the following night, to mount that part of the fortifications of Sardes that was thought the most difficult of ascent, a certain Persian leading the way, who had been a slave to one of the guards in the citadel, and knew the descent down to the river and the ascent from it. 4. When it was known that the heights above were taken, all the Lydians fled from the walls, to whatever part of the city they severally could. Cyrus, as soon as it was day, entered the city, and gave orders that no one of his men should stir from his post. 5. Cræsus, shutting himself up in his palace, called out for Cyrus, but Cyrus left men to watch Cræsus, and going off himself to the citadel, which was taken, and finding the Persians keeping guard in the citadel, as was their duty, but the arms of the Chaldæans abandoned, (for they themselves had run down to plunder the houses,) he immediately summoned their officers, and told them to quit the army at once; 6. "for I could not bear," said he, "to see disorderly men get the advantage of others; and know," added he, "that I was preparing to make you, who had followed me in the field, enviable in the eyes of all the Chaldæans; but now," continued he, "do not wonder if somebody,<sup>1</sup> superior to you in strength, happen to meet with you as you go off." 7. The Chaldæans, on hearing this denunciation, were in great fear, entreated him to lay aside his anger, and said that they would restore all the booty. He replied, "that he was not in any want of them; but," said he, "if you would wish me to feel no further displeasure, give up all that you have taken to those that have kept guard in the citadel; for, when the rest of the soldiers find that those who have been orderly have the advantage, all will go well with me." 8. The Chaldæans did as Cyrus had commanded them, and those who had been obedient got much booty of every kind. Cyrus, hav-

<sup>1</sup> Meaning himself, or such as he should appoint, who would take their booty from them.

ing caused his men to encamp in that part of the city that he thought most convenient, gave them orders to remain there with their arms, and take their dinners.

9. Having made these arrangements, he ordered Cræsus to be brought before him. Cræsus, as soon as he saw Cyrus, said, "Hail, master, for, from henceforth, fortune appoints you to receive that name, and me to call you by it." 10. "Hail to you also, Cræsus," said Cyrus, "for we are both of us men. But Cræsus," added he, "would you be willing to give me some advice?" "I should be willing, Cyrus," said he, "to think of anything good for you, for I conceive that it would also be good for myself." 11. "Hear then, Cræsus," said he; "knowing that the soldiers, after having undergone many fatigues, and incurred many dangers, consider themselves now in possession of the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon, I think it fit that they should receive some recompense; for I am sure," continued he, "that, unless they receive some fruit of their labours, I shall not have them long obedient to my orders; I am not however willing to give the city up to them to plunder; for I believe that it would thus be destroyed; and, in plundering, I know very well that the worst men would have the advantage." 12. Cræsus, on hearing this remark, said, "Allow me to signify to such of the Lydians as I think fit, that I have prevailed with you not to allow any plundering, nor to suffer our wives and children to be taken from us; and have promised you, in return, that you shall certainly receive from the Lydians, of their own accord, whatever there is of worth and value in Sardes; 13. for, when they hear of this arrangement, I know that there will be brought to you everything that is of value here, in the possession either of man or woman; and, nevertheless, in another year, the city will be again full of things of value in great abundance; but, if you plunder it, the arts, which they call the sources of what is valuable, will be ruined. 14. But you will still be at liberty, after you have seen what is brought to you, to consider whether you shall plunder the city or not. Send, however," added he, "in the first place, to my own treasures, and let your guards take them from my guards."

Cyrus agreed to act in all these particulars as Cræsus suggested. 15. "But, tell me, by all means," said he, "what results the communications from the oracle at Delphi pro-

duced; for Apollo is said to have received much attention from you, and it is reported that you acted in everything in obedience to his directions." 16. "Indeed, Cyrus," said he, "I could wish that it had been so; but I have gone on, from the very first, acting in direct opposition to Apollo." "How so?" said Cyrus; "instruct me; for what you say is very strange." 17. "Because, in the first place," said he, "neglecting to consult the god as to what I wanted, I made trial of him whether he was able to tell truth. But as to such a proceeding, not only a god, but even men of honour and integrity, when they find themselves distrusted, have no kindness for those that distrust them. 18. However, after he knew that I was doing extremely absurd<sup>1</sup> things, and that I was at a great distance from Delphi, I sent to consult him whether I should have children. 19. He at first made me no answer; but when, by sending him many offerings of gold, and many of silver, and making many sacrifices, I had rendered him, as I thought, propitious, he then, as I asked him what I should do to have children, gave me an answer, and said, 'that I should have them.' 20. I accordingly had children; for neither in this did he deal falsely with me; but, when I had them, they were of no profit to me, for one of them has continued dumb, and he that was the best of them perished in the flower of his age.<sup>2</sup> Being oppressed with affliction at the fate of my sons, I sent again, and inquired of the god what I should do, in order to pass the remainder of my life in the happiest manner; and he made answer,

'Know thyself, Croesus; then shalt thou live blest.'

21. When I heard this oracle, I was delighted; for I thought he granted me happiness, commanding me to do the easiest thing possible; since, as to other men, it was possible to know some and not others, but I thought that every man knew what he was himself. 22. After this, during the whole time that I continued in peace, I had nothing to charge upon fortune subsequently to the death of my son. And, when I was persuaded by the Assyrian king to attack you, though I fell into all sorts of danger, I yet came off safe, without incurring

<sup>1</sup> Boiling a tortoise and a lamb together in a brazen caldron: see Herod. i. 51, *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, i. 43. 85; Aulus Gellius, v. 9



any serious evil ; nor can I, in this matter, at all blame the god ; for, even after I found myself unable to cope with you, I escaped, with the help of the god, without injury, both myself and those that were with me. 23. But being then again corrupted by the riches which I possessed, by those who entreated me to be their chief, by the presents which they made me, and by men that, in flattery, told me that if I would take upon me the command, all would obey me, and I should be the greatest of mankind ; being puffed up, I say, by discourses of this kind, when all the kings around chose me as their leader in the war, I accepted the command, as if I were qualified to be the greatest of men, not indeed knowing myself, inasmuch as I imagined myself able to contend against you ; 24. you who, in the first place, are sprung from the gods, who are also descended from a line of kings, and who have practised, from your boyhood, everything honourable. But of my own ancestors, the first that reigned, I have heard, became a king and a freeman at the same time. Having been, therefore," added he, " thus ignorant of myself, I have justly suffered the penalty. But now, Cyrus, I do know myself. 25. And do you think that Apollo will still prove to have spoken truth, that I shall be happy by knowing myself ? I ask for this reason, that you seem to me likely to judge best, as to this point, at present, for you can fulfil the prediction."

26. Cyrus then said, " Give me your opinion, Cræsus, on this matter ; for, reflecting on your former happiness, I feel compassion for you, and permit you to have your wife whom you had before, as well as your daughters, (for I hear that you have daughters,) your friends, servants, and table that you used to keep ; but battles and wars I prohibit you." 27. " By Jupiter, then," said Cræsus, " deliberate no longer as to answering me concerning my happiness, for I tell you at once that if you do these things for me that you say you will, I shall now live in the enjoyment of that kind of life which others have thought the happiest ; and I concurred in opinion with them." 28. Cyrus then asked, " Who is there that enjoys such a happy course of life ?" " My own wife, Cyrus," said he ; " for she shared equally with me in all good, soothing, and agreeable things ; but in cares about the result of my present proceedings, and about wars and battles, she had no share. Thus, in my opinion, you provide for me as I pro-

vided for her whom I loved most of all human beings ; so that I think I owe Apollo further tokens of gratitude." 29. Cyrus, hearing him speak thus, admired his good humour ; and ever after took him with him wherever he went, either from thinking that he was of service to him, or deeming it safest to do so. Thus then they went to rest.

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### CHAPTER III.

Cyrus, hearing of the death of Abradates, prepares a magnificent funeral for him. Panthea kills herself. Cyrus raises a noble monument to both of them.

1. THE next day Cyrus, calling together his friends and the officers of the army, directed some of them to receive the treasures, and others to select from amongst all the riches that Cræsus should deliver up, first, such portions for the gods as the Magi should direct, and then to take the rest, and putting it into chests, place it on the waggons ; and so, distributing the waggons among them by lot, to carry it with them wherever they went, that, when opportunity served, they might receive each his due share. The officers acted accordingly.

2. Cyrus, then, calling to some of his attendants that were at hand, "Tell me," said he, "has any one of you seen Abradates ? for I wonder that he, who used to come so often to us before, is now nowhere to be seen." 3. One of the attendants replied, "He is no longer alive, O king, but died in the battle as he was charging with his chariot upon the Egyptians. All the rest, they say, except his particular companions, turned aside, when they saw the dense mass of the Egyptians. 4. His wife is now said to have taken up his dead body, to have placed it in her own carriage in which she rode, and to have brought it hither to some place by the river Pactolus ; 5. and they state that her eunuchs and servants are digging a grave for the deceased upon a certain hill. They also say that his wife, after having decked him with such ornaments as she had, is sitting upon the ground with his head upon her knees." 6. Cyrus, hearing this account, struck his thigh, sprung upon his horse immediately, and, taking with him a thousand cavalry, rode away to the scene of affliction. 7. He directed Gadatas

and Gobryas, at the same time, to bring whatever ornaments they could, suitable for a deceased friend and man of worth, and to follow him; and he ordered the officer, who had the charge of the cattle that followed the army, to drive both oxen and horses, and a large number of sheep, to the place where they should discover him to be, that they might be sacrificed in honour of Abradates.

8. When he saw the woman sitting upon the ground, and the dead body lying by her, he shed tears at the afflicting sight, and said, "Alas! thou brave and faithful soul! hast thou then left us?" At the same time, he took him by the right hand, and the hand of the deceased came away, for it had been cut off with a sword by the Egyptians. 9. He, at sight of this, was still more grieved; while the woman uttered a shriek, and, taking the hand from Cyrus, kissed it, fitted it to its proper place again, as well as she could, and said, 10. "The rest of the body, Cyrus, is in the same condition; but why should you see it? And I know that he has met this fate, in no small degree, through my means, and perhaps not less, Cyrus, through yours; for I, fool that I was! exhorted him earnestly to act in such a manner that he might appear to you a friend worthy of esteem; and he himself, I know, never thought of what he should suffer, but what he could do to please you. He died, therefore," she added, "without reproach, and I, who encouraged him, sit here alive!" 11. Cyrus wept for some time in silence, and then said, "He has died, O woman, a most honourable death, for he has died victorious! You, receiving these ornaments from me, adorn him with them; (Gobryas and Gadatas had now come up, bringing abundance of rich decorations;) and," continued he, "be assured that he shall not want honour in other respects; numbers of men shall raise him a monument worthy of us; and such sacrifices shall be offered in his honour as are suitable for a brave man. 12. You," added he, "shall not be left destitute, but I, for the sake of your modesty and every other virtue, will pay you honour in other ways, and will also place with you one who shall convey you wherever you please; only make it known to me to whom you desire to be conveyed." 13. Panthea replied, "Be of good courage, Cyrus; I will not conceal from you to whom I desire to go."

14. Having said this, he went away, feeling great pity for

the woman, that she should have lost such a husband, and for the man, that he should have left such a wife, never to see her more. Panthea then desired her eunuchs to retire, "until," said she, "I have lamented my husband as I wish." Her nurse she requested to stay, and charged her, when she was dead, to wrap her and her husband in one garment. The nurse, after having repeatedly begged her not to act thus, but making no impression on her, and seeing that she was growing angry, sat down weeping. Panthea, having before provided herself with a sword, stabbed herself, and laying her head upon her husband's breast, died. The nurse uttered a lamentable cry, and covered them both as Panthea had directed.

15. Cyrus, when he heard what the woman had done, was struck with grief, and hastened to see if he could be of any service. The eunuchs, three in number, as soon as they saw what had occurred, drew their swords and killed themselves, standing, at the time, where she had ordered them. 16. [The monument is said to have been formed of a mound extending to the place where the eunuchs fell; upon the pillar above, they say, the names of the man and woman are inscribed in Assyrian characters; below, they relate that there are three pillars, and that they are inscribed, OF THE EUNUCHS.]<sup>1</sup> 17. Cyrus, as he approached the scene of death, was struck with admiration of the woman, and went away, lamenting her fate. He attended, as was proper, to the dead, that they might receive every honour; and the monument, as they say, was raised to a very great height.

<sup>1</sup> There is much doubt respecting the genuineness of the original of the passage in brackets; perhaps it may be only out of place, and have been corrupted in transcription. I have translated *σκηπτούχων*, "Of the Eunuchs," because the *σκηπτούχοι*, or wand-bearers, were eunuchs; and also because *εὐνούχων* is the reading of some copies. "*Σκηπτούχοι* erant satellites, stipatores regis, spadones, qui prodeuntem comitabantur, equis vehentes, et pro sceptris et hastis tum jacula, ut videtur, gerentes." *Fischer*, ad vii. 3. 16.

## CHAPTER IV.

Adusius artfully puts an end to the disputes among the Carians. Hystaspes subdues Phrygia Minor. Cyrus leaves Sardes, accompanied by Croesus; he subdues, on his march, the Phrygians, Cappadocians, and Arabians; he directs his course towards Babylon.

1. SOON after, the Carians, dividing into factions, and going to war with one another, both parties, as they had their abodes in places of strength,<sup>1</sup> called for the interference of Cyrus. Cyrus, still remaining at Sardes, prepared engines and battering-rams to demolish the walls of those that should refuse to submit; and sent Adusius, a Persian, a man not incompetent in other respects, or unskilled in war, and of very agreeable manners, into Caria, assigning him a body of troops; 2. and the Cilicians and Cyprians very readily joined him in the expedition; in consideration of which service he never sent a Persian as governor over the Cilicians or Cyprians, as their native princes satisfied him; he, however, received tribute from them, and required them to furnish troops whenever he needed them. 3. Adusius, at the head of his force, advanced into Caria; and deputies from both parties of the Carians came to him, ready to admit him into their fortresses to the detriment of their opponents.

Adusius acted towards both parties in the following manner. With whichever side he conferred, he told them that they advanced more reasonable arguments than their adversaries, and that they must conceal from their antagonists that he and they had become friends, as he would thus be better able to surprise their adversaries unprepared. He thought it right that pledges of faith should be given, and that the Carians should swear that they would admit him and his people into their fortresses without treachery, and for the benefit of Cyrus and the Persians; and that he himself should swear to enter their fortresses without treachery, and for the benefit of those that admitted him. 4. Having done this, he arranged with both parties, each without the knowledge of the other, to admit him the same night; and, during that night, he hastily

<sup>1</sup> Their fortresses seem to have been nearly equal in strength; so that neither party could get the better of the other.

entered within their walls, and possessed himself of the fortifications of both. When day came, he took a position between them, with his troops about him, and summoned the proper persons on both sides to attend; who, when they saw each other, were indignant, thinking themselves deceived on both sides. 5. Adusius, however, addressed them to this effect: "I swore to you, men of Caria, that I would, without treachery, enter your fortifications, for the benefit of those that admitted me; if therefore I shall cut off either party, I shall think that I have effected this entrance to the damage of the Carians; but if I establish peace between you, and security for both parties to cultivate their lands, I shall consider I am come for your benefit. From this day, therefore, it is for you to join in intercourse with each other in a friendly manner, to cultivate your lands without fear, to give and receive each other's daughters in marriage; and if any attempt, contrary to these regulations, to do wrong to others, Cyrus and we will be their enemies." 6. In consequence, the gates of the fortresses were thrown open, the roads were filled with people going to meet one another, and the fields were covered with labourers; they celebrated festivals in common, and all was full of peace and cheerfulness.

7. At this time there came messengers from Cyrus, to inquire whether he wanted either a reinforcement or engines. Adusius replied, "That he was at liberty to use even his present forces elsewhere." And, at the same time that he said this, he led the body of his troops away, leaving garrisons in the fortresses. The Carians entreated him to stay, and, upon his refusal, they sent to Cyrus, requesting him to send Adusius to them as their governor.

8. Cyrus, meanwhile, had sent Hystaspes away with an army to Phrygia on the Hellespont; and, when Adusius arrived, he ordered him to follow with his army in the way that Hystaspes was gone before, that the Phrygians might more readily submit to Hystaspes, when they heard that there was another army marching towards them. 9. The Greeks, that dwelt upon the sea-coast, obtained, by making many presents, exemption from admitting the Barbarians within their walls, but engaged to pay a tribute, and serve in the field wherever Cyrus should command them. 10. The king of Phrygia strengthened himself, as intending to keep possession of his fortresses, and not

to submit, and sent word to that effect. But when the commanders under him revolted from him, and he was altogether deserted, he at last surrendered to Hystaspes, on the understanding that he should submit to the judgment of Cyrus. Hystaspes, leaving strong Persian garrisons in the forts, went away, and, together with his own men, carried off considerable numbers of the Phrygians, both cavalry and pel-tasts. 11. Cyrus sent orders to Adusius to join Hystaspes, and to bring with him such of the Phrygians as had taken his side, with their arms ; but from such as had shown an inclination to fight, to take away both their horses and arms, and oblige them all to attend the army with slings. Adusius and Hystaspes acted according to his orders.

12. Cyrus then set forward from Sardes, leaving there a numerous garrison of infantry, and taking with him Crœsus, and a great many waggons loaded with abundance of valuable property of every kind. Crœsus brought him an exact account in writing of what was in each waggon, and, delivering the writings to Cyrus, said, "By having these, Cyrus," you will know who delivers correctly the things that he conveys, and who does not." 13. Cyrus said, "You have done well, Crœsus, in taking this forethought ; however, those will convey the treasures for me, who are also worthy to possess them ; so that if they embezzle any of them, they will embezzle what belongs to themselves." As he spoke thus, he delivered the writings to his friends and officers, that they might know which of those who had charge of the property delivered it to them safe, and which of them did not. 14. He also took with him, under arms, such of the Lydians as he saw equipping themselves handsomely with arms, horses, and chariots, and using all their endeavours to do what they thought would please him ; but the horses of such as he saw follow him with dissatisfaction, he gave to the Persians that first took the field with him, and burned their arms ; and these also he obliged to attend the army with slings. 15. Indeed, all those that he disarmed, of the several nations that became subject to him, he obliged to practise the sling, regarding it as quite a servile weapon : for slingers, in conjunction with other forces, may sometimes be of very great use ; but an army consisting wholly of slingers would not, by themselves, with-

stand a very small force coming upon them with weapons for close combat.

16. In his march to Babylon he subdued the Phrygians of Greater Phrygia; he subdued also the Cappadocians, and reduced the Arabians to submission. Out of all these he made up not less than forty thousand Persian horsemen;<sup>1</sup> and many of the horses, that belonged to the prisoners, he distributed amongst the body of his allies. He arrived at Babylon, with a vast number of cavalry, a vast number of archers and javelin-men, and of slingers a countless multitude.

## CHAPTER V.

Cyrus draws his army round the city of Babylon, but, after seeing the strength of the place, retires. He then forms broad and deep trenches, as if with a view to a siege; at length, by drawing off the water of the Euphrates into the trenches, he surprises the Babylonians while sunk in revelry and sleep. Arrangement of affairs in the city. Cyrus artfully signifies to his friends that he ought but seldom to show himself in public. Speech of Artabazus on this point, showing how Cyrus had for a long time past been occupied. Cyrus's views supported by Chrysantas. Cyrus chooses a body-guard of eunuchs, and appoints officers of the palace and a garrison for the city. His speech to his friends on the general discipline to be instituted.

1. WHEN Cyrus reached Babylon, he ranged his whole army round the city, and then rode round it himself, with his friends, and the principal men of the allies. 2. When he had taken a view of the walls, he prepared to draw off the army from before the city; and a deserter coming off, told him, that they intended to fall upon him when he was leading the army away. "For, as they surveyed it from the walls," said he, "your line appeared to them to be but weak." Nor was it strange that such was the case; for, as his men encompassed a great extent of wall, his line was, of necessity, of little depth. 3. Cyrus, having heard this, took his stand in the centre of his army, with those that were about him, and gave orders that the heavy-armed men, drawing back their line

<sup>1</sup> *Περσῶν ἱππίας.*] That is, horsemen armed after the Persian manner.



from each extremity,<sup>1</sup> should move towards that part of the army that stood still, till each wing came over against himself and the centre. 4. As they made this movement, those who kept their place felt more confidence, from being of double depth; and those that changed their place felt more confidence likewise, for they that stood were of course next to the enemy. When, moving thus from each wing, they had united the extremities, they stood their ground with much more firmness; those who had altered their position by reason of those in front, and those in front by reason of those who had come up behind them; 5. and as the line was thus drawn back, the best soldiers were necessarily in the front and rear, while the worst were ranged in the middle.<sup>2</sup> A disposition of this kind seemed to be well adapted both for fighting and to prevent flight; and the horse and light-armed men from the wings came up always so much nearer the commander-in-chief, as the line became less extended by being doubled in depth. 6. When they were thus collected together, they retreated, as long as weapons could reach them from the walls, with their face toward the enemy; but when they were out of the reach of the weapons, they wheeled about, and moving forward at first but a few steps, wheeled again to the left, and halted facing the walls; and the farther they drew off, the less frequently they faced about; and when they thought themselves safe, they marched off without stopping till they reached their tents.

7. When they had encamped, Cyrus summoned to him the principal officers, and said, "Friends and allies, we have taken a view of the city round about, and I am unable to see how any enemy can take walls of such strength and height by assault. But the greater the number of men in the city is,

<sup>1</sup> See Anab. i. 10. 9. *Ἀναπτύσσειν* must doubtless be interpreted in the same way in both passages; part of the men were drawn back from the wings, (from one only in the manœuvres described in the Anabasis,) and ranged in the rear to deepen the line. Fischer observes that the line would be tripled in depth by the movements here described.

<sup>2</sup> We are to suppose, it would seem, that in the line of troops drawn round the city, the best men were posted in front. When the wings drew back, and passed behind the front, a portion of the best men would then be thrown into the rear; and from what Xenophon says here, we must conceive that they were sent rear-most of all, behind the inferior troops.

so much the sooner, (since they do not come out to fight,) I conceive that they may be reduced by famine. Unless you have some other method to propose, therefore, I think that the people must be besieged and taken by that means." 8. Chrysantas then said, "Does not this river, that is above two stadia in breadth, run through the midst of the city?" "Yes, indeed," said Gobryas, "and is of so great a depth, that two men, one standing upon the other, would not reach above the water; so that the city is still better defended by the river than by its walls." 9. Cyrus then said, "Chrysantas, let us think no more of what is beyond our power; <sup>1</sup> it must be our business, as soon as possible, to dig as broad and as deep a trench as we can, measuring out the proper portion for each division, so that we may want the fewer men to keep guard."

10. Measuring out, accordingly, the ground around the wall, and leaving a space by the side of the river sufficient to hold large towers, he dug on each side of the wall a very deep trench, and the men threw up the earth towards themselves.<sup>2</sup> 11. He then, in the first place, built towers upon the bank of the river, laying their foundation with palm-trees not less than a hundred feet in length; for there are some that grow even to a yet greater length; and palm-trees that are pressed by a weight, bend up under it,<sup>3</sup> like asses used to carrying loads. 12. He placed these below, with this object, that he might make it appear, as much as possible, that he was preparing to blockade the city, and in order that, if the river forced its way into the ditch, it might not carry off the towers. He raised likewise a great many other towers upon the earth which was thrown up, that he might have as many places as possible for stationing men on guard. Thus the troops of Cyrus employed themselves. 13. But those who were on the walls laughed at this blockade, as being furnished with provisions for more than twenty years. Cyrus, hearing

<sup>1</sup> Let us make no attempt to ford the river.

<sup>2</sup> The men threw up the earth on that side of the trench which was towards their own camp, not on that side which was towards the city. *Fischer.*

<sup>3</sup> This quality in the wood of the palm-tree is also mentioned by Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* v. 6; Pliny, *H. N.* xvi. 81; Strabo, xiv. p. 1063; Plutarch, *S. P.* viii. probl. 4; Aulus Gellius, iii. 6; John of Salisbury, *Polycrat.* v. p. 270. *Schneider.*

this, divided his army into twelve parts, as if he intended that each part should keep guard one month in the year. 14. When the Babylonians heard this, they laughed yet more than before; reflecting that Phrygians, Lydians, Arabians, and Cappadocians were to keep guard over them, men who were better affected to them than to the Persians.

15. The trenches were now dug; and Cyrus, when he heard that there was a festival in Babylon, in which all the Babylonians drank and revelled the whole night, took, during the time of it, a number of men with him, and, as soon as it was dark, opened the trenches on the side towards the river. 16. When this was done, the water ran off in the night into the trenches, and the bed of the river through the city allowed men to walk along it. 17. When the river was thus prepared, Cyrus gave orders to the Persian captains of thousands, of infantry and cavalry, to attend him, each with his thousand drawn up two abreast, and the rest of the allies to follow in the rear, ranged as they used to be before. 18. They accordingly came; and he, causing those that attended his person, both foot and horse, to go down into the dry channel of the river, ordered them to try whether the bed of the river was passable. 19. When they reported that it was passable, he called together the officers both of infantry and cavalry, and spoke to them as follows:

20. "The river, my friends, has yielded us a passage into the city; and let us boldly enter, fearing nothing within, but considering that these people, on whom we are now going to fall, are the same that we defeated when they had allies with them, and were all awake, sober, armed, and in order. 21. We shall now fall upon them at a time when many of them are asleep, many intoxicated, and all in confusion; and when they discover that we are in the city, they will, by reason of their consternation, be yet more unfit for service than they are now. 22. But if any one apprehend, (what is said to be terrible to those that enter a city,) lest, mounting to the tops of their houses, they throw down missiles upon us from every side, be quite at ease as to this point; for, if any of them climb upon the houses, we have the god Vulcan to fight on our side; their porches are easily set on fire, their doors are made of the palm tree, and anointed over with bitumen, a most combustile material. 23. We have torches in abund-

ance, that will presently take fire; we have plenty of pitch and tow, that will soon raise a strong flame; so that the people must, of necessity, flee from their houses at once, or at once be burnt. 24. Come then; take your arms, and, with the help of the gods, I will lead you on. You, Gobryas and Gadatas," added he, "show us the ways; for you are acquainted with them, and, when we are in, conduct us by the readiest approach to the palace." 25. "Indeed," said they that were with Gobryas, "it would not be at all wonderful if the doors of the palace were open, for the whole city seems to-night to be in a revel; but we shall meet with a guard in front of the gates, for there is always one placed there." "We must not then be remiss," said Cyrus, "but march, that we surprise them as little prepared as possible."

26. As soon as these words were spoken, they went forward; and, of those that met them, some were struck down and killed, some fled, and some raised a shout. They that were with Gobryas joined in the shout with them, as if they were revellers themselves, and, marching on the shortest way that they could, arrived at the palace. 27. Those who attended Gadatas and Gobryas, found the doors of the palace shut; those who were appointed to attack the guards, fell upon them, as they were drinking at a large fire, and dealt with them as with enemies. 28. As a great clamour and noise ensued, those who were within heard the tumult, and as the king ordered them to see what was the matter, some of them threw open the gates and rushed out. 29. Those who were with Gadatas, as soon as they saw the gates unclosed, burst in, and, pursuing those who fled, and dealing blows amongst them, came up to the king, and found him in a standing posture with his sword drawn. 30. The party of Gadatas and Gobryas, being numerous, mastered him; those who were with him were killed, one holding up something before him, another fleeing, and another defending himself in whatever way he could. 31. Cyrus sent troops of horse through the streets, bidding them kill those that they found abroad, and ordering some, who understood the Assyrian language, to tell those who were in the houses to remain within, and to say that, if any were found abroad, they would be killed. 32. These directions they obeyed. Gadatas and Gobryas now came up, who first paid their adoration to the gods, because

they had taken revenge upon their impious king, and then kissed the hands and feet of Cyrus, shedding many tears in the midst of their joy and satisfaction.

33. When day came, and they that held the towers of the city perceived that the place was taken and the king dead, they gave up the towers. 34. Cyrus immediately took possession of them, and sent commanders, with garrisons, into them. He gave up the dead to their relatives to bury, and ordered heralds to make proclamation, that all the Babylonians should bring out their arms, and gave notice, at the same time, that in whatever house any arms should be found, all the people in it should be put to death. They accordingly brought out their arms, and Cyrus had them deposited in the towers, that they might be ready, if he should ever want to use them.

35. When these matters had been settled, he first summoned the Magi, and directed them to select the first-fruits of the spoil for the gods, with certain portions of ground for sacred use, as from a city taken by the sword. He next distributed houses and palaces to those whom he regarded as sharers with him in what had been performed. He made the assignments in the manner that had been determined,<sup>1</sup> the best things to the most deserving; and if any thought that they had less than they merited, he desired them to come and state their case to him. 36. He gave notice to the Babylonians to cultivate their land, to pay their tribute, and to serve those under whom they were placed. The Persians, who shared with him in everything, and such of the allies as chose to remain with him, he ordered to communicate with those whom they took under them as masters.

37. Soon after, Cyrus, desiring now to make such arrangements for himself as he thought becoming a king, resolved to effect his object with the concurrence of his friends; his intention being to appear in public rarely and with dignity, yet so as to incur as little unpopularity as possible. He took his measures, therefore, in the following manner. Taking his station, in the morning, in some place which he thought eligible, he received any one that wished to speak with him, and, after giving him his answer, dismissed him. 38. The people, as soon as they knew that he would receive them, resorted to the place in unmanageable multitudes, and there was

<sup>1</sup> See ii. 3. 16.

a great strife and contention among them as they struggled to effect an approach ; while the attendants, making distinctions as well as they could, let them in. 39. When any of his friends, having pushed their way through the crowd, appeared before him, Cyrus, holding out his hand, drew them to him, and spoke to them thus : " Wait here, my friends, till we have despatched the crowd, and then we will confer at leisure." His friends accordingly waited, and the crowd flocked in more and more, till the evening came before he was at leisure to speak to his friends. 40. Cyrus then said, " Now, my friends, it is time to separate ; come again to-morrow morning, for I wish to have some conversation with you." His friends, hearing this, hurried off with great satisfaction, having long suffered from all the wants of nature. Thus then they went to rest.

41. The next day Cyrus attended at the same place ; and a much greater multitude of people, that were desirous to approach him, stood round about, attending much earlier than his friends. Cyrus, therefore, forming a large circle of Persian spear-men, bid them let none pass but his friends, and the generals of the Persians and allies. 42. When these were met, he spoke to them to this effect :

" Friends and allies, we have nothing that we can lay to the charge of the gods, as not having hitherto effected whatever we wished. But if the performance of great actions be attended with such consequences, that a person cannot obtain a little leisure for himself, or enjoy the company of his friends, I bid farewell to such good fortune. 43. You observed," continued he, " yesterday, that, beginning in the morning to give audience to those that came, we did not make an end before the evening ; and now you see those and others, more numerous than those who attended yesterday, are here ready to give us trouble. 44. If I submit myself, therefore, to these calls, I imagine that a very small part of me will fall to your share, and a very small part of you to mine ; and of myself I know very well that I shall have no share at all. Besides," added he, " there is another ridiculous thing that I observe. 45. I stand affected to you as it is natural that I should ; but, of those that stand here around, I know one or two, or, perhaps, none ; and these men range themselves in such a manner, as if they expected that if they can but get

the better of you by pushing, they will obtain what they desire from me sooner than you will. But I should think it right that such persons, if any of them want anything of me, should make their court to you that are my friends, and ask for an introduction. 46. Somebody, however, may ask, perhaps, 'Why I did not arrange matters thus from the beginning, but devoted myself in common to all?' I answer, Because I knew that the affairs of war are of such a nature, that a commander ought not to be the last to know what is proper to be known, or to execute what occasion may require; and I believed that such commanders, as were seldom to be seen, omitted many things that ought to be done. 47. But, since this most laborious war has now ceased, my own mind seems to me to require some rest. As I am at a loss, therefore, what to do, that our own affairs and those of others, of whom we ought to take care, may be regulated in the best manner, let some one recommend to us what he thinks most advantageous."

48. Thus spoke Cyrus; and Artabazus, he who had once said that he was his relation,<sup>1</sup> rose up after him and said, "You have done well, Cyrus, in entering on this subject; for, while you were yet very young, I conceived an earnest desire to become your friend, but seeing that you were not at all in want of me, I felt great reluctance to seek your notice. 49. But when you happened once to want me, to convey promptly the orders of Cyaxares to the Medes, I conceived that, if I performed this service for you with zeal, I should become your intimate friend, and have liberty to converse with you as long as I pleased. 50. The service was indeed executed in such a way that you gave me your commendation. But soon after the Hyrcanians (first of all) became our friends, when indeed we were much in want of supporters; so that, in our love for them, we almost carried them about in our arms. Afterwards, when the enemy's camp was taken, you had no leisure, I imagine, to concern yourself about me; and I excused you. 51. Soon after, Gobryas became your friend, and I was rejoiced that it was so; then Gadatas also; and it now became a downright labour to gain any share of your attention. When again the Sacians and Cadusians became your

<sup>1</sup> i. 4. 27.

allies, it was justly your part to make much of them, for they had made much of you. 52. When we came back again to the place from whence we set out, I, seeing you occupied with your horses, your chariots, and your machines, thought that, when you were at leisure from all that business, you would then have leisure to attend to me. But when the terrible news came that all mankind were assembling against us, I supposed that this would be the decisive struggle; and, if things succeeded well, I thought myself sure that there would be abundance of opportunity for enjoying each other's company. 53. We have now fought the important battle, and conquered; we have Sardes and Croesus in our power; we have taken Babylon; and have borne down all before us; and yet, by Mithras, yesterday, had not I made my way with my fist through the multitude, I had not been able to come near you; and, when you had taken me by the hand, and bid me stay by you, I then stood to be gazed at, for passing the whole day with you without either meat or drink. 54. Now, therefore, if any means can be found, that we, who have deserved best of you, may have the greatest share of your company, it is well; if not, I would wish again to give orders from you that all should depart, excepting us, that have been your friends from the beginning."

55. At this speech Cyrus and many others laughed; and Chrysantas, the Persian, stood up and spoke thus: "Hitherto, Cyrus, you very properly presented yourself openly to all, both for the reasons which you have yourself expressed, and because we were not the people that you were chiefly to court; for we attended for our own sakes; but your business was, by every method, to gain the multitude, that they might, with all possible satisfaction, be ready to undergo labours, and meet dangers with us. 56. But, since you are now not only in circumstances to effect this object, but are able to acquire other friends for whom you may have occasion, it is fit that you have a house yourself; or what enjoyment could you have in empire, if you were the only person destitute of a home, than which there is no place more sacred, more agreeable, or more dear to men? Besides," added he, "do you not think that we should be ashamed to see you enduring hardships abroad, while we ourselves should be in houses, and



appear to have the advantage of you?" 57. When Chry-santas had expressed this opinion, many more concurred with him in it.

Cyrus accordingly entered upon the possession of the palace, and those who had brought the treasures from Sardes delivered them up to him there. When Cyrus went in, he first sacrificed to the goddess Vesta, then to Jupiter the king, and to whatever other deity the Magi directed.

58. Having completed these proceedings, he now began to regulate other affairs; and reflecting what his object was, and that he was taking upon him the government of great multitudes of men; that he was preparing to fix his abode in the greatest city of all that were of note in the world, and that this city was as hostile to him as any city could be to a man, he, taking these things into his consideration, thought himself in want of a guard for his person; 59. and well knowing that men are at no time so easy to be attacked as while they are eating, or drinking, or bathing, or upon their bed, or asleep, he reflected with himself what sort of people he could have about him, who might be best trusted on such occasions; and he came to the conclusion, that no man could ever be trusted, who should love another more than the person that wanted his protection. 60. Such men, therefore, as had sons or wives, that were agreeable to them, or youths that were objects of their affection, he deemed to be under a natural necessity of loving them best; but observing that eunuchs were destitute of all these ties, he thought that they would have the greatest affection for those that were able to enrich them the most, to vindicate them if they were wronged, and to bestow honours upon them; and he thought that no one could exceed himself in showing them kindness. 61. In addition to these considerations, eunuchs, being objects of contempt to other men, are, for this reason, in want of a master to protect them; for there would be no man that would not think himself entitled to take advantage of a eunuch in everything, unless some superior power were to prevent him; but nothing hinders even a eunuch from being superior to all in fidelity to his master. 62. What most people are inclined to think, that eunuchs are destitute of all vigour, did not appear to him to be the case, and he formed his opinion from other animals; for vicious horses, when they

are castrated, give over biting, indeed, and being spiteful, but are not at all the less fit for service in war; bulls, that are castrated, lose their fiery spirit and unruliness, but are not deprived of their strength and fitness for labour; dogs, likewise, when castrated, cease to desert their masters, but are not at all less fitted for watching and the chase; 63. and men, also, by being deprived of this desire, become more gentle, but are not less careful of things that are given them in charge, or at all worse horsemen, or less able to throw the javelin, or less desirous of honour; 64. for they have shown, both in war and in hunting, that they still retain emulation in their minds. Of fidelity, on the fall of their masters, they have given the strongest proofs; for none have shown greater instances of attachment under the misfortunes of their masters than eunuchs. 65. And if they be thought to lose something in bodily strength, arms are able to make the weak equal to the strong in the field of battle. Having adopted these opinions, he made all the attendants about his person, from the door-keepers upwards, eunuchs.

66. But, thinking that this was not a sufficient guard against the multitude of people that were disaffected towards him, he considered whom he should take from among all the rest, to form the most faithful guard for him around the palace. 67. Knowing, therefore, that the Persians, while at home, were those that led the hardest of lives by reason of their poverty, and lived by the severest labour on account of the ruggedness of their country, and the necessity of working with their own hands, he thought that these would be the most pleased with that sort of life that they would lead with him. 68. He selected from among them, therefore, ten thousand spear-men, who were to keep guard, night and day, round about the palace, when he was at home; and, when he went abroad, were to be his attendants, ranged in military order on each side of him. 69. Thinking it necessary, too, that there should be a guard sufficient for the whole city of Babylon, whether he were present or absent, he established a strong garrison in Babylon, and obliged the Babylonians to furnish pay for it, wishing them to be as poor as possible, that they might be most humble and most easily managed. 70. These guards, that were then established about his own person and in Babylon, are maintained on the same footing to the present day.

Taking into his consideration, also, how his whole dominion might be maintained, and more added to it, he judged that these mercenaries<sup>1</sup> were not so much braver than the people subjected, as they were fewer in number,<sup>2</sup> and determined, accordingly, that he ought to retain those brave men, who had, with the assistance of the gods, secured him victory, and to take care that they should not grow remiss in the exercise of valour. 71. But that he might not seem to lay this as an obligation on them, but that they themselves, deeming such a course of conduct to be the best, might persevere in what was honourable, and cultivate it, he called together the Equals-in-honour, and all the superior officers, and such as appeared to him most worthy to share in his toils and gains; and, when they were met, he addressed them to this effect:

72. "My friends and allies, the greatest thanks are due to the gods, for having granted us to attain those things of which we thought ourselves worthy; for we are now masters of a large and valuable country, and of people who will maintain us by its cultivation. 73. We have houses, and furniture in them; and let none of you imagine that, in possessing these things, he possesses what belongs to another; for it is a perpetual law amongst all men, that, when a city is taken from an enemy, both the persons and property of the inhabitants belong to the captors. You will not, therefore, possess what you have, unjustly; but, whatever you suffer the people to retain, it will be from benevolence that you do not take it away.

74. As to the time to come, my conviction is, that if we resign ourselves to indolence, and to the luxury of the vicious, who think labour to be the greatest misery, and to live without labour to be pleasure, we shall soon become of little value to ourselves, and shall soon lose all our advantages. 75. For to have been once brave is not sufficient for continuing to be so, unless a man constantly keep that object in view. As other arts, when neglected, become of less worth; and as bodies in good condition, when we abandon them to inactivity, again become unhealthy; so prudence, temperance, and

<sup>1</sup> Those mentioned in the preceding section.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrus saw that the soldiers of the garrison, however brave and trustworthy they might be, were yet so far out-numbered by the people in the city, that they could not put them down, if they raised a rebellion. *Fischer.*

courage, when a man ceases to cultivate them, turn thenceforth again to vice. 76. We ought not, therefore, to be remiss, nor to give ourselves up to present pleasure ; for I think it a great thing to acquire dominion, but a yet greater to preserve it after having acquired it. For to acquire has often happened to him who has displayed nothing but boldness ; but to preserve, after having acquired, is not effected without prudence, or without self-control, or without much care ; 77. and, knowing that such is the case, it behoves us to practise virtue much more now, than before we made these valuable acquisitions ; being well assured, that, when a man has most in his possession, most people are then ready to envy him, to form designs against him, and to become his enemies ; especially if he hold possessions and service, as we do at present, from men against their wills. The gods, we ought to believe, will be with us ; for we do not possess these dominions unjustly, from having formed iniquitous designs upon them, but, from having had designs formed against ourselves, have taken revenge. 78. But we must secure for ourselves what is next best after this ; which is, to think ourselves worthy to rule only by being better than those under our rule. In heat, therefore, and in cold, in meat and drink, in labours and sleep, we must, of necessity, allow our dependants a share ; but, while we give them a share, we should first endeavour to appear their superiors in them.<sup>1</sup> 79. In the knowledge and practice of military affairs, however, we must not allow any share at all to such as we wish to have as labourers and tributaries ; but in exercises of this kind, we must preserve the ascendancy, feeling convinced that the gods have set these things before men, as the means of liberty and happiness. And as we have taken arms from others, so ought we never to be without arms ourselves ; well knowing, that to those who have always their arms nearest at hand, what they desire is most at command.

so. "If any one think thus within himself, 'What advantage is it to us to have effected what we desired, if we must still bear hunger and thirst, labour and application ?' he ought to learn, that good things give a man so much the more delight, as he has exerted the more labour beforehand to attain them ; for labour gives a relish to all good things ; and

<sup>1</sup> That is, we must endeavour to prove ourselves superior in enduring heat, cold, labour, and abstinence from meat, drink, and sleep.

without desire in a person to obtain a thing, there is nothing that can be acquired at such expense as to be pleasant to him.

81. If some divinity has assisted us in providing for ourselves those things that men most desire, and each individual of us will so order these things for himself as that they may appear most pleasant, he will, by acting thus, have so far the advantage of those who are less supplied with necessities, that he will secure the most agreeable food when he is hungry, enjoy the most agreeable drink when he is thirsty, and, when he wants rest, experience the most agreeable sleep.

82. For these reasons, I say, we must now be intent on acting as brave men, that we may enjoy our advantages in the best and most agreeable manner, and that we may not experience the most grievous of all things; for it is not so distressing not to have acquired advantages, as it is painful to be deprived of them after having acquired them.

83. Consider, too, what pretence we can have to desire to be less meritorious than before. Is it because we hold dominion? But it does not become a prince to be a worse character than those who are under his command. Or is it because we seem to be more prosperous now than before? But will any man say that vice is an ornament to prosperity? Or is it that, since we have gotten slaves, we shall punish them if they are vicious? But how does it become him that is himself vicious to punish others for vice and sloth?

84. Consider further, that we are preparing to maintain numbers of men, as guards to our houses and persons; and how would it be otherwise than disgraceful to us, if we should think it becomes us to secure safety by means of others acting as guards, and should not act the part of guards to ourselves? You ought to be well assured, indeed, that there is no other guard so secure as for each of us to be honourable and brave. This persuasion must keep you company; for, with him who is destitute of virtue, nothing can go well.

85. How then do I say that you should act? where practise virtue, and where apply to the exercise of it? I have nothing new, my friends, to tell you; but as, among the Persians, the Equals-in-honour pass their time about the courts, so, I say, it is our part, being all honoured here, to practise the same things that are practised there; and it behoves you, keeping your eyes upon me as you attend here, to observe if I continue studious of the things of which I ought to be studious;

while I shall keep my eyes intent upon you, and such as I see practising what is good and excellent, I shall reward. 86. Our children, also, to whomsoever of us any shall be born, we may instruct here; for we ourselves shall be better men by being desirous to show ourselves as the best possible examples to our children; and our children will not easily become vicious, even though they incline to be so, when they neither see nor hear anything unbecoming, but pass their whole time in honourable and virtuous pursuits."

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## BOOK VIII.

### CHAPTER I.

Chrysantas expresses his assent to the propositions of Cyrus, and recommends that all respect and honour should be paid him. Duties of the palace appointed by Cyrus. His regulations for the frequent attendance of the noblemen at court. He excites others to a virtuous life by his example. He promotes the exercise of hunting. He encourages splendour. He prohibits slaves from the use of arms, and all liberal culture. His power of attaching all classes of people to himself, and rendering them his friends.

1. **THUS** said Cyrus. After him Chrysantas rose, and spoke as follows: "I have frequently observed, my friends, at other times, that a good ruler differs in no respect from a good father; for fathers take thought for their children, in order that what is for their advantage may never be wanting to them; and Cyrus seems to me to recommend to us, on the present occasion, a course of conduct by which we may continue to enjoy the greatest happiness. But what he appears to me to have stated less fully than was necessary, I will endeavour to explain to those who are not aware of it; 2. for consider what city belonging to an enemy can possibly be taken by men who are not obedient to command; or what friendly city can be preserved by men who are not obedient; or what army, consisting of disobedient soldiers, can obtain victory; or how can men be sooner defeated in battle, than

when they begin separately to consult each for his own safety ; or what other important object can be accomplished by such as do not submit to the direction of their superiors. What cities can be governed according to laws ? What families can be preserved ? 2. How do ships arrive at the place to which they are bound ? By what other means have we obtained the advantages that we possess, more than by being obedient to our commander ? By observing this duty, we have reached, by night and by day, the places to which we had to march ; by following our commander in compact order, we have been irresistible ; and of whatever has been commanded us, we have left nothing half-finished. If obedience to command therefore be of the greatest importance in order to the accomplishment of excellent objects, be assured that it is also of the greatest importance for preserving what is necessary for us to preserve. 4. Hitherto most of us have had the command of none, but have been subject to the command of others ; but now, all of you that are here present, are placed in such a condition that you have command, some over more, some over fewer. As you shall think it right, therefore, to rule those that are under you, so let us submit to those to whom it becomes us to submit. We ought so far to distinguish ourselves from slaves, that slaves do service to their masters against their wills ; while it behoves us, if we desire to be free, to perform willingly what appears to be of the highest importance. And you will find," added he, "that even where a people are governed without a monarchy, that state which is most willing to obey its rulers, is always least liable to the necessity of submitting to its enemies. 5. Let us, therefore, attend at the palace as Cyrus directs ; let us practise those things by which we may be best enabled to preserve what we ought to preserve ; and let us submit ourselves to Cyrus, to employ us in whatever service he may think proper ; for we ought to be well assured, that Cyrus can find nothing in which he will employ us for his own advantage, and not for ours, since the same things are profitable for us both, and we have both the same enemies."

6. When Chrysantas had spoken thus, many others, both of the Persians and allies, rose up to speak to the same effect ; and it was determined, that the men of quality should attend, from time to time, at Cyrus's door, and offer themselves for

his service, in whatever way he might think fit, till he himself should dismiss them; and as it was then determined, so also the people in Asia, that are under the king, continue to do to the present day, attending at the doors of their princes. 7. And as it has been shown in this book how Cyrus established things, in order to secure dominion to himself and the Persians, so the kings who have succeeded him, continue to observe the same institutions to the present time. 8. But it is the same with these regulations as with others; when there is a better governor, the rules are observed more strictly, and when there is a worse, more negligently. The men of quality, therefore, attended at the gates of Cyrus with their horses and lances, as had been agreed by the chief of those who had assisted him in the overthrow of the Assyrian empire.

9. Cyrus next appointed different officers to attend to different affairs. He had his receivers of the revenues, his paymasters, his overseers of works, keepers of his treasures, and persons to provide whatever was proper for his table. He appointed, as masters of his horses and dogs, such as he thought would maintain those animals in the best condition for his use. 10. But as to those whom he thought fit to make joint guardians of his power, he himself took care, that they should be the most eligible persons possible, and did not assign the care of the selection to others, but considered it as peculiarly his own business. He knew that if ever he should have to fight a battle, it was from these that he must choose his staff and supporters, with whom the greatest dangers must be faced; he knew that from these he must appoint commanders of his infantry and cavalry; and if he should require generals to serve where he himself was not present, he knew that it was out of these they must be sent. 11. Some of them he knew that he must employ as guardians and satraps of cities and whole nations; and some of them must be sent as ambassadors, an office which he thought of the greatest consequence for obtaining what he might desire without war. 12. If those, therefore, by whom the most important and most numerous affairs were to be conducted, should not be such as they ought to be, he thought that matters would go ill with him; but if they should be such as they ought to be, he expected that all would go well.

With such sentiments, he took this care upon him, and con-



sidered that the same exercise of virtue was to be observed by himself; for he thought it impossible for a man who was not himself such as he should be, to incite others to honourable and virtuous actions. 13. As he made these reflections, he thought that leisure, in the first place, was necessary, if he would have it in his power to attend to affairs of the highest importance. He indeed thought he must not be negligent of his revenues; foreseeing that, in a great government, he must of necessity be at great expense; but, on the other hand, as his possessions were very great, he saw that to be always himself occupied about them would leave him no leisure to attend to the safety of the whole.

14. Meditating, accordingly, how the economy of his empire might be properly arranged, and he, at the same time, might have leisure, he began to reflect on the order of an army. For as the captains of ten, in most matters, have the command of their several decads; the captains of twenty-five of the captains of ten; the captains of a thousand of the captains of twenty-five;<sup>1</sup> and the captains of ten thousand of the captains of thousands; so that no one is left without superintendence, even if the army consists of very many myriads of men; and when the general wishes to employ the army on any service, it is sufficient if he gives his orders to the commanders of ten thousand; 15. as these affairs, therefore, were regulated, Cyrus accordingly arranged under certain heads his civil affairs; so that he was enabled, by speaking with a few persons only, to keep every department of his affairs under superintendence; and he had consequently more leisure than another man, who had charge but of a single house or a single ship. Having thus arranged his own business, he taught those about him to adopt the same method.

16. In this manner he secured leisure both for himself and his ministers; and he then began to study that the participants of his cares should be such as they ought to be. In the first place, whoever were able to subsist by the labour of others, and did not attend at his gate, he inquired for them, believing that such as attended would not do anything base or

<sup>1</sup> Bornemann supposes that the taxiarchs, or centurions, are here omitted, perhaps by the negligence of a transcriber, and that the passage may have originally stood thus: *λοχαγοὶ δὲ δεκαδάρχων, ταξίαρχοι δὲ λοχαγῶν, χιλίαρχοι δὲ ταξίαρχων, μυρίαρχοι δὲ χιλίαρχων.*

dishonourable, both by reason that they would be near their prince, and that, whatever they did, they would be observed by the most respectable men. Such as did not attend, he suspected of absenting themselves, either to indulge in some vicious passion, some unjust practices, or neglect of duties. 17. We shall first, therefore, state how he obliged such men to attend. He would desire one of those about him, that were his chief friends, to take possession of what belonged to the person that did not attend, declaring that he was taking possession of his own property. When this was done, they that were dispossessed would immediately come to complain to him, as persons that had been wronged. 18. Cyrus, for a long while, would not be at leisure to give such men a hearing; and, when he had heard them, would defer the decision of the matter for a long while. By acting thus, he expected to accustom them to pay their court to him, incurring, at the same time, less ill-will from them, than if he had himself forced them to attend, by inflicting punishments upon them. 19. This was one of his modes of instruction to make men attend upon him. Another was, to give those that attended such commissions as were most easy and most profitable. Another was, never to allow the absent a share in any advantage. 20. But his chief method of compulsion was, if a man was regardless of any other, to take from him what he had, and to give it to another that he thought would make it his business to attend on proper occasions. Thus he gained a useful friend, instead of a useless one; and the present king still makes inquiry if any one of those be absent whose duty it is to attend.

21. In this manner did he conduct himself to those who did not attend upon him: but those who afforded him their services he thought that he should best excite to honourable and virtuous actions, if, as he deemed himself rightfully their prince, he should endeavour to prove himself to those whom he governed the most accomplished of all men in virtue; 22. for he felt convinced, indeed, that men were rendered better by written laws; but a good prince, he considered, was to men a living law, because he was able both to direct, to observe, and to punish, any one that misconducted himself.

23. Such being his judgment, he showed himself, in the first place, most anxious to discharge his duties to the gods,

at the time when he was in the greatest prosperity ; and it was then that the Magi were first established under him ;<sup>1</sup> and he used to sing a hymn to the gods always at break of day, and to sacrifice every day to such deities as the Magi directed. 24. The regulations that were thus instituted at that time are continued under the kings, as they succeed to the throne from time to time, to the present day. In these respects, accordingly, the other Persians were the first to follow his example, trusting that they should be the more fortunate, if they worshipped the gods as he did, who was the most fortunate of all, and their prince ; and they thought that, by acting thus, they should please Cyrus. 25. But Cyrus accounted the piety of those about him an advantage to himself ; feeling like those who choose to undertake a voyage in company with men of piety, rather than with such as are thought to have been guilty of anything impious. He also considered, that, if all his associates were religious, they would be the less likely to commit any impiety towards each other, or towards him, who deemed himself the benefactor of such as shared his power. 26. By manifesting, too, that he esteemed it of great importance to do no injury to any friend or ally, but to adhere strictly to justice, he thought that others would abstain the more from dishonourable gains, and would take care to acquire property only by just means. 27. He was of opinion, moreover, that he should the better inspire other men with a sense of propriety, if he himself should appear to pay so great a respect to all, as never to say or do anything unbecoming. 28. He conjectured that such would be the case from the following consideration, that in regard not only to a prince, but even to such persons as men do not fear, they pay more respect to those that observe decency than to the shameless ; and that to women, whom they see respect themselves, they more readily pay respect in turn. 29. He thought also that a disposition

<sup>1</sup> Hitherto, during his expedition, Cyrus had consulted the priests either of the Persians or Medes, but he now received into his newly settled empire, and into his palace, the Magi who had been priests of the Medes. See Heeren, *Ideen*, vol. i. p. i. p. 455, *seqq.* *Bornemann*. Instead of the imperfects ὑμνεῖ and ἔδνε, Fischer reads in the infinitive ὑμνεῖν and ἔδνεῖν, giving the sense that "the Magi were appointed to sing," &c. Hutchinson, and many of the older editors, have the infinitives ; but all the modern editors have adopted the imperfects.

to obedience would be the more firmly established in those about him, if he were seen to bestow greater rewards upon such as obeyed him without hesitation, than upon such as seemed to display the greatest and most laborious virtues. 30. In this opinion, and in this practice, he always continued; and by showing modesty in his own conduct, he caused every one else to practise it the more readily; for when men see one, that has it most in his power to behave with insolence, conducting himself with modesty, those even of inferior rank are the more solicitous not to be seen doing anything insolent. 31. He distinguished shame and natural modesty in this manner; that those who felt shame, avoided what was unbecoming while they were under observation, but that the naturally modest avoided it even in secret. 32. He thought, likewise, that a command of the passions would be best practised, if he showed that he himself was not drawn away by present pleasures from the pursuit of what was right, and that he preferred labouring for a noble end before all delights. 33. Observing, therefore, such conduct himself, he established extreme good order among the inferior officers at his gates, (who readily submitted to their superiors,) and produced in them great respect and politeness of demeanour one towards another. You would not see any one there in anger, breaking out into loud clamour, or expressing pleasure with insulting laughter; but, as you looked on them, you would have thought that they lived in reality only with a view to the attainment of honour. 34. In the practice and contemplation of such things they passed their days at the doors of Cyrus.

In order to inure them to exercises suitable for military men, he led out all those to hunt who, he thought, ought to take that exercise; considering this indisputably the best preparation for warlike employments, as well as the most efficient exercise in the art of riding; 35. for it renders men, more than any other exercise, able to sit firm on horseback, in all sorts of ground, through pursuing the wild beasts in their flight; and it makes them, more than any other exercise, capable of acting on horseback, from their eagerness to gain commendation in it, and desire of taking their game. 36. By this exercise he effectually accustomed his associates to be able to bear a restraint upon themselves, as well as toil, cold, heat, hunger, and thirst; and the king that now

reigns, together with those about him, continue still the same practice.

37. It is evident, therefore, from all that has been said, that he thought no one had any business with government, who was not himself better than those whom he governed; and that by thus exercising those about him, he inured himself, most of all, to self-command, and to military arts and exercises; 38. for he led out others to hunt, when there was no necessity for him to stay at home; and, when there was such necessity, he used to hunt the beasts that were maintained in his parks. He never took his dinner till he had well exercised himself, nor did he ever allow food to be thrown to his horses before they were exercised; and he invited also the eunuchs with him to these hunting-matches. 39. He himself, therefore, greatly excelled in all noble attainments, as did also those who were about him, by reason of their constant exercise. Such an example did he show himself to others; and, besides, whomsoever he saw the most zealous in the pursuit of what was honourable, he rewarded them with presents, with commands, with the principal seats, and with all kinds of honours; so that he raised great emulation in all, to strive that each might appear to Cyrus most worthy of distinction.

40. We believe that we have also observed in the character of Cyrus, that he thought that princes ought not to differ from those under their dominion, merely in being more accomplished than they, but that they ought even to impose upon them. He at least chose to wear the Median dress himself, and persuaded his associates to wear it; for, if a man had any defect in his person, this dress seemed to him adapted to conceal it, and to make the wearers appear extremely handsome and tall; 41. for the Medes have a sort of shoe, into which they may easily and secretly fit something under their feet, so as to seem taller than they really are. He allowed them also to colour their eyes, that they might appear to have finer eyes than they really had, and to paint themselves, that they might appear of better complexions than they naturally were. 42. He made it his care, likewise, that they should not be seen spitting, or blowing the nose, or turning aside to gaze at anything; as if they were men that admired nothing. All these things, he thought, tended in some degree to make them less likely to lose respect in the eyes of those under their authority.

43. Such as he thought worthy to govern, he, of himself, trained in this manner, both by exercise, and by presiding over them with dignity. But those whom he trained for servitude, he never incited to practise any liberal pursuit, or allowed them to possess arms, but took care that they should never go without their meat and drink for the sake of such liberal exercises; 44. for when, with the cavalry, they were to drive out the wild beasts into the plains, he ordered food to be carried to the chase for their use,<sup>1</sup> but not for any of the well-born. When he was on a march, he led them to water like beasts of burden, and when the time for dinner came, he used to wait till they had eaten something, that they might not suffer from excessive hunger.<sup>2</sup> So that this class of people, as well as the nobles, called him their father, for taking care that, beyond all doubt, they should always continue slaves.<sup>3</sup>

45. He thus secured stability for the whole Persian empire; and he felt very confident that he himself was in no danger of suffering any harm from the conquered,<sup>4</sup> for he thought them spiritless, and saw that they were destitute of all order; and, besides, none of them ever came near him by night or day. 46. But such as he observed to be of the better class, he saw armed and united; some of them he knew to be captains of horse, some of foot, and many of them he found to be possessed of such abilities as to be competent to govern; these associated much with his own guards, and many of them were frequently in company with himself, (for it was necessary that it should be so, if he were to make any use of them,) and from this sort of persons there was danger in the greatest degree that he might suffer harm in many ways. 47. Meditating, therefore, how he might enjoy security also from these, he did not approve of taking away their arms and rendering them unfit for war, both deeming it unjust, and believing it would tend to a dissolution of his empire; but, on the other hand, not to admit them to his presence, and to appear openly distrustful of them, he thought likely to prove the

<sup>1</sup> It would have been foreign to the policy of Cyrus to have taught the servile class to endure privations equally with those of higher rank.

<sup>2</sup> Βουλιμιψεν.] See Anab. iv. 5. 7.

<sup>3</sup> An ironical observation of Xenophon. Lange.

<sup>4</sup> That is, those of the lower class, as appears from what follows.

commencement of an insurrection. 48. Instead of any of these expedients, there was one that he thought to be most for his security, and most honourable of all, which was, to try if he could make the nobles more friendly to himself than to one another. By what means, then, he appears to me to have come to be loved, I will endeavour to relate.

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## CHAPTER II.

Cyrus's attention and liberality to his friends. His conversation with Cræsus on this subject. His institution of physicians. His encouragement of games and contests for prizes.

1. IN the first place, he displayed, on all occasions, as much as he could, a humanity of feeling; reflecting that, as it is not easy for men to love those who seem to hate them, or to bear good-will to the ill-intentioned, so those that were known to love and bear good-will, could not be hated by such as thought themselves beloved by them. 2. Whilst, therefore, he had not so much power<sup>1</sup> to bestow benefits in money, he endeavoured to gain friendship by taking forethought for those about him, by appearing pleased at their successes, and concerned at their misfortunes; but when he had the means of gratifying his friends with presents, he seems to me to have been well aware that there is no kindness interchanged by men with one another, at the same expense, more acceptable than that of sharing meat and drink with them.

3. Being of this opinion, he first appointed, with regard to his table, that of whatever dishes he ate, a number of dishes similar to these, sufficient for several persons, should always be set before him; and all that was placed on the table, except what himself and his guests consumed, he distributed to those of his friends of whom he wished to testify remembrance or love. He sent portions also to those with whose conduct he happened to be pleased, whether on guard, in attendance on himself, or in whatever other employments; thus signifying, that those who were desirous to please him, could not escape his notice. 4. He paid the same honour from his table to his

<sup>1</sup> Before he had made his great conquests of Sardis and Babylon.

own domestics, when he was inclined to praise any one of them; and he had all the food of his domestics placed upon his own table, thinking that this practice would inspire them, like dogs, with a certain attachment to him. If he wished any one of his friends to be courted by many people, he sent him presents from his table; for, even to this day, all pay greater court to those to whom they see presents sent from the king's table, regarding them as men in great honour, and capable of effecting for them whatever they may want. Nor is it on these accounts only, that have been mentioned, that the things sent from the king are pleasing, but dishes that come from the king's table are in reality superior in flavour; 5. and it is not at all wonderful that such is the case; for as other arts, in great cities, are brought to a high degree of excellence, so the meats on the king's table are dressed in the best possible manner. In small towns, the same man makes a couch, a door, a plough, and a table; and frequently the same person is a builder too, and is very well content if he can thus find customers enough to maintain him; and it is impossible for a man who works at many things to do them all well; but, in great cities, because there are numbers that want each particular thing, one art alone suffices for the maintenance of each individual; and frequently indeed, not an entire art, but one man makes shoes for men, and another for women; sometimes it happens, that one gets a maintenance merely by stitching shoes, another by cutting them out, another by cutting out upper-leathers<sup>1</sup> only, and another by doing none of these things, but simply putting together the pieces. He, therefore, that is employed in a work of the smallest compass, must, of necessity, do it best. 6. Matters relating to the table are in the very same case; for he that has the same man to spread the couches, to set out the table, to knead the dough, to dress sometimes one dish, and sometimes another, must neces-

<sup>1</sup> *χιτῶνας*.] The word *χιτῶνες*, applied to the shoemaker's art, means "the upper and under leathers" of shoes. At least Aristotle calls "the upper leather of a shoe" *χιτῶνα ὑποδήματος*, as Casaubon has observed, ad Trebell. Poll. p. 210, Par. *Fischer*. The passage of Aristotle, in which *χιτῶν* is used with reference to a shoe, is *Rhet.* ii. 19. 10. Zeune and Bornemann, however, think that *χιτῶν* is here used by Xenophon in its usual sense, for "a coat," but it seems decidedly better to understand the whole passage as having reference to shoemakers only.



sarily, I think, fare in each particular as it may happen ; but where there is employment enough for one man to boil meat, for another to roast it, for one to boil fish, for another to broil it, and for another to make bread, (and that not of every sort either, but it is enough for him to furnish one sort good,) each man, in my opinion, must of necessity bring the things that are thus made to very great perfection. Cyrus therefore, by such means, greatly exceeded all other people in making presents of dishes from his table.

7. How he excelled in attaching men to him by every other means, I will now proceed to relate. As he far exceeded other men in the greatness of his revenues, he exceeded them still more in the multitude of his presents. Cyrus, therefore, began this custom ; and the practice of making abundance of presents continues, to this day, among the Persian kings. 8. Who is known to have richer friends than the king of Persia ? Who is known to adorn those about him with finer habits than that monarch ? Whose presents are known to be like some of those bestowed by this king, bracelets, collars, and horses with bits of gold ? for no one there is allowed to possess such things but he to whom the king gives them. 9. What other man can be said to make himself preferred before brothers, before fathers, before children, by the greatness of his presents ? What other man has such power to chastise his enemies, that are distant from him many months' journey, as the Persian king has ? What other man but Cyrus, after having overturned an empire, ever died with the title of FATHER from the people whom he had brought under his power ? For it is plain that this is a name for one that bestows rather than for one that takes away.

10. We understand, too, that he gained those men that are called the *eyes* and the *ears* of the king, by no other means, than by bestowing presents and honours upon them ; for, by being very bountiful to such as told him what was proper for him to know, he caused numbers of people to watch both with ears and eyes, to find something to report by which they might gratify the king. 11. The eyes of the king were accordingly thought very numerous, and his ears equally numerous. But if any one thinks that one person only should be chosen by the king as his eye, he judges erroneously ; for one man would see but few things, and one man would hear

but few ; and, if such charge were given to one only, it would be as if others were ordered to neglect it ; besides, whomsoever people knew to be this eye, they would be aware that they must be on their guard against him. But such is not the case ; for the king gives audience to every one that says he has heard or seen anything worth his attention. 12. Thus the ears and eyes of the king appear to be very many ; and people are everywhere afraid of saying anything offensive to the king, just as if he himself could hear them ; and of doing anything offensive, just as if he himself were present. Not only, therefore, did no one dare to say anything unfavourable of Cyrus to anybody, but every one felt as if he was always amidst the eyes and ears of the king perpetually attending him.

For this disposition of men towards him, I know not what cause we can better assign, than that he desired to bestow great benefits in return for small ones. 13. Nor is it to be wondered at, that he, who was the richest of all, should exceed all in the greatness of his presents ; but that one holding royal dignity should exceed others in service and attention to his friends, is more worthy of record. He is said to have been evidently ashamed of nothing so much as of being outdone in serving his friends, 14. and a saying of his is recorded, signifying, " That the business of a good herdsman and that of a good king were similar ; for a herdsman," he said, " ought to keep the herd in happiness, such as the happiness of cattle can be, while using them, and that a king ought, in like manner, to make cities and men happy, while making use of them." It is no wonder, therefore, if such were his sentiments, that he had an ambition to surpass all other people in doing service to men.

15. Cyrus is said to have given the following excellent lesson to Cræsus, on a certain occasion when Cræsus suggested to him that, by making so many presents, he would become poor, while it was in his power to lay up at home vast treasures of gold for the use of himself individually. It is said that Cyrus then asked him, " What sums do you think I should now have in my possession, if I had been hoarding up gold, as you bid me, ever since I have been in power ?" 16. That Cræsus, in reply, named some large sum ; and that Cyrus rejoined ; " Well, Cræsus, send, with Hystaspes here, some

person in whom you have full confidence; and you, Hystaspes," added he, "go round among my friends, tell them that I am in want of money for a certain object, (and, in reality, I am in want of some,) and bid them supply me with as much as they respectively can, writing down the sum, sealing up the writing, and giving it to Cræsus's officer to bring to me."

17. Then, writing down what he had said, and sealing it, he gave it to Hystaspes to carry to his friends, adding in the letter to them all, "That they should receive Hystaspes as his friend." After he had gone round, and Cræsus's officer brought the letters, Hystaspes said, "O Cyrus, my king, you must now treat me as a rich man, for I come to you with many gifts in consequence of your letter." 18. "This, then," said Cyrus, "is one treasury for me,<sup>1</sup> Cræsus; but look over the others, and count up what money is ready for me, if I want to use it." Cræsus, upon calculation, is said to have found many times the sum that he told Cyrus he might now have had in his treasury, if he had hoarded. 19. Such being plainly the case, Cyrus is reported to have said,

"You see, Cræsus, that I have my treasures too; but you bid me hoard them up in my own possession, to be envied and hated for them, and to set hired guards over them, and trust in them; but by making my friends rich, I consider them as my treasures, and as guards both to myself and to all things of value that belong to us, and more trust-worthy ones than if I were to appoint a guard of hirelings. 20. I will also tell you another thing; I am not able to get the better of that passion which the gods have put into the minds of men, and thus made them all equally poor, but am, like other men, insatiably desirous of wealth; 21. I seem, however, to differ from most men in this respect; that they, when they have acquired more goods than are sufficient for them, bury some of them in the ground, allow some to go to decay, and take great trouble about other portions, counting, measuring, weighing, airing, and watching them, and yet, though they have so many things in their houses, they neither eat more than they are able to bear, for they would then burst, nor put on more clothes than they can bear, for they would then be suffocated, but have all their superfluous riches only as so much trouble; 22. whereas, I serve the

<sup>1</sup> Meaning Hystaspes.

gods, and am very desirous of getting more; but, when I have got it, whatever I find to be more than suffices me, I satisfy the wants of my friends with it, and, by enriching and benefiting other men with it, I gain their good-will and their friendship, from which I enjoy security and glory, things that do not decay, and do not injure by over-abundance; but glory, the more of it there is, the greater and more noble is it, and the lighter to bear, and it often makes those that bear it lighter. 23. That you may be convinced of this, Cræsus," said he, "I do not consider those who possess most, and keep guard over most, to be the happiest men; for then guards upon the walls would be the happiest of all men, since they have the custody of all that there is in whole cities; but I count him the happiest man, who acquires the most with strict regard to justice, and who uses the most with honour." Such maxims he evidently practised, in conformity with his words.

24. Having, besides, observed that most men, if they enjoy uninterrupted health, take care to have everything in accordance with it, and lay up what is adapted for the course of life of men in health, while he saw that they were by no means solicitous how they should have necessaries if they fell sick, he thought proper to provide himself with such matters also, and collected round him, through willingness to bear the expense, the very best physicians; and whatever instruments, medicines, meats, or drinks, any one of them told him would be of use, there was not one of them that he did not provide for himself, and treasure up. 25. And when any of those, of whom it was proper for him to take care, fell ill, he went to see them, and furnished them with whatever they wanted; and was thankful to the physicians whenever they wrought a cure on any one, and took the things with which they effected it from his store.<sup>1</sup> 26. These and many other such methods did he contrive, in order to gain the principal place in the affections of those by whom he desired to be beloved.

The things, also, in which he appointed games, and offered prizes, from a desire to raise an emulation in men with regard to noble and beneficial objects, gained Cyrus the applause of being solicitous that what was honourable should be kept in

<sup>1</sup> Ὅποτε τις λάσαιτό τινα τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνων.] For τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου, λαμβάνων αὐτά. Porro.

practice. These games indeed created among the nobles a mutual strife and emulation; 27. and besides, Cyrus established as a law, that in whatever required adjudication, whether it were a matter of right, or a dispute relating to games, the parties requiring such decision should have joint recourse to certain judges; and it is plain that both the parties at variance would aim at obtaining such judges as were the best, and most friendly to them; and that he who lost his cause would envy him that gained it, and hate the judges that did not pronounce in favour of himself; while he that gained his cause would attribute his success to the justice of it, so that he would consider he owed nobody any thanks. 28. Those, too, who wished to have the first place in the friendship of Cyrus, were, like others in cities, envious of each other, so that most of them rather wished one another out of the way, than sought to act in concert together for any good to each other. These things make it evident by what means he made all the eminent men more friendly towards himself than they were towards one another.

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### CHAPTER III.

Procession of Cyrus to sacrifice at the temples. The sacrifices followed by equestrian games. Conversation on riches between Pheraulas and a poor Sacian, to whom Pheraulas gives all that he had, except what was just sufficient to procure him food and apparel.

1. BUT we shall now relate how Cyrus, for the first time, marched in procession out of the palace; for the majesty of this procession seems to me to have been one of those arts that made his government not to be despised. In the first place, then, before he commenced the procession, he summoned to him those, both of the Persians and his other allies, that held commands, and distributed to them Median robes; and it was then that the Persians first put on the Median robe. After distributing these, he told them, that he intended to march in procession to those portions of ground that had been set apart for the gods, and to offer a sacrifice, accompanied by them.

2. "Be present, therefore," said he, "at the gates, before the rising of the sun, dressed in these robes, and form yourselves

as Pheraulas the Persian shall give you directions from me; and, when I lead the way, follow in the places assigned you. But if it shall appear to any of you that we may march in a better order than that in which we shall now go, let him inform me as soon as we return, for we ought to dispose everything as may appear to you to be most becoming and eligible."

3. When he had distributed the finest robes to the greatest men, he produced other Median robes; for he had provided them in great numbers, and was sparing neither in purple habits, nor in those of a murrey colour, nor in scarlet, nor in dark red. Having distributed a certain number of these to each of the commanders, he bid them adorn their friends with them, "as I," said he, "adorn you." 4. One of those that were present then asked him, "But when will you, Cyrus, adorn yourself?" "Do I not appear to you," replied he, "already adorned in adorning you? Certainly," added he, "if I am but able to serve my friends, whatever robe I wear, I shall appear graceful in it." 5. They accordingly went away, and, sending for their friends, adorned them with the robes.

Cyrus, regarding Pheraulas, one of the inferior class of people, as a man of good understanding, a lover of beauty and order, and not negligent in trying to please him, (the same that had formerly spoken for every one being rewarded according to his desert,) sent for him, and consulted with him how he might make this procession most pleasing in the eyes of their friends, and most intimidating to such as were disaffected. 6. And when, after consideration, they came to the same conclusion, he ordered Pheraulas to take care that the procession should be made, the next morning, in the manner on which they had decided as most eligible. "I have directed every one," said he, "to obey you as to his place in the procession; and that they may attend to your directions the more cheerfully, take these coats," said he, "and carry them to the commanders of the guards; give these riding cloaks<sup>1</sup> to the

<sup>1</sup> *Κασῶδες*.] In giving this word the sense of *saga militum equestria*, I follow Leunclavius, Sturz, Hutchinson, and Bornemann, the last of whom observes that this acception of the word is favoured by a passage of Agatharchides in Photius's Bibl. p. 445. Fischer, however, and others, take it in the sense of *stragula quibus equi insternuntur*, "housings for horses," Fischer being a good deal confirmed

officers of the cavalry, and these other coats to the commanders of the chariots." 7. He accordingly took them and carried them off. When the commanding officers saw him, they said to him, "You are a great man, Pheraulas, since you are to order us what we must do." "Not only so, by Jupiter, as it appears," said Pheraulas, "but I am to be a baggage-bearer too: at least I now bring you these two cloaks, one for yourself, the other for some one else; but take which of them you please." 8. He that received the cloak in consequence forgot his envy, and immediately consulted him which he should take. Pheraulas, giving his opinion which was the best, added, "If ever you accuse me of having given you your choice, you shall find me, when I officiate again, a different sort of manager;"<sup>1</sup> and, having made his distribution as he was ordered, he immediately gave his attention to the affairs of the procession, that everything might be arranged in the best manner.

9. On the morrow, everything was fairly arranged before day-light; there were rows of troops standing on each side of the way, as they yet stand at this day, wherever the king is to ride forth; and within these rows none but men of high rank are allowed to come; and there were men posted with scourges in their hands, who struck any that made a disturbance. There stood in front, before the gates, four thousand of the guards drawn up four deep; and two thousand on each side of the gates. 10. The cavalry also were in attendance, having alighted from their horses, and with their hands passed through their robes, as they still pass them at this day when the king takes a view of them. The Persians stood on the right hand, and the other allies on the left hand side of the way. The chariots, in the same manner, stood half of them on each side. 11. When the gates of the palace were thrown open, there were first led forth some very beautiful bulls, four abreast, consecrated to Jupiter, and such of the other gods as the Magi directed; for the Persians think that they ought to

in that notion by the epithet *ἵππιους*, which, he says, "will then have its proper signification." But surely *ἵππιους* may be understood of the rider sitting on the horse as well as of the horse itself.

<sup>1</sup> If Cyrus, on any other occasion, shall tell me to bring you garments, or any other presents, I will not again give you your choice. *Fischer.*

consult professional instructors in affairs relating to the gods more than in others. 12. Next to the bulls, there were horses led for a sacrifice to the sun. After these was led forth a chariot with white horses, with golden yokes on their necks,<sup>1</sup> crowned,<sup>2</sup> and sacred to Jupiter; and after this another chariot with white horses, crowned like the preceding. After this a third chariot was led forth, its horses adorned with scarlet coverings, and behind it followed men carrying fire<sup>3</sup> upon a large altar. 13. After these Cyrus himself made his appearance in his chariot from the gates, with his tiara upright on his head,<sup>4</sup> and a vest of a purple colour, half mixed with white, (this mixture of white none else is allowed to wear;) and having on his legs loose trousers of a scarlet colour, and a robe wholly purple. He had also a band about his turban; and his relatives had likewise this mark of distinction, and retain it to this day. 14. His hands he kept out of their coverings.<sup>5</sup> With him rode his driver, a tall man, but shorter than himself, whether in reality, or from whatever cause, but Cyrus certainly appeared much the taller. All the people, on seeing him, paid adoration, either from some having been before appointed to begin it, or from being struck with the pomp, and thinking that Cyrus appeared exceedingly tall and handsome; but no Persian ever paid Cyrus adoration before. 15. When the chariot of Cyrus advanced, the four thousand guards preceded it, and the two thousand<sup>6</sup> attended on each side of it. The wand-bearers<sup>7</sup> about his person fol-

<sup>1</sup> "Ἄρμα λευκὸν χρυσόζυγον.] *Currus, cujus equorum cervicibus jugum aureum imposita sunt.* Fischer.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐστεμμένον.] Crowned with the leaves of the oak or the olive-tree, for both were sacred to Jupiter. See Paschalius de Coronis, vii. 12. With what leaves the chariot of the sun was crowned, is not apparent. Fischer.

<sup>3</sup> The sacred fire, supposed to have fallen from heaven. See Ammianus Marcell. xxiii. 6; Q. Curtius, iii. 3. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cyrus seems to have been the first that wore the upright tiara, which was afterwards a distinction of royalty. See note on Anab. ii. 5. 23. *Rectam capite tiaram gerens: id solis datum regibus.* Sen. de Benef. vi. 31. "See Brisson. i. 46; Gronov. ad Herod. p. 119, Wess.; Reland. Diss. viii. p. 282; Gataker, Advers. posth. c. 24, p. 691; vv. dd. ad Anac. lv. 3." Fischer.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐξω ῥῶν χειρῶν.] Out of the sleeves of his robe. Compare sect. 10. In ch. 8, sect. 9, the word *χειρῶν* has another signification.

<sup>6</sup> Those mentioned in sect. 9.

<sup>7</sup> See note on vii. 3. 16.



lowed on horseback, splendidly equipped, with javelins in their hands, to the number of about three hundred. 16. Next were led the horses kept for Cyrus himself, with bits of gold, covered with striped cloths, in number about two hundred. Next to these marched two thousand spear-men; next to these the first-formed<sup>1</sup> body of horse, ten thousand in number, ranged in a square of a hundred on each side; and Chrysantas had the command of them. 17. Next to these another body of ten thousand Persian horse, ranged in like manner, and of these Hystaspes had the command. Next to these another body of ten thousand, drawn up in the same manner; these Datamas led. Next to these followed another body of cavalry, whom Gadatas commanded. 18. After these marched the Median cavalry; after these the Armenian; then the Hyrcanian; then the Caducian; then the Sacian. Behind the cavalry went the chariots, ranged four abreast; and Artabates, a Persian, had the command of them.

19. As he marched along, abundance of people, outside of the lines of soldiers,<sup>2</sup> attended him, petitioning Cyrus about different matters. Sending to them, therefore, some of the wand-bearers who attended him, three on each side of his chariot, for the very purpose of delivering messages, he bid them tell them, "That if any of them wanted anything of him, they should make known to some of the cavalry officers what they required, and they," he said, "would communicate it to him." They immediately drew back, and went to the horsemen, and consulted to which of them they should severally apply. 20. But Cyrus, sending to those of his friends to whom he wished the greatest court to be paid by the public, called them severally to him, and said to them, "If any of those that follow by my side communicate anything to you, give no attention to any one that appears to you to say nothing of importance, but whoever seems to desire what is just, give me information of it, that we may consult together, and settle his business for him." 21. Others, when he called them,

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι.] Those that were first organized. See iv. 5. 55; vii. 4. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξω τῶν σημείων.] These *σημεῖα* are the same as the *στοῖχοι*, or ranks of soldiers, which Xenophon has previously said were ranged on each side of the road along which Cyrus was to go, and within which none of the common people were to pass. *Fischer*.

rode up with despatch, and obeyed, contributing to the support of Cyrus's authority, and showing that they obeyed with promptitude; but one Daipharnes, a man somewhat uncouth in his manners, thought that, if he did not obey hastily, he should appear more independent. 22. Cyrus accordingly perceiving this, sent one of the wand-bearers to him, before he came up and spoke to him, bidding him tell Daipharnes, that he had no more occasion for him; and he never sent for him afterwards. 23. But as one who was called later, rode up to him sooner than he, Cyrus gave him one of the horses that followed in his train, and ordered one of the eunuchs to conduct the horse for him wherever he should direct. This appeared, to those that saw it, to be a very great honour; and after this many more people paid their court to this man.

24. When they came to the sacred enclosures, they sacrificed to Jupiter, and made a holocaust of the bulls; then to the Sun, and made a holocaust of the horses; then sacrificing certain victims to the Earth, they did with them as the Magi directed. Afterwards they sacrificed to the heroes, the guardians of Syria.

25. After this, the country thereabouts being very fine, he marked out a piece of ground of about five stadia, and told them, nation by nation, to put their horses to their speed. He himself rode with the Persians, and had greatly the superiority, for he had given great attention to horsemanship. Of the Medes, Artabates had the best; for Cyrus had given him a horse; of the Syrians, their commander; of the Armenians, Tigranes; of the Hyrcanians, the son of the commander of the horse; of the Sacians, a private youth, with his horse, left the other horses behind by almost half the course.

26. Cyrus is then said to have asked the young man, if he would accept of a kingdom in exchange for his horse? and the young man is said to have replied, "I would not accept a kingdom for him, but I would consent to gain a worthy man's favour for him." 27. "Come then," said Cyrus, "and I will show you where, if you throw even with your eyes shut, you will not miss a worthy man." "Show me then, by all means," said the Sacian, "for I shall throw with this clod," taking one up. 28. Cyrus then pointed to a place where a great many of his friends were collected, and the man, shutting his eyes, threw his clod, and hit Pheraulas who was

riding by ; for Pheraulas happened then to be despatched with some orders from Cyrus, and, when he was struck, did not even turn aside, but went forward upon the business with which he was commissioned. 29. The Sacian, on opening his eyes, asked whom he had hit. "None, by Jove," said Cyrus, "of those that are present." "But surely," rejoined the young man, "it was none of those that are absent." "Yes, indeed," said Cyrus, "you hit that man who is riding on at full speed yonder by the chariots." 30. "And how is it that he does not turn back?" said he. "It is some madman," replied Cyrus, "as it appears." The young man, hearing this, went off to see who it was, and found Pheraulas with his chin covered with dirt and blood, for the blood had gushed from his nose when he was struck. 31. When the young man came up with him, he asked him, "Whether he had received a blow?" Pheraulas answered, "Yes, as you see." "I make you a present, then," said the young man, "of this horse." Pheraulas asked, "For what?" When the Sacian gave him an account of the matter, and, in conclusion, added, "And I believe I have not failed to hit a worthy man," 32. Pheraulas rejoined, "But if you had been wise, you would have given it to a richer man than I am ; but I now accept it, and beseech the gods, who have caused me to be hit by you, to grant that I may not make you repent of your present to me ; and now," added he, "mount my horse, and ride off upon him, and I will soon join you." Thus they separated.

Amongst the Caducians, Rathonices had the superiority. 33. Cyrus also put the chariots severally to their speed ; and to all the victors he gave oxen and cups, that they might sacrifice and feast. He himself took the ox that was his prize, but his share of the cups he gave to Pheraulas, because he thought that he had arranged the procession from the palace very happily.

34. This mode of procession, then settled by Cyrus, continues to be *the king's procession* to this day, except that the victims are omitted when he is not going to sacrifice. When these ceremonies were at an end, they returned again to the city, and those who had houses assigned them, quartered in the houses, and they that had not, in companies.

35. Pheraulas, inviting the Sacian that presented him with the horse, not only entertained him with other things in abund-

ance, but, after they had supped, filled the cups that he had received from Cyrus, drank to him, and made him a present of them. 36. The Sacian, observing a great many fine coverings for couches, a great deal of fine furniture, and a large number of domestics, "Tell me," said he, "Pheraulas, were you one of the rich men when you were at home?" 37. "What sort of rich men<sup>1</sup> do you mean?" said Pheraulas: "I was one of those that lived directly by the work of their own hands; for my father, maintaining me but poorly by his own labour, bred me up in the discipline of the boys; but, when I became a youth, not being able to maintain me in idleness, he took me into the country, and ordered me to work. 38. Here I maintained him in return, as long as he lived, digging and sowing, with my own hands, a little piece of land, not indeed an ungrateful one, but the most just in the world; for the seed that it received it returned me handsomely and justly with interest, though not very great; yet sometimes, out of its generosity, it gave me back double of what it received. Thus I lived at home: but now Cyrus has given me all these things that you see." 39. The Sacian then said, "Happy are you, as well in other respects as in this, that, from being poor, you have become rich! for I think that you must possess your riches with the more pleasure, as you have become rich after having earnestly longed for riches." 40. Pheraulas replied, "And do you think, Sacian, that I live with the more pleasure the more I possess? Do you not know," said he, "that I neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, with a particle more pleasure now than when I was poor? But, by having this abundance, I gain merely this, that I have to guard more, to distribute more to others, and to have the trouble of taking care of more; 41. for a great many domestics now demand of me their food, their drink, and their clothes; some are in want of physicians; one comes and brings me sheep that have been torn by wolves, or oxen killed by falling over a precipice, or tells me of a distemper that has fallen on the cattle: so that I seem to myself," said Pheraulas, "in possessing abundance, to have more afflictions than I had before in possessing but little." 42. "But certainly," said the Sacian, "when all is well, you have, in seeing your numerous posses-

<sup>1</sup> For even the poor, who are content with their lot, may be called rich. *Fischer.*

sions, many times more pleasure than I." Pheraulas replied, "It is not so pleasant, Sacian, to possess riches, as it is annoying to lose them; and you will find that what I say is true; for none of those that possess riches are forced to lose their rest by the pleasure attending them; but of those that lose them, you will see none that are able to sleep for concern." 43. "No, by Jupiter," said the Sacian, "nor will you see any of those that are obtaining wealth able to sleep for pleasure." 44. "You say the truth," said Pheraulas, "for if to possess riches were as pleasant as to obtain them, the rich would very much exceed the poor in happiness. But, Sacian," continued he, "it is obligatory on him that possesses abundance to expend abundance, both on the gods, on his friends, and on strangers. Whoever, therefore, is greatly pleased with the possession of riches, will, be assured, feel much annoyed at the expenditure of them." 45. "By Jupiter," said the Sacian, "I am not one of those; but I think it a happiness for a man having abundance to spend abundance." 46. "Why, then," said Pheraulas, "in the name of all the gods, do you not, this instant, become happy, and make me also happy? For take all these things, keep them, and use them as you please; maintain me only as a stranger, or yet more sparingly than a stranger; since it will be enough for me to share with you in what you have." "You jest," said the Sacian. 47. Pheraulas asserted, with an oath, that he spoke seriously. "I will also obtain you, Sacian, something more<sup>1</sup> from Cyrus: namely, that you shall not attend at his doors, or go with him to the field, but that you shall stay at home in the midst of your riches. My present proposal I will carry into effect for your sake and my own; and, if I gain any additional property by my attendance upon Cyrus, or by any military expedition, I will bring it to you, that you may still have the command of more; only do you," said he, "free me from this care; for, if I can but have leisure from these occupations, I think that you will be of service in many ways both to me and to Cyrus." 48. After thus conversing, they made an arrangement accordingly, and carried it into effect. The one thought himself made happy by having the command of great riches, and the other esteemed

<sup>1</sup> Something in addition to the oxen and cups which the Sacian had already received from Cyrus. *Fischer.*

himself the most fortunate of all men, inasmuch as he should have a steward who would secure him leisure to do whatever was agreeable to him.

49. The disposition of Pheraulas was very companionable, and nothing appeared to him so pleasing or profitable, to bestow attention upon, as mankind; for man, he thought, was of all creatures the best and most grateful; because he saw that those who were commended by any one, readily gave commendation in return; that they strove to do kindness to such as had done kindnesses to them; that they were benevolently disposed towards those whom they knew to be benevolently disposed towards them; that they could not hate those whom they knew to feel love for them; and that they were much more inclined than any other creatures to pay a tribute of respect to their parents, both while living and after death. All other animals he regarded as more ungrateful and less mindful of kindnesses than man. 50. Thus Pheraulas was greatly delighted, that, by being freed from the care of other possessions, he should be at liberty to attend to his friends; and the Sacian was greatly delighted, because he was to have much and to spend much. The Sacian loved Pheraulas, because he was always bringing him something; and Pheraulas loved the Sacian, because he was willing to take all; and because, though he had the charge of more and more, he yet gave him no additional trouble. Thus did these two men live.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Cyrus entertains his friends at a banquet; the conversation that occurred at it. He arranges a marriage between Hystaspes and the daughter of Gobryas, and makes presents to the other guests. He sends home a part of the allies, and allows others to remain with him at Babylon; his munificence to them all. His address to his friends and courtiers on riches.

I. WHEN Cyrus had sacrificed, and proceeded to give an entertainment in honour of his victory, he invited those of his friends, who appeared the most desirous to increase his authority, and who paid him honour with the greatest cheerfulness. With them he invited Artabazus the Mede, Tigranes the Ar-

menian, the commander of the Hyrcanian cavalry, and Gobryas. 2. Gadatas was the chief of his eunuchs; and all the arrangements within doors were made as he ordered. When there were any persons supping with him, Gadatas did not sit down, but attended; but when they were alone, he supped with him; for he was pleased with his conversation; and, in return, Gadatas was honoured with many valuable presents, both by Cyrus himself, and by others upon Cyrus's account.

3. When those who were invited to supper came, he did not make every one sit down where he chanced to be, but the man that he most esteemed he placed upon his left hand, as if this side were more exposed to treacherous designs than the right. The next in his esteem he placed upon the right hand; the third again upon his left, and the fourth upon his right; and, if there were more, he proceeded in the same manner.

4. He thought it right that it should be shown how far he esteemed every one; because, where men think that he who excels others will neither have his praises published, nor receive rewards, it is plain that they feel no emulation with respect to each other; but where he that excels is seen to have some advantage, there all appear to contend with the utmost zeal. 5. Thus Cyrus made those known that were highest in his esteem; beginning first with their place, as they sat or stood by him. Yet this appointed place of sitting he did not make perpetual, but made it a rule, that a man might advance, by honourable conduct, to a more honourable seat; or, if he grew negligent of his duties, might sink down to a less honourable. Cyrus also felt ashamed if he who had the principal seat, did not appear to have received the greatest number of valuable things at his hand. These practices, that were established in the time of Cyrus, we find constantly observed to the present day.

6. When they were at supper, it did not seem at all wonderful to Gobryas, that everything should be in great abundance with a man who had the command of many; but that Cyrus, who had achieved such great exploits, should, if he found that he had got anything delicate, consume no portion of it alone, but take the trouble of requesting those who were present to share it, appeared very striking; and frequently he saw him send to some of his absent friends such things as he happened to be pleased with himself; 7.

so that after they had supped, and Cyrus had sent away from his table all that plenty that was upon it, Gobryas said, "Hitherto, Cyrus, I thought that you most excelled other men in being most skilful in commanding an army; but now, I swear by the gods that I think you excel more in benevolence than in generalship." s. "By Jupiter," said Cyrus, "I have much more pleasure in showing deeds of kindness than of military skill." "How so?" said Gobryas. "Because," said he, "I must show the one by doing mischief to men, and the other by doing them good."

9. Afterwards, when they had drunk a little, Hystaspes put this question to Cyrus: "Would you be offended, Cyrus," said he, "if I should ask you something that I am desirous to learn from you?" "No, by the gods," said Cyrus; "on the contrary, I should feel displeased if I found that you did not mention what you wish to ask." "Tell me, then," said he, "when you have called me, did I ever refuse to come?" "Do not talk foolishly," said Cyrus. "Or when I obeyed you, did I ever obey slowly?" "Certainly not." "Have I ever neglected to do anything that you have ordered me?" "I accuse you of nothing of the kind," said Cyrus. "And, as to what I have done, have you ever accused me of having done anything otherwise than with alacrity and pleasure?" "That," said Cyrus, "least of all." 10. "In the name of all the gods, then, Cyrus," said he, "on what account is it, that you have written down<sup>1</sup> Chrysantas as to be placed in a more honourable seat than myself?" "Shall I tell you?" said Cyrus. "By all means," said he. "And you will not be offended with me when you hear the truth?" 11. "No, I shall be pleased," said he, "if I find that I am not wronged." "Then," said he, "Chrysantas here, in the first place, never waited my call, but, before he was called, was ready for my service; and he then did, not only what he was ordered, but whatever he himself thought best for us to be done. When it

<sup>1</sup> *Ἐγραψας*.] Hystaspes uses the word *γράφειν* in jest, as if Cyrus had made written laws, appointing each guest his proper seat. Others however think that a list of the guests had previously been given to Gadatas with their names in the order in which they were to sit. But no allusion is made to any such list at the beginning of the chapter; and, from sect. 1 and 2, it rather appears that Cyrus assigned the guests their places when they took their seats. *Bornemann*.



was necessary to say anything to our allies, he suggested to me what he thought was proper for me to say ; and what he saw that I wished our allies to know, but was ashamed to say concerning myself, he stood forward to express as his own opinion.<sup>1</sup> So that, in regard to such matters, what hinders him from being esteemed of more use to me, even than myself? As to himself, he always says that whatever he has is sufficient for him ; but for me he is always to be seen looking out, to find what acquisition may be of service to me ; and at any good fortune that befalls me, he is much more delighted and pleased than myself." 12. To this Hystaspes replied, "By Juno, Cyrus, I am pleased that I have asked you these things." "On what account, chiefly?" said Cyrus. "Because I also will endeavour to practise them. Only there is one thing," said he, "that I do not know ; and that is, how I must make it evident that I rejoice at your good fortune, whether I must clap my hands, or laugh, or what I must do?" Artabazus upon this said, "You must dance the Persian dance ;"<sup>2</sup> a remark at which a laugh arose.

13. As the entertainment proceeded, Cyrus put this question to Gobryas : "Tell me," said he, "Gobryas, do you think that you should give your daughter to one of the present company now, with more pleasure than when you first became acquainted with us?" "Shall I then speak the truth?" said Gobryas. "Yes, by Jupiter," said Cyrus, "since no question requires a false answer." "Be assured then," said he, "that I should give her with much more pleasure now." "And can you tell why?" said Cyrus. "I can." "Tell me then."

14. "Because I then saw them bearing toils and dangers with alacrity ; but I now see them bearing prosperity with discretion. And to me, Cyrus, it appears more difficult to find a man that bears prosperity well, than one that bears adversity well ; for prosperity creates presumption in most men, but adversity brings sobriety to all." 15. Cyrus then said, "Do

<sup>1</sup> Alluding especially to the speeches of Chrysantas given ii. 2. 17 ; 3. 5 ; iv. 3. 15 ; vi. 2. 21 ; vii. 5. 55 ; viii. 1. 1. Bornemann.

<sup>2</sup> Τὸ Περσικόν.] See Anab. vi. 1. 5 ; by a reference to which passage the jest of Artabazus will be readily understood ; for as Hystaspes doubted whether he should *clap his hands*, Artabazus recommends to him to dance the Persian dance, in which he might *clash together shields*, and exhibit at the same time many other gestures. Zeune.

you hear, Hystaspes, this saying of Gobryas?" "Yes, by Jove," said he, "I do; and, if he utter many such, he shall much sooner have me as a suitor for his daughter, than if he were to show me a great number of cups." 16. "Indeed," said Gobryas, "I have a great many such in writing;<sup>1</sup> which I shall not grudge you, if you take my daughter for a wife; but my cups," said he, "since you seem not to like them, I do not know but I shall give to Chrysantas here, especially since he has stolen your seat from you."

17. "Well," said Cyrus, "if you, Hystaspes, and any of the rest that are here, will acquaint me when any one of you is seeking a wife, you will then find what sort of a helper I shall be to you." 18. "But if a man wishes to dispose of a daughter," said Gobryas, "to whom must one tell it?" "To me also," said Cyrus; "for I am a very extraordinary man in this art." "What art?" said Chrysantas. 19. "That of knowing what match will suit each particular man." "In the name of all the gods, then," said Chrysantas, "tell me what wife you think will best suit me." 20. "In the first place," said Cyrus, "she must be short; for you are short yourself; and if you marry a tall wife, and would ever kiss her when she is standing, you must leap up like a little dog." "You very properly take thought as to this particular," said Chrysantas, "for I am by no means a good jumper." 21. "In addition," said Cyrus, "one that is very flat-nosed would suit you." "Why should that be the case?" "Because," said Cyrus, "you have a prominent nose, and prominency would best suit flatness." "Do you say, then, that a fasting wife would best suit one that has feasted plentifully, as I have now?" "Yes, by Jove," said Cyrus, "for the stomachs of the full are prominent, and those of the fasting are flat." 22. "But, in the name of all the gods," said Chrysantas, "can you tell what wife will suit a cold king?"<sup>2</sup> At this Cyrus burst into a laugh, as did also the others. While they were laugh-

<sup>1</sup> See sect. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ψυχρόψ—βασιλεῖ.] There is an ambiguity in the word ψυχρός, which may be applied either to one who makes frigid jokes, or to one who is averse to love or marriage; for Cyrus, who was so ready to give wives to others, had not yet taken one himself. The answer to be expected to Chrysantas's question was, "A warm one;" hence the laugh which followed it. Bornemann.

ing, Hystaspes said, 23. "Of all that belongs to your royal dignity, Cyrus, I envy you most for this." "For what?" said Cyrus. "That though cold,<sup>1</sup> you can excite laughter." "And would not you give a great deal, then," said Cyrus, "that these things had been said by you, and that it should be told to her, by whom you wish to be held in esteem, that you are a facetious man?" Such were the jests that passed among them.

24. Soon after, Cyrus produced a woman's attire for Tigranes, and bid him give it his wife, because she bravely attended her husband in the field. To Artabazus he gave a golden cup; to the Hyrcanian, a horse; and many other noble presents he bestowed. "But to you, Gobryas," said he, "I will give a husband for your daughter." 25. "And shall not I," said Hystaspes, "be the husband that you will give, that I may get those writings?"<sup>2</sup> "Have you fortune enough," said Cyrus, "to match that of the girl?" "Yes, by Jove," said he, "I have a fortune worth several times as much as hers." "And where," asked Cyrus, "is this fortune of yours?" "There," replied Hystaspes, "where you, who are my friend, are sitting." "That is sufficient for me," said Gobryas; and, holding out his right hand at once, "Give him to me, Cyrus," said he, "for I accept him." 26. Cyrus then, taking the right hand of Hystaspes, presented it to Gobryas, who took it. Immediately after, he made a great many noble presents to Hystaspes, that he might send them to the damsel. 27. And, drawing Chrysantas to him, he kissed him; when Artabazus said, "By Jupiter, Cyrus, you have not given me my cup of the same gold<sup>3</sup> with the present which you have made Chrysantas." "But I will give you one of the same," said he. Hystaspes asked, "When?" "Thirty years hence," said he. "Be prepared for me, then," said he, "as I intend to wait, and not to die before the time." Thus the entertainment ended, and, when they rose, Cyrus rose with them, and conducted them to the door.

28. The next day he sent home all those of the allies that

<sup>1</sup> Even if you are to be considered cold, *frigidus ad venerem*, you can yet raise a laugh.

<sup>2</sup> See sect. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Artabazus refers to the kiss which Cyrus had given Chrysantas, and which he intimates that he valued more than his golden cups.

had voluntarily attended him, excepting such as desired to settle near him, to whom he gave lands and houses, which the descendants of those who then staid still possess ; they were mostly Medes and Hyrcanians. To those that went away, he gave many presents, and dismissed them, both officers and soldiers, without giving them any cause to complain. 29. In the next place, he divided the treasure that he had taken at Sardes among the soldiers that were about him. To the commanders of ten thousand, and to the inferior officers that were with him, he gave choice presents, according to the merit of each. The rest he divided into portions, and giving a share to each of the commanders of ten thousand, he permitted them to distribute it in the same manner as he had distributed to them. 30. These other portions they accordingly distributed, each officer examining into the merits of the officers under him ; and what remained at last, the captains of five, inquiring into the merits of the private soldiers under them, gave away according to the desert of each. Thus they all received their just share.

31. When they had received what was then given them, some of them spoke of Cyrus in this manner : " Surely he has abundance, when he gives so much to each of us." Others said, " What is the abundance that he has ? Cyrus's disposition is not such that he should heap up treasure for himself ; but he is more pleased to give it away than to keep it." 32. Cyrus, hearing of this talk, and the opinions formed of him, called his friends and all the principal persons together, and spoke to this effect : " My friends, I have seen men that were willing to be thought possessed of more than they really had, and who expected, by that means, to appear the more generous ; but such persons seem to me drawn into the very reverse of what they intend ; for that a man should seem to possess abundance, and yet should not appear to do service to his friends in proportion to his substance, seems to me to fix upon him the character of illiberality. 33. There are some," continued he, " on the other hand, who wish that what they have may be concealed ; and those also appear to me to be faulty to their friends ; for frequently friends that are in want do not tell their necessities to their companions, from being ignorant of what they have, and are thus deceived. 34. But it is, in my opinion, the part of a straight-

forward man to let his means be known, and strive to gain a character for generosity according to them. I intend, therefore," he added, "to show you all that is possible for you to see of what I have ; and of what you cannot see, to give you an account." 35. Having spoken thus, he showed them some portions of many valuable treasures ; and of others, laid up so as not to be easily seen, he gave them an account ; and, in conclusion, said, 36. " All these things, my friends, you must consider not more mine than yours ; for I have collected them, not that I may spend them myself, or that I may wear them out ; for I should not be able to do so ; but that I may always have something to give to him among you that achieves anything honourable, and that if any one of you feels in want of anything, he may come to me and take what he happens to need."

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## CHAPTER V.

Description of the march of Cyrus into Persia. Cyrus visits Cyaxares, who offers him his daughter, with Media for her dowry. Agreement made between Cyrus and the Persians, at the suggestion of Cambyses, respecting the tenure and administration of the kingdom of Persia. Cyrus marries the daughter of Cyaxares.

1. But when affairs in Babylon appeared to him so favourably settled, that he might absent himself from thence, he prepared, and directed others to prepare, for a journey into Persia. When he thought that he had enough of such things as he was likely to want, he took his departure. 2. We shall now give an account, how his army, though of such magnitude, encamped, and resumed its march, in good order, and how each part at once arranged itself in its proper place.

Wherever the king encamps, those who are about his person occupy the ground under tents, both winter and summer.

3. Cyrus at once adopted the custom of pitching his own tent fronting the east. He then directed, first, at what distance from the royal tent the guards should pitch theirs ; and next appointed the bakers their station on the right, and the cooks their station on the left. For the horses,<sup>1</sup> he appointed a place

<sup>1</sup> The horses that were used in conveying the baggage.

on the right, and for the other beasts of burden on the left. The other parts of the army were so disposed, that each knew its own ground both as to dimension and position. 4. When they are to prepare for marching, each man packs up such baggage as he is appointed to use, while others place it upon the beasts of burden; so that all the baggage-carriers come up, at the same time, to the baggage appointed them to carry, and all, at the same time, place it, severally, upon their beasts. So that the same time suffices for one and for all the tents to remove. 5. The case is the same with regard to the pitching of the tents. In order, too, that everything necessary may be done at its proper time, it is appointed to each man, in like manner, what he is to do; and, by this means, the same time suffices for doing things in one part and in all. 6. And as the attendants, that made ready the provisions, had each his proper station, so they that carried arms had their stations in the encampment suitable to the sort of arms which they severally bore; they knew what their station was, and all arranged themselves in it without hesitation. 7. For Cyrus thought the proper arrangement of things an excellent practice in a house; for when a person wants anything, it is known whither he must go to get it; but the judicious arrangement of the several divisions of an army he esteemed a much nobler thing, inasmuch as the occasions for using what is wanted, in affairs of war, are more sudden, and the miscarriages arising from such as are dilatory in them are of worse consequence; and he saw that the most valuable advantages in war arose from having all things ready for the occasion. Upon these accounts, therefore, he paid the utmost attention to propriety of arrangement.

8. First, then, he located himself in the middle of the camp, as being the most secure position; then those in whom he chiefly confided, he had, according to his custom, immediately about himself. Next to these, he had in a circle the horsemen and charioteers; 9. for he thought that a secure station was necessary for these, because they are encamped without having any of the arms in readiness with which they fight,<sup>1</sup> and require a considerable time to arm themselves, if they are to act to any purpose. 10. To the right and left of himself

<sup>1</sup> Compare iii. 3. 26; vi. 4. 1.

and the cavalry, was the station of the peltasts. The station of the archers was before and behind himself and the horsemen. 11. The heavy-armed men, and such as had large shields, he ranged in a circle round all, as a rampart, that, if there should be occasion for the cavalry to equip themselves, those who were best able to make a stand, being placed before them, might secure them time to arm in safety. 12. As the heavy-armed men slept in order around him, so did the peltasts and archers; in order that, if it should be necessary to act in the night-time, as the heavy-armed men were prepared to repel such as closed with them, so the archers and javelinmen, if any attacked them, might promptly discharge their javelins and arrows in defence of the heavy-armed. 13. All the generals had ensigns on their tents; and as, in cities, intelligent servants know the houses of most people, and especially of the most respectable, so the inferior officers of Cyrus knew the positions of the chief leaders in the camp, and could distinguish the ensigns that belonged to each of them; so that whomsoever Cyrus might want, they had not to seek for him, but could run the shortest way to each of them. 14. From the several divisions being kept distinct, too, it was much more readily observed when any one was orderly, and when any one failed to do what was ordered. Such an arrangement being maintained, he was of opinion, that if any body attacked him, whether by night or day, the assailant would fall into his camp as into an ambuscade.

15. He thought it a part of strategy, not only for a man to be able to draw out a phalanx cleverly, or to increase its depth, or to form the men from the wings in line,<sup>1</sup> or to wheel round skilfully if the enemy appeared on the right, the left, or the

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστῆσαι.] Of this phrase none of the commentators give any satisfactory explanation. Fischer suggests that it may signify to lengthen the line, to extend it on the wing; but it will then mean nothing more than *ἐκτείνειν*, which precedes: or that it may signify to take cavalry from the wings, and range them among the light and heavy-armed infantry; but for this interpretation the text affords no ground. Again, if we suppose that it means to take men from the wing, and place them in the main body, it will be much the same as *βαθύνειν*, which also precedes. However, we must imagine that Xenophon meant the words to be taken in some such signification as to unite the wing more closely, by some manœuvre, to the main body, or to incorporate it with the main body.

rear; but he thought it also a part of strategy to divide one battalion into several<sup>1</sup> when it was necessary, to post each division where it might be most of service, and to use despatch where it might be requisite to anticipate the enemy. All these qualifications, and such as these, he considered to be necessary in a skilful tactician; and he paid equal attention to them all. On the march, he proceeded in such order as was adapted to circumstances; but in pitching his camp, he disposed his troops, for the most part, as has been described.

17. When, in the course of their march, they came to Media, Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares. When they had embraced each other, Cyrus first told Cyaxares that there was a private house, and palaces, set apart for him in Babylon; that when he came thither, he might take up his abode in his own home; and he also made him a great many other honorary presents. 18. Cyaxares received them, and sent to him his daughter with a crown of gold, bracelets, a collar, and a Median robe as magnificent as could be made; and the damsel put the crown upon Cyrus's head. 19. Cyaxares then said, "Cyrus, I give you the damsel herself, too, who is my own daughter, for your wife. Your father married my father's daughter, and you are her son. This is she, whom, when you were a boy, and amongst us, you used to nurse; and when any one asked her whom she would marry, she used to say, 'Cyrus.' With her I give you all Media as her dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue." 20. Thus he spoke, and Cyrus replied, "O Cyaxares, I am delighted with the family, the damsel, and the presents; and, with the consent," he added, "of my father and mother, I am ready to accept your offer." Thus, indeed, Cyrus expressed himself; yet he presented the damsel with whatever he thought would gratify Cyaxares. Having done so, he continued his march to Persia.

21. When, in due course, he arrived at the borders of Persia, he left the rest of the army there; but he himself, with his intimate friends, went forward to the city, taking with him such numbers of beasts for sacrifice as were sufficient for all the Persians to slaughter and make feasts. He took with him also such presents as were suitable for his father and mother, and the rest of his friends; as well as others adapted

<sup>1</sup> Διασπᾶν ] *Distract in plura agmina aciem.* Bornemann.



for the magistrates and elder men, and for all the Equals-in-honour. He gave likewise to all the Persians, both men and women, such presents as the king still makes when he comes into Persia. 22. After this Cambyses assembled the elder Persians, and such of the magistrates as held the highest offices, (he invited also Cyrus,) and spoke to this effect :

“I have justly an affection both for you, men of Persia, and for thee, Cyrus ; for over you I am king, and thou, Cyrus, art my son. It is right for me, therefore, to lay before you whatever I consider to be of advantage for each of you. 23. With respect to the time past, you have advanced the interests of Cyrus, by granting an army, and by constituting him the commander of it ; and Cyrus, in the conduct of that army, has, with the help of the gods, rendered you, O Persians, famous amongst all men, and honoured throughout all Asia ; while of those that served with him, he has enriched the most deserving, and has provided pay and maintenance for the multitude, and, by instituting a Persian cavalry, has given the Persians a share in the command of the plains. 24. For the future, therefore, if you retain the same feelings, you will be the authors of many advantages to each other ; but if either you, Cyrus, elevated with your present good fortune, shall attempt to rule the Persians, like other nations,<sup>1</sup> only for your own benefit ; or if you, citizens, envying him his power, shall endeavour to deprive him of his command, be assured that you will hinder each other from enjoying many blessings. 25. That such may not be the case, therefore, but that good fortune may attend you, it seems proper to me,” continued he, “that we should offer a sacrifice in common, and, calling the gods to witness, should engage, you, Cyrus, on your part, that if any one make war upon the Persian territory, or attempt to overthrow the Persian laws, you will assist, in their defence, with your whole force ; and that you, Persians, on your side, if any one attempt to deprive Cyrus of his authority, or if any of those under his power attempt to revolt, you will yield such assistance, in defence of yourselves and of Cy-

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων.] Sc. ἄρχεις ἐθνῶν. Bornemann observes that Persia was not accounted a tributary country, though the people were probably expected to make presents to the king, as appears from Herod. iii. 97 ; and adds that there is no reason why we should not understand ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ as having reference to tribute.

rus, as he shall demand. 26. Whilst I live, the royal dignity amongst the Persians is mine; when I am dead, it will doubtless belong to Cyrus, if he is alive. And when he comes into Persia, it should be a point of religion with you, that he should make such sacrifices for you as I now make; but, when he is abroad, I think it will be well for you, if that member of our family who appears to you to be the most worthy perform the sacrifices to the gods."

When Cambyses had spoken thus, his proposals were approved both by Cyrus and the Persian magistrates; and as they thus agreed at that time, calling the gods to witness, so the Persians and the king continue still to act one towards another. After these affairs were ended, Cyrus took his departure.

When he arrived in Media, on his return, he married, with the consent of his father and mother, the daughter of Cyaxares, of whom there is still a report that she was extremely beautiful. [Some writers say that he married his mother's sister; but she must doubtless have been a woman far advanced in years.]<sup>1</sup> Having married her, he soon departed, taking her with him.

## CHAPTER VI.

Cyrus appoints governors of the provinces, and exhorts them to adopt a similar system of government to that which he himself had adopted in the city. He appoints inspectors to make a yearly progress through the provinces, attended by a body of troops. His regulations for the conveyance of letters. His dominion being extended throughout Asia from Syria to Egypt, he decides on living sometimes at Babylon, sometimes at Susa, and sometimes at Ecbatana.

1. WHEN he was at Babylon, it seemed proper to him to send satraps to govern the conquered nations. But the commanders of the garrisons in the fortresses, and the commanders of thousands in the forces throughout the country, he allowed to obey the orders of no one but himself. He used

<sup>1</sup> The original of the words in brackets is condemned by Bornemann, Schneider, Dindorf, and indeed all other critics of any authority, as a gloss that has crept from the margin into the text.

this foresight, on consideration that, if any one of the satraps, by reason of his wealth, and the number of his people, should grow insolent, and attempt to withdraw his obedience from him, he might immediately meet with opposers on the spot. 2. Desiring, therefore, to make this arrangement, he determined first to call together those whom it concerned, and to declare his intentions to them, that they who went might know on what conditions they went; for he thought that they would thus more readily submit; but that if any of them should be first appointed rulers, and should then be informed of his determination, they would be likely to be discontented at it, imagining it to be made from want of confidence in them.

3. Having assembled them accordingly, he addressed them to this effect: "My friends, in the cities that have been conquered, there are garrisons, and governors over them, whom we left there at the time; and, when I came away, I gave them orders to employ themselves about no other object than merely to preserve the fortresses; these men therefore, since they have honourably guarded what was intrusted to them, I shall not deprive of their posts; but it is my purpose to send other governors, who shall take upon them the rule of the inhabitants, and who, receiving the revenues, shall pay the garrisons, and discharge whatever else is necessary. 4. And to those of you who remain here, and to whom I shall give employment, by sending them<sup>1</sup> to any of these nations to transact business, I think it proper that lands and houses should be assigned there, that the tribute may from thence be sent hither, and that when they go thither they may reside in their own dwellings." 5. Thus he spoke; and to many of his friends he gave houses and people to serve them throughout all the conquered cities. These lands, situate some in one country and some in another, remain to this day in possession of the descendants of those who then received them, though they themselves reside with the king. 6. "We ought," he then proceeded, "to look out for such satraps, to go to these countries, as will think of sending us hither whatever is excellent and valuable in each country, that we, who are here, may have a share of what is good everywhere; especially as we, if

<sup>1</sup> Extraordinary legates or commissioners are meant, who might be sent by the king to look into the state of affairs in any province.  
*Zeune.*

any danger threaten them, shall have to exert ourselves for their defence."

7. With these words he concluded his speech; and then from such of his friends as he knew were desirous to go upon the terms expressed, he selected such as he thought most eligible, and sent out, as satraps, Megabyzus to Arabia, Artabatas to Cappadocia, Artacamas to the Greater Phrygia, Chrysantas to Lydia and Ionia, Adusius to Caria, as the Carians themselves had desired, and Pharnuchus to Phrygia on the Hellespont, and Æolia. 8. To Cilicia, to Cyprus, and to the Paphlagonians, he sent no Persian satraps, because they seemed to have joined him of their own accord<sup>1</sup> in his expedition against Babylon; to them, however, he appointed also a tribute to pay; 9. and as Cyrus then ordered, so there are, at this day, garrisons belonging to the king in the fortresses, and commanders of thousands appointed by the king over those garrisons, and enrolled in the king's list.

10. All the satraps that were sent out, he directed to imitate whatever they saw him practise; in the first place, to form out of the Persians and allies that attended them a number of horsemen and charioteers; to oblige such as had land and palaces to attend at his doors, and, observing a discreet behaviour, to offer themselves to the service of the satrap, if occasion should require; to discipline at his doors the sons of those men, according to his own practice; and to take those that attended at his doors out with him to hunt, and exercise himself and those about him in military occupations. 11. "And whosoever," said he, "in proportion to his ability, produces me the most chariots, and the most and the best horsemen, I will reward him, as an excellent fellow-soldier, and as an excellent fellow-guardian of the empire for both the Persians and myself. Let the best men with you, as with me, be honoured with the principal seats; and let your table, like mine, maintain, in the first place, your domestics, and let it be also sufficiently furnished for your friends to partake of it, and to allow you every day to honour any one that may have done a worthy action. 12. Provide yourselves parks, and maintain wild beasts; and neither set meat at any time before yourselves without having taken exercise, nor throw food to your horses until they have taken it. For I,

<sup>1</sup> See vii. 4. 1.

who am but a single individual, cannot, with all the virtue that belongs to human nature, secure the possessions of you all ; but it is my part, as an honourable man, with honourable men about me, to be a support to you ; and it is your parts, likewise, as honourable men, with other honourable men about you, to be supporters to me. 13. I desire that you would observe also, that of all these directions that I now give you, I give none to those that are of servile condition ; and that whatever I say you ought to do, I endeavour myself also to practise. As I, therefore, exhort you to imitate me, so do you instruct those that hold command under you to imitate you."

14. Cyrus having thus regulated affairs at that time, all the garrisons under the king are, in consequence, still maintained in the same method ; all doors of the commanders are attended in like manner ; all houses, great and small, are regulated in a similar way ; the most deserving men in all companies are honoured with the principal seats ; all marches are conducted in the same order ; and in every nation a great multitude of affairs is included under the management of a few governors.

15. Having instructed them how they were severally to manage these affairs, and having given each of them a body of troops, he sent them away, giving them all notice to be prepared, as an expedition would be undertaken in the following year, and a review of men and arms, horses and chariots.

16. We have heard also of the following regulation, that Cyrus having, as they say, begun it, it continues in force to the present day. A certain person, at the head of an army, makes a progress through the country every year, in order that, if any one of the satraps want assistance, he may afford it ; and that, if any one grow rebellious, he may humble him ; and that, if any neglect the payment of his tribute, or the protection of the inhabitants, or to see that the land be cultivated, or omit to fulfil any other of his duties, he may rectify such matters ; or, if he is unable to do so himself, may report the affair to the king ; who, when he hears of it, considers how to deal with the offender. And those to whom allusion is so often made, when it is said that the king's son, or the king's brother, or the king's eye, is coming down, and who sometimes do not make their appearance, (for each of them returns

whenever<sup>1</sup> the king sends orders,) are those who make these progresses.

17. We have likewise been informed of another contrivance of his, which was suited to the extent of his empire, and by means of which he could speedily learn in what state the most remote parts of it were; for, ascertaining how long a journey a horse could accomplish in a day, being ridden at such a pace as to keep his strength, he built stables at that distance, and put horses in them, and persons to take care of them; and he appointed, at each of these stations, a proper person to receive letters that were brought, and to deliver them to other messengers; and to take in the tired horses and men, and furnish fresh ones. 18. They say that sometimes this conveyance was not interrupted even during the night, but that a night messenger immediately succeeded the day one. In this manner some say that they make their way swifter than cranes; but though they are wrong in that assertion, yet it is manifest that this is the quickest of all modes of travelling for men by land; and it is right that a sovereign should have immediate intelligence of everything, and give immediate attention to it.

19. When the year was ended, Cyrus assembled his army at Babylon, and it is said that there were in it cavalry to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand, chariots armed with scythes to the number of two thousand, and infantry to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand. 20. This force being in readiness for him, he proceeded on that expedition, in which he is reported to have subdued all those nations which extend from the entrance into Syria to the Red Sea. After this, his expedition to Egypt is said to have taken place, and to have brought Egypt into subjection. 21. In consequence the Red Sea bounded his empire on the east, the Euxine Sea on the north, Cyprus and Egypt on the west, and Ethiopia on the south. The extreme parts of these countries are uninhabitable, some from heat, some from cold, some from too great abundance of water, others from a scarcity of it.

<sup>1</sup> See vii. 4. 2. 'Αποτρέπεται—ὅθεν ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύῃ.] "Returns from that point from which the king orders him to return." Before ὅθεν we must understand ἐκεῖθεν, and ἀποτρέπεσθαι after κελεύῃ. The legate turns back if the king has occasion, before he reaches the end of his journey, to recall him to Babylon, or to despatch him into any other province. Bornemann.

22. Cyrus, fixing his residence in the centre of these countries, spent the winter season, seven months, at Babylon, because the climate there is warm; the spring season, three months, at Susa; and the middle of summer, two months, at Echatana. By this means they say that he enjoyed a perpetual spring, with respect to heat and cold. 23. Men were so affected towards him, that every nation thought they failed in their duty if they did not send Cyrus whatever valuable things either grew, or were bred, or manufactured, in their country; every city acted in the same manner; and every private man thought that he should enrich himself, if he could but oblige Cyrus; for Cyrus, accepting from every one that of which the givers had abundance, bestowed on them, in return, what he saw that they needed.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Cyrus is admonished by a dream to prepare for death. His address, when he was dying, to his children and friends.

1. TIME thus advancing, Cyrus, now growing old, made a journey into Persia for the seventh time during his reign, when his father and mother had probably been for some time dead. Cyrus made the usual sacrifices, led the dance among the Persians according to the practice of the country, and distributed to every one presents, as he had been accustomed. 2. Afterwards, as he was sleeping in the royal palace, he had the following dream. A being, of more than human dignity, seemed to advance towards him, and to say, "Cyrus, prepare thyself, for thou art now going to the gods!" After seeing this vision, he awoke, and seemed almost to be certain that his end was drawing near. 3. He therefore immediately took victims, and sacrificed on the summit of a mountain, as is the custom in Persia, to Jupiter Patrius, the sun, and the rest of the gods, uttering this prayer:

"O Jupiter Patrius, thou sun, and all ye gods! receive this sacrifice, as an acknowledgment for assistance in the achievement of many honourable deeds, and as an offering of gratitude to you for having signified to me by victims, by signs

from heaven, by birds, and by omens, what it became me to do, and what it became me not to do. Abundant thanks are due to you, that I have been sensible of your care and protection; and have never in the course of my prosperity been elated in thought above what became a man. I beseech you now to grant happiness to my children, my wife, my friends, and my country; and to myself, a death similar to the life which you have given me."

4. Having concluded these ceremonies, and having returned home, he felt inclined to rest, and lay down. At the proper hour, the attendants, whose business it was, came to him, and signified that he should bathe. He told them that he had rested very well. Other attendants, at the proper hour, brought him his meal, but his appetite was not inclined for food, but he seemed thirsty, and drank with pleasure. 5. As he was similarly affected on the second and third days, he sent for his sons, who happened to have attended him, and were then in Persia. He summoned likewise his friends and the magistrates of Persia. When they were all come, he began to speak to them in this manner:

6. "My children, and all of you, my friends, who are present, the termination of my life is now at hand, as I certainly know from many indications. It behoves you, when I am dead, to speak and act with reference to me, in every way, as a happy man. For, when I was a child, I seem to have profited by what is thought becoming in children, when I was a youth, from what is thought becoming in young men, and when I was a man, from what is thought becoming in men. I have always, too, seemed to feel my strength increase with the advance of time, so that I have not found myself weaker in my old age than in my youth, nor do I know that I have attempted or desired anything in which I have not been successful. 7. By my means, I have seen my friends made happy, and my enemies enslaved; and I leave my country, previously undistinguished in Asia, now in the highest honour. Of what I have acquired, moreover, I know of nothing that I have not preserved. But though, in time past, I succeeded according to my wishes, yet an apprehension attending me, lest I should hereafter see, hear, or suffer some trouble, has not allowed me to think altogether highly of myself, or to feel extravagantly delighted. 8. Now, whenever I die, I leave



you, my children, whom the gods have given to be born to me, surviving, and I leave my country and my friends happy. Why, then, should I not always, with justice, be remembered as fortunate?

9. "But I must likewise declare to whom I leave my kingdom, lest, the succession being left doubtful, it should hereafter cause disturbance among you. I love you both, my children, equally; but to plan for the future, and to take the lead in whatever occasion may require, I commit to the elder, who has, as is natural, greater experience. 10. I was myself so instructed by my country and yours, to give place to those elder than myself, not only brothers, but fellow-citizens, both in walking, sitting, and conversing; and thus have I instructed you, my children, from your youth, to pay honour to your elders in preference to yourselves, and to receive honour from the younger in preference to them. Submit then to this arrangement, as I speak according to what is ancient, customary, and legal. 11. You, therefore, Cambyses, possess the throne, for the gods give it you, and I, as far as is in my power.

"You Tanaoxares, I appoint to be satrap of the Medes, Armenians, and Cadusians; and in giving this office to you, I think that while I leave to your elder brother the greater power and the title of king, I allot to you a station of greater happiness;<sup>1</sup> for what human pleasure you will want, I do not see; all that appears to delight mankind will be at your command. 12. But to desire objects difficult of execution, to be anxious about many affairs, to be unable to remain quiet, from being excited by an emulation of my actions to form designs against others, and to be exposed to machinations, are things which must more necessarily affect the king than yourself, and which, be assured, must cause many interruptions to pleasure.

13. "As for you, Cambyses, you must be aware that it is not this golden sceptre that must preserve your kingdom, but that faithful friends are to kings the safest and most trustworthy sceptre. But do not imagine that men are by nature made faithful; (for the same persons would then appear faithful to all, as other natural productions appear the same to all;) but every

<sup>1</sup> *Εὐδαιμονίαν ἀλυποτέραν.*] "A happiness more free from trouble."

one must make faithful friends for himself; and the acquisition of them is by no means to be effected with violence, but rather by beneficence. 14. If, therefore, you shall seek to make others joint-guardians of your kingdom with yourself, begin with no one sooner than with him who is of the same blood with yourself. Fellow-citizens are more united to us than strangers, and those who eat with us than those who live at a distance from us. But how can those who are sprung from the same stock, who have been nourished by the same mother, who have grown up in the same house, who have been beloved by the same parents, and who have called upon the same mother and father, be otherwise than the most closely united to us of all men? 15. The advantages, therefore, for which the gods lead brothers to union, see that you never render vain; but build upon them other friendly acts; and thus will your friendship always be impregnable. He that cares for his brother cares for himself. To whom is a brother, become great, so much an ornament as to a brother? Or who else will be honoured, on account of a man high in power, so much as his brother? Or whom will any one fear to injure so much as a powerful man's brother?<sup>1</sup> 16. Let no one, therefore, obey his wishes with greater alacrity, or support him with greater zeal, than yourself; for to no one can his good or ill fortune be more a matter of concern than to you. Take this also into consideration: can you hope for greater advantages from obliging any one than from obliging your brother? Or could you, by assisting any other, secure a more powerful ally? Whom is it more disgraceful not to love than a brother? Whom, of all men, is it more laudable to prefer in honour than a brother? Indeed, Cambyses, it is only when a brother is advanced to the chief place of honour by a brother, that no envy arises on the part of other men.

17. "In the name of the gods who protect fathers, then, my sons, do honour to one another, if you have any care to do what is acceptable to me. For you cannot, I am sure, imagine, that, after I have ended my period of human life, I shall no longer exist; for neither hitherto did you see my soul, but merely discovered that it existed from

<sup>1</sup> *Τίνα δὲ φοβήσεται τις ἀδικεῖν ἀδελφοῦ μεγάλου ὄντος οὕτως ὡς τὸν ἀδελφόν.* "Whom will any one fear to injure so much as the brother of a brother who is powerful?"

what it did. 18. Have you never observed as to the souls of those who have suffered a violent death,<sup>1</sup> what terrors they strike into those who are stained with their blood, and what avenging deities they send upon impious offenders? Do you suppose, too, that honours paid to the dead would still continue, if their souls were utterly without influence? 19. For my part, my sons, I have never been persuaded that the soul lives only as long as it is in a mortal body, and dies when it is separated from it; for I see that it is the soul which keeps mortal bodies alive, as long as it remains in them. 20. Nor do I feel convinced that the soul will be devoid of sense when it is separated from the senseless body; but it is probable that when the mind is separated, unmixed, and pure, it is then also most intelligent. When the frame of man is dissolved, every part of him is seen returning to that which is of the same nature with itself, except the soul, which alone is seen neither present nor departing. 21. Reflect too," continued he, "that nothing more closely resembles the death of man than sleep; but it is in sleep that the soul of man appears most divine, and it is then that it foresees something of the future; for then, as it seems, it is most free. 22. If, therefore, these things are as I think, and the soul leaves the body, do what I request of you from regard to my soul; but if it be not so, and the soul, remaining in the body, dies with it, yet, from fear of the gods, who are eternal, who behold all things and can do all things, who maintain this order of the universe unimpaired, undecaying, and without defect, neither do, nor meditate, on any occasion, anything impious or unjust.

23. "Next to the gods, have respect to the whole race of mankind, rising up in perpetual succession; for the gods do not shroud you in obscurity, but there is a necessity that your actions should always live in the view of all. If they seem to be virtuous and free from injustice, they will render you powerful among all men; but if you meditate what is unjust against each other, you will lose credit with all men; for none could any longer place confidence in you, though he should have the strongest inclination to do so, when he sees him, who is most closely united to you in friendship, wronged

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν ἀδίκᾳ παθόντων.] Οἱ ἀδίκᾳ παθόντες are those who have been put to death unjustly, violently, as appears from μαιφόντοι, which follows. Fischer.

by you. 24. If, then, I sufficiently instruct you how you ought to conduct yourselves towards one another, it is well; if not, learn it from those who lived before us, for this is the best mode of learning. Many parents have lived in affection with their children, and many brothers with their brothers; and some have acted towards each other an entirely opposite part; to whichever of these you shall find their conduct to have been beneficial, you will determine well in choosing it for your imitation. But on these subjects I have perhaps said sufficient.

25. "When I am dead, my children, do not enshrine my body in gold, or in silver, or in any other substance; but restore it to the earth as soon as possible; for what can be more desirable than to be mixed with the earth, which gives birth and nourishment to everything excellent and good? I have always hitherto borne an affection to men, and I feel that I should now gladly be incorporated with that which is beneficial to men. 26. And now," he added, "my soul seems to be leaving me, in the same manner as, it is probable, it begins to leave others. If, therefore, any one of you is desirous of touching my right hand, or is willing to see my face, while it has life, let him come near to me; but when I shall have covered it, I request of you, my sons, let no man, not even yourselves, look upon my body. 27. Summon however all the Persians, and the allies, to my tomb, to rejoice for me, as I shall then be safe from suffering any evil, whether I be with the divine nature, or be reduced to nothing. As many as come, do not dismiss until you have bestowed on them whatever favours are customary at the funeral of a rich man. 28. And remember this, as my last admonition: by doing good to your friends, you will be able also to punish your enemies. Farewell, dear children, and say farewell to your mother as from me; farewell, all my friends, present and absent." Having said this, and taken every one by the right hand, he covered his face and expired.

CHAPTER VIII.<sup>1</sup>

Conclusion. Gradual degeneracy of the Persians after the death of Cyrus.

1. THAT Cyrus's empire was the finest and most extensive of all those in Asia, it testifies for itself. It was bounded on the east by the Erythræan Sea, on the north by the Euxine Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, on the south by Ethiopia; and, though of such an extent, was governed by the single mind of Cyrus; and those who were subject to him, he treated with esteem and regard, as if they were his own children, while his subjects themselves respected Cyrus as a father. 2. But when Cyrus was dead, his sons soon fell into dissension, cities and nations speedily revolted, and everything changed for the worse. That what I say is true, I will begin to show by speaking of things relating to the gods.

I know that, in former times, the king, and those that were under him, if they took an oath, observed it, or if they made engagements, adhered to them, even in regard to persons who had committed the greatest offences. 3. Had they not been such characters, and borne such a reputation, no person would have trusted them,<sup>2</sup> as no one any longer trusts them now, since their impiety is known; so neither should the generals of the troops that went up with Cyrus<sup>3</sup> have trusted them on that occasion, but, relying on their ancient character, they put themselves into their hands, and being taken to the

<sup>1</sup> Whether this chapter be genuine or spurious, has been much disputed. David Schulze wrote a dissertation (Hal. 1806) to prove it spurious, which Bornemann answered, (Lips. 1819,) but without satisfying Beck or Lange, who, with Valckenaer ad Xen. Mem. p. 238, ed. Ern., decidedly pronounce it a forgery. For my own part, I think, with Fischer, (ad sect. 9,) that the affected elegance, but dry uniformity, of its style, so different from that of the rest of the book, and of Xenophon in general, are sufficiently decisive against its genuineness. That Athenæus (xii. 2) should quote it as genuine, may seem somewhat strange, but will prove nothing but that it existed before Athenæus wrote, leaving it not at all the less a forgery.

<sup>2</sup> The words οὐδ' ἄν εἰς αὐτοῖς ἐπίστευεν, which are in Hutchinson's text, have been omitted by all the recent editors, but I have thought it well to give an equivalent for them in the translation.

<sup>3</sup> Cyrus the younger.

king, had their heads cut off; and many of the Barbarians engaged in that expedition also perished, some deluded by one promise and some by another.

4. They are also greatly degenerated in regard to the following particulars; for formerly, if any one hazarded his life for his king, or subdued a city or nation, or performed any other honourable or serviceable action, he was distinguished with honour; but now, if any one betrays his father, as Mithridates betrayed Ariobarzanes; or if any one, like Leomithres, having left his wife and children, and his friends' children, as hostages with the king of Egypt, and having violated the most solemn oaths, appears to have served the king by that means, he is loaded with the highest honours. 5. All the people of Asia, being spectators of these proceedings, give themselves up to impiety and injustice; for whatever be the character of the rulers of a state, that of their subjects will be for the most part similar. It is thus that they have become more lawless than they were formerly.

6. With respect to money, too, they show themselves more unprincipled in the following ways. They seize, not only such as have committed many crimes, but such as have done no wrong, and compel them, for no just cause, to pay fines; so that those who appear to possess much property, live under no less apprehension than those who have been guilty of many offences; they are neither willing to come into the society of the more powerful, nor do they dare to join the army of the king. 7. Thus, whoever goes to war with the Persians, may fix his abode in the country, just as he pleases, without fighting, in consequence of their impiety towards the gods, and their injustice towards men. In this respect their minds are altogether in a worse condition than formerly.

8. I will now show that they do not take the same care as formerly to exercise their bodies. It was customary with them not to spit, or blow the nose; a rule which, it is manifest, they did not observe in order to spare the moisture in their bodies, but from a desire to harden their bodies by exercise and perspiration. The custom of not spitting or blowing the nose, indeed, still continues, but that of taking exercise is wholly disregarded. 9. Originally, too, it was their practice

to make only one meal<sup>1</sup> a day, that they might employ the rest of the day in business and exercise, and the custom of taking one meal is still observed; but, commencing their meal at the same time as those who dine earliest, they continue eating and drinking till the latest sitters-up go to bed.

10. It was likewise a rule among them, not to bring *prochoides*<sup>2</sup> to their banquets; evidently thinking that abstinence from drinking to excess would tend less to impair their bodies and their minds; and the custom of not bringing such vessels still continues; but they drink to such excess, that instead of bringing in, they are themselves carried out, since they are no longer able to walk out upright.

11. It was also a custom of the country, not to eat or drink when they were journeying from one place to another, or to be seen doing what are the necessary consequences of both. Abstinence in these particulars still continues; but they make their journeys so short, that no one can any longer wonder that they abstain from yielding to those calls of nature.

12. Formerly they went out hunting so often, that these expeditions were sufficient exercises for themselves and their horses; but, since King Artaxerxes and his courtiers have yielded to the influence of wine, they have neither gone out so frequently themselves, nor have sent out others, to the chase; and if some, from a fondness for exercise, have gone out hunting with their horsemen about them, the other Persians have manifestly envied and hated them for presuming to seem superior to themselves.

13. To educate the youth at the gates of the palace is still the custom; but the attainment and practice of horsemanship are extinct, because they do not go where they can gain applause by exhibiting skill in that exercise. Whereas, too, in former times, the boys, hearing causes justly decided there, were considered by that means to learn justice, that custom is

<sup>1</sup> Μονοσθειν.] That is, to take only one principal meal in the day, the *δειπνον*: for that they took a meal in the early part of the day, the *ἀριστον*, is shown by many passages of the *Cyropædia*.

<sup>2</sup> Προχοῖδας.] In what sense this word should be taken is by no means agreed. Hesychius, Gataker, (*Miscell. Crit.* v. 5,) Bornemann, interpret it *matulæ*; but Athenæus, (xi. p. 469, c.,) Brisson, (*de Reg. Pers. Princip.* p. 218,) Sturz, and others, think that *large cups* are meant.

altogether altered; for they now see those gain their causes who offer the highest bribes. 14. Formerly, also, boys were taught the virtues of the various productions of the earth, in order that they might use the serviceable, and avoid the noxious; but now they seem to be taught those particulars that they may do as much harm as possible; at least there are nowhere so many killed or injured<sup>1</sup> by poison as in that country.

15. They are, moreover, far more luxurious now than in the time of Cyrus, for then they still adhered to the institutions and temperance of the Persians, combined with the dress and delicacy of the Medes; but now they have suffered the temperance of the Persians to become extinct, while the effeminacy of the Medes they retain. 16. Of their luxury I wish to give some illustrations. In the first place, it is not sufficient for them to have soft couches spread for them, but they place the feet of their couches upon carpets, that the floor may offer no hard resistance, but that the carpets may yield. Of meats cooked for their tables, whatever were invented in former times, not one is discontinued; but they are always contriving new dishes, as well as sauces, for they have cooks to find out varieties in both. 17. In winter, it is not sufficient for them to have their heads, their bodies, and their feet covered, but they have hair-gloves for their hands, and coverings for the fingers. In summer, the shade of trees and of rocks does not satisfy them; but, under these, men stand near them contriving additional shade.<sup>2</sup> 18. If they possess a great number of cups, they are proud of possessing them; and if they be evidently acquired by unjust means, they are not at all ashamed, for dishonesty and a sordid love of gain are greatly increased among them.

19. It was once the custom of the country, that they should never be seen travelling on foot, for no other reason, but that they might become more skilful horsemen; now they have

<sup>1</sup> Οὔτε ἀποθνήσκουσιν οὔτε διαφθείρονται.] Some have taken the former verb in the sense of *se interficiunt*, and the latter in the sense of *ab aliis occiduntur*. But Camerarius very properly gave them the senses of *moriuntur* and *perniciosè læduntur*; the only senses that at all accord with the context.

<sup>2</sup> By the aid of fans and *umbellæ*, which may be seen represented on the monuments found in the ruins of Persepolis. See Heeren, i. p. 245. Bornemann.



more coverings on their horses than on their couches ; for they are not so desirous of skill in horsemanship, as of sitting at their ease. 20. With regard to the affairs of war, therefore, how can it be otherwise than probable that they should now be inferior in every respect to what they were at first ? It was customary, in past times, that those who possessed lands should furnish horsemen from them for the army, and that the soldiers in garrison, if it should be necessary to take the field, should fight as paid troops in defence of the country ; but now the great men enrol porters, bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, bathers, men who set dishes on the table and remove them, men who assist people to bed and to get up, dressers who anoint people, paint their faces, and trick them out in other ways, and all such characters, in the cavalry, that they may serve instead of themselves. 21. Of these, accordingly, the number makes a show ; but there is no profit in them for war, as events indeed prove, for their enemies find a residence in their country more easily than their friends. 22. Cyrus, having broken them of the custom of skirmishing at a distance, armed with breastplates both them and their horses, gave every one a javelin in his hand, and trained them to close fight ; but now they neither skirmish from a distance nor engage hand to hand. 23. The foot have yet shields, bills, and swords, as if they were going to battle under Cyrus, but neither will they venture to come to an engagement. 24. Nor do they any longer use the chariots armed with scythes for the purpose for which Cyrus intended them ; for he, by distinguishing the charioteers with honours, and making them brave, had such as would attack a body of heavy-armed infantry ; but the Persians of the present day, scarcely knowing the men in the chariots, imagine that those who are unexercised will be as serviceable as those that have practised ; 25. they do, indeed, make an attack, but, before they penetrate the enemy's ranks, some unintentionally fall out, and others jump out, so that the chariots and horses, being without drivers, frequently do more injury to their friends than to their enemies. 26. But since they are sensible of the condition of their troops, they yield to others, and none of them engage in a war without the aid of the Greeks, whether when they contend with one another, or when the Greeks take the field

against them ; for they resolve not to make war with Greeks without the assistance of Greeks.

27. I think that I have now executed what I undertook ; for I suppose it has been proved that the Persians, and those incorporated with them, are less regardful of piety towards the gods, less just towards their relations, less equitable in their dealings with others, and less vigorous in war, in the present than in former times. If any one thinks differently from me, he will, on considering their conduct, find it verify my statements.

# HELLENICS,

OR

## GRECIAN HISTORY.

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### BOOK I.

#### CHAPTER I.

The power of Athens considerably restored by the aid of Alcibiades. Defeat and death of the Spartan admiral Mindarus in the battle of Cyzicus. Pharnabazus assists the Lacedæmonians. Banishment of Hermocrates, the Syracusan, and his colleagues. Repulse of Agis before the walls of Athens.

1. AFTER these things,<sup>1</sup> but not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a few ships; and immediately the Lacedæmonians and Athenians again engaged by sea, and the Lacedæmonians, under the command of Hegesandridas, gained the victory.

2. A little subsequent to this, Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, sailed from Rhodes into the Hellespont with fourteen ships, at the beginning of winter, at day-break. And the day-watch of the Athenians having observed him, gave notice to the generals, who put out against him with twenty ships; but Dorieus having escaped them to the shore, ran his ships aground on Rhœteum, as he was clearing<sup>2</sup> it. 3. When the

<sup>1</sup> i. e. after the defeat of Mindarus by the Athenian commanders, Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, in the sea-fight between Sestus and Abydus; the last fact of importance related by Thucydides.

<sup>2</sup> ἡνοίγε.] For a similar use of this verb, with reference to the land in general, as in this passage to a projecting part of it, see ch. v. 14, and vi. 21, of this first book.

Athenians had come to close quarters with them, they fought both from their ships and from the shore; until the Athenians sailed away to Madytus to the rest of their force without having gained any advantage. 4. Now Mindarus had a sight of the battle, as he was sacrificing to Athena at Ilium, and went down to the sea to support them; and having launched his own galleys, sailed off to rescue those of Dorieus. 5. But the Athenians, putting out against him, engaged him off Abydus, along the beach, from morning till evening. And while they were alternately victorious and vanquished, Alcibiades sailed up into the straits with eighteen ships. 6. Upon that the Lacedæmonians fled to Abydus; when Pharnabazus came to their aid, and advancing on his horse into the sea fought as long as was possible, and cheered on the rest of his men, both horse and foot. 7. And the Peloponnesians having closed in with their ships and formed them in line, engaged near the shore. So the Athenians sailed away, having taken thirty of the enemy's vessels unmanned, and having recovered those which they had themselves lost; and went to Sestus. 8. Thence, with the exception of forty ships, they departed in different directions beyond the Hellespont to collect money; while Thrasyllus, being one of the generals, sailed to Athens to carry tidings of these things, and to ask for land forces and ships.

9. After these events Tissaphernes came to the Hellespont; and on Alcibiades' coming to him with a single galley, taking him tokens of friendship and presents, he arrested and confined him at Sardis, alleging that the king commanded him to make war upon the Athenians. 10. But thirty days afterwards, Alcibiades in company with Mantitheus, who had been taken prisoner in Caria, being provided with horses escaped from Sardis by night to Clazomenæ. 11. Now the Athenians at Sestus, finding that Mindarus was about to sail against them with sixty ships, retreated by night to Cardia. Thither Alcibiades also came from Clazomenæ, with five galleys and a small vessel. And on hearing that the ships of the Peloponnesians had set sail from Abydus for Cyzicus, he himself came to Sestus by land, and ordered his ships to sail thither. 12. On his arrival, when he was now on the point of putting out for an engagement, Theramenes too sailed in with twenty ships from Macedonia, and at the same time Thrasybulus also with

twenty more from Thasus, both of them having collected supplies of money. 13. Alcibiades told these also to pursue him, having taken down their large sails; and himself sailed to Parium: and all their ships being united at Parium, to the number of eighty-six, put out to sea the following night, and the next day, about breakfast time, arrived at Proconnesus. There they heard that Mindarus was at Cyzicus, and Pharnabazus with his land force. 14. That day, then, they remained there; and the day following, Alcibiades, having called an assembly, told them in his address that it was necessary for them to fight both by sea and by land, and even against fortified places; "for," said he, "we have no money, but the enemy receive abundance of it from the king." 15. Now the day previous, after they had come to their moorings, he had brought together all the vessels and the smaller craft to his own position, in order that no one might report to the enemy the number of his ships; and had made proclamation that whoever should be caught sailing over to the opposite coast, death was the penalty. 16. After the assembly he made preparations for a naval action, and set sail for Cyzicus under a heavy rain. When he was near Cyzicus, the weather having cleared up and the sun broken out, he descries the ships of Mindarus, to the number of sixty, exercising at a distance from the harbour, and intercepted from it by his fleet. 17. The Peloponnesians, on seeing the galleys of the Athenians, both much more numerous than before, and near the harbour, fled to the land; and having anchored their ships together gave battle to their opponents, as they came up. 18. Now Alcibiades, having sailed round with twenty of his vessels, disembarked on the shore. Mindarus seeing this, disembarked also, and was killed fighting on the land, while those that were with him took to flight. And the Athenians went away to Proconnesus, with all the ships, except those of the Syracusans; but these the Syracusans themselves had fired. 19. Thence the next day the Athenians sailed to Cyzicus; and the inhabitants admitted them, the Peloponnesians and Pharnabazus having evacuated the place. 20. After remaining there twenty days, and levying large contributions from the inhabitants, without doing any other harm to the town, Alcibiades sailed away to Proconnesus, and thence to Perinthus and Selymbria. 21. The Perinthians admitted the armament into their city: the Selym-

brians did not admit them, but gave them money. 22. Thence they came to Chrysopolis in the territory of Chalcedon, which they fortified, and established a custom-house in it, and took tithes of the vessels coming from the Pontus. They also left there a guard of thirty ships, with two of the generals, Theramenes and Eumachus, to keep an eye on the place and on the outward-bound vessels, and to inflict whatever other injury they could on the enemy. The rest of the generals departed for the Hellespont.

23. Now a despatch from Hippocrates, second in command to Mindarus, which had been sent to Lacedæmon, was intercepted and brought to Athens, containing these words: "Our success is gone; Mindarus is dead; the men are hungry; we are at a loss what to do."

24. But Pharnabazus exhorted all the force of the Peloponnesians and the allies not to be disheartened for timber, as there was abundance of it in the king's country, so long as their persons were safe; and he gave them a garment each, and supplies for two months; and having armed the seamen he posted them as guardians of his own maritime territory. 25. And having assembled the generals and captains from the cities, he urged them to build themselves galleys at Antandrus, as many as they had severally lost; both giving them money, and telling them to take their timber from Ida. 26. While they were building their ships, the Syracusans together with the Antandrians completed a part of the fortifications of the place, and while serving in the garrison made themselves most agreeable of all the force. For these reasons the Syracusans enjoy both the character of benefactors and the right of citizenship at Antandrus. Pharnabazus then, having arranged these things, went to the succour of Chalcedon.

27. In the mean time news was brought to the generals of the Syracusans, that they were banished from home by the people. They called together therefore their own soldiers, Hermocrates taking the lead, and deplored their misfortune, as being all banished contrary to the law; and exhorted them to be zealous in future, as they had been in time past, and brave men in obeying the orders given them from time to time; and they urged them to choose commanders, till those chosen in their own places should have arrived. 28. The men with acclamations desired *them* to command them, especially the captains, soldiers,

and pilots. They replied, that they must not act seditiously against their own country; though, if any one brought any charge against them, they said they ought to give them a hearing: "remembering in how many sea-fights you have by yourselves gained the victory, and how many ships you have taken, and in how many instances, in conjunction with the rest, you have proved yourselves invincible under our command, holding the best position both through our valour and your zeal, exhibited both by land and by sea." 29. When no one brought any charge against them, they remained, at their request, till the generals should arrive who had been chosen in their stead, namely, Demarchus the son of Pidocus, Myscon the son of Menecrates, and Potamis the son of Gnosias. And most of the captains having sworn to restore them on their return to Syracuse, let them depart wherever they pleased, with eulogies on all of them; 30. but the associates of Hermocrates, in particular, most felt the loss of his attention, zeal, and affability. For whichever of the captains, pilots, and soldiers he considered most apt, every day, morning and evening, he assembled them in his own tent, and communicated to them whatever he intended to speak or do, and instructed them, urging them to express their views, in some cases impromptu, in others after deliberation. 31. By these means Hermocrates enjoyed a general reputation in the council, being thought both to speak and to form plans in the most able manner. Now Hermocrates had accused Tissaphernes at Lacedæmon, Astyochus also supporting him with his evidence, and was thought to have spoken the truth; and at the present time, coming to Pharnabazus, he received money from him before asking for it, and began to prepare mercenaries and galleys, with a view to his return to Syracuse. In the mean time, the successors of the Syracusans came to Miletus, and took the command of the fleet and the army.

32. Now a sedition having arisen in Thasos at this time, the partisans of Lacedæmon, and the Lacedæmonian harmost,<sup>1</sup> Eteonicus, are driven out. Pasippidas, the Lacedæmonian, being charged with having effected this in conjunction with Tissaphernes, was banished from Sparta; and Cratesippidas was sent out to the fleet which he had raised from the allies,

<sup>1</sup> ἀρμοστής.] The title of the governors sent to any foreign dependency of Sparta.

and took the command of it at Chios. 33. About this period, whilst Thrasyllus was at Athens, Agis, in making a foray from Decelea, came to the very walls of Athens; and Thrasyllus, having led out the Athenians and the rest who were in the city, drew them all up by the Lycean gymnasium, prepared to engage them if they came up to him. 34. Seeing this, Agis quickly withdrew, and some few of his men, such as were in the rear of all,<sup>1</sup> were killed by the light-armed. The Athenians therefore, in consequence of these things, were still more zealous supporters of Thrasyllus, with regard to the objects of his coming; and voted that he should muster a thousand heavy infantry, a hundred horse, and fifty triremes. 35. But when Agis saw from Decelea many corn-ships running into Piræus, he said that it was of no use for him and his troops to have been now for so long a time excluding the Athenians from the command of their land, unless some one should also stop those from whom the sea-borne corn was imported; and that the best thing would be to send Clearchus the son of Ramphias, who was the *proxenus* of the Byzantines, to Chalcedon and Byzantium. 36. When this resolution had been adopted, fifteen ships having been manned from Megara and from the rest of the allies, he took his departure. And three of his ships were destroyed in the Hellespont, by the nine Athenian ones, which were always there on the look-out for vessels; the rest fled to Sestus, and thence arrived safe at Byzantium. 37. And so the year ended in which the Carthaginians, having made an expedition against Sicily, under the command of Hannibal, with an army of a hundred thousand men, took in the course of three months two Grecian cities, Selinus and Himera.

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.] Or the preposition may perhaps signify "at the mercy of—" "exposed to the attacks of—" as the extreme rear would be.



## CHAPTER II.

Thrasyllus sails to Samos. Takes Colophon, but is defeated with severe loss at Ephesus. Takes four Syracusan vessels off Lesbos. Joins the other Athenian armament at Sestus. During the winter the united forces, under the command of Alcibiades, attack Abydos, and defeat Pharnabazus, who came to succour the place.

1. THE next year, being the ninety-third Olympiad, at which the two-horsed chariot of Evagoras, the Elean, gained the prize, (this being a new addition to the games,) and in the foot-race Eubotas the Cyrenæan—while Euarchippus was ephor at Sparta, and Euctemon archon at Athens—the Athenians fortified Thoricus. And now Thrasyllus, having taken the vessels voted for him, and made targeteers of five thousand of the seamen, sailed out at the beginning of summer to Samos. 2. After remaining there three days, he sailed to Pygela, where he both ravaged the country and attacked the wall. Now some troops from Miletus, having come to the succour of the Pygelans, pursued the Athenian light-armed, while they were dispersed about. 3. But the targeteers, and two divisions of the heavy-armed, having gone to the support of their light-armed, slew all who had come from Miletus, except a few, and took about two hundred shields, and erected a trophy. 4. The next day they sailed to Notium, and thence, after making their preparations, proceeded to Colophon, the inhabitants of which place surrendered to them. The following night they made an inroad into Lydia, when the corn was ripe, and burnt many villages, and took money and slaves, and other booty to a great amount. 5. Now Stages the Persian was in the neighbourhood; and when the Athenians from the camp were scattered about, plundering on their own account, he took prisoner one of the horsemen who had come to their support, and slew seven. 6. After this, Thrasyllus withdrew his force to the sea, with a view of sailing to Ephesus. Tisaphernes, being aware of this object, began to collect a large army, and to despatch horsemen with orders for all to come to Ephesus, to the aid of Diana. 7. Thrasyllus, the seventeenth day after his inroad into the country, sailed to Ephesus, and having landed his heavy infantry near Mount Coressus, and his cavalry and targeteers, and all the rest, near the marsh on

the other side of the town, at day-break he brought up both his divisions. 8. The townsmen went out to defend themselves, with their allies whom Tissaphernes had brought, and the Syracusans, both those from the former twenty ships and from five others, which happened to have arrived at that time, being lately come with Eucles the son of Hippo, and Heraclides the son of Aristogenes, and two from Selinus. 9. These all marched, in the first instance, against the heavy infantry at the foot of Coressus; and after routing them, and slaying about a hundred of them, and pursuing them down to the sea, they turned against those by the marsh. There, too, the Athenians fled, and there fell of them about three hundred. 10. The Ephesians set up a trophy there, and another near Coressus. And to the Syracusans and Selinuntines, who had behaved most bravely, they gave rewards for their valour, both publicly, and, in many instances, privately; and granted free permission to live there to any who might ever wish it; while to the Selinuntines, since their city had been destroyed, they gave the rights of citizenship also. 11. The Athenians, after taking back their dead under treaty, sailed away to Notium, and having buried them there sailed for Lesbos and the Hellespont. 12. While lying at anchor at Mitylene in Lesbos, they saw the five and twenty Syracusan ships sailing by from Ephesus; and putting out against them, they took four with their crews, and chased the rest to Ephesus. 13. All the rest of the prisoners Thrasyllus sent off to Athens; but Alcibiades the Athenian, who was a cousin and fellow-exile of Alcibiades, he set at liberty. He then sailed to Sestus, to join the rest of the armament. 14. From that place the whole force crossed over to Lampsacus. And the winter now came on, during which the Syracusan prisoners who were confined in the quarries of Piræus, having dug through the rock, made their escape, and went to Decelea, or in some instances to Megara. 15. Now at Lampsacus, when Alcibiades wished to embody all the army, the former soldiers would not join in the same ranks with those of Thrasyllus, considering that they themselves were unvanquished, while the others had come after being vanquished. There, then, they all spent the winter, fortifying Lampsacus, and making an expedition against Abydos. 16. Pharnabazus came to the rescue of that place with a large body of horse, and was defeated in battle

and put to flight. Alcibiades pursued him with his cavalry and a hundred and twenty of his heavy infantry, commanded by Menander, till darkness rescued him. 17. After this battle the soldiers united with one another, and greeted those with Thrasyllus. They went out also during the winter on other expeditions against the continent, and ravaged the king's country. 18. It was at this same time, too, that the Lacedæmonians dismissed under treaty from Malea those of the Helots who had revolted and established themselves at Coryphasium.<sup>1</sup> About the same time also the Achæans at Heraclea in Trachis betrayed the new settlers, while all of them were drawn up for battle against the Ætæans, who were hostile to them; so that there fell of them to the number of seven hundred, with Labotas the harmost from Lacedæmon. 19. And so this year ended, in which the Medes, having revolted from Darius, king of Persia, again submitted to him.

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### CHAPTER III.

The Athenians attack Chalcedon, which had revolted. Hippocrates, the Lacedæmonian harmost, falls in a vain attempt to defend it. The Athenians make peace with the Chalcedonians and Pharnabazus, who had come to the rescue of their town. They fail in an assault upon Byzantium, but get possession of it by the treason of some of the inhabitants.

1. THE next year the temple of Athena at Phocæa was burnt by a thunder-bolt falling on it. When the winter came to an end, while Pantacles was ephor, and Antigenes archon, at the beginning of spring, two and twenty years of the war having now elapsed, the Athenians sailed with all their armament to Proconnesus. 2. Thence they advanced against Chalcedon and Byzantium, and encamped near the former place. The Chalcedonians, having notice of the approach of the Athenians, deposited all their exposed property with the Bithynian Thracians who lived near their city. 3. But Alcibiades, taking a few of his heavy infantry and his cavalry, and commanding the fleet to coast along in a line with him, came to

<sup>1</sup> τὸ Κορυφάσιον.] The Lacedæmonian name for Pylus. See Thucydides, iv. 3.

the Bithynians, and demanded back the property of the Chalcedonians; else, he said, he would proceed to hostilities with them. So they gave it back. 4. And when Alcibiades, having much booty, and having exchanged pledges of friendship with them, was come to the camp, he proceeded with all his force to circumvallate Chalcedon from sea to sea, and as much of the river<sup>1</sup> as he could with a wooden wall. 5. Upon that, Hippocrates, the Lacedæmonian harmost, led his soldiers out of the city to give him battle; and the Athenians drew up against him; while Pharnabazus, outside of the walls of circumvallation, came to his support with an army and a numerous cavalry. 6. Hippocrates therefore and Thrasyllus, each with his heavy-armed, fought for a long time; until Alcibiades, with some heavy infantry and his cavalry, came to the assistance of the latter. And Hippocrates was killed, and those who were with him fled into the city. 7. At the same time Pharnabazus, not being able to effect a conjunction with Hippocrates, owing to the difficulties of the ground, the river and the wall of circumvallation being near, retreated to the precinct of Hercules in the Chalcedonian territory, where his camp was. 8. After this, Alcibiades went to the Hellespont and the Chersonesus to raise money; but the rest of the generals made an arrangement with Pharnabazus, with regard to Chalcedon, that Pharnabazus should give the Athenians twenty talents, and conduct an Athenian embassy up to the king. 9. And they took oaths to Pharnabazus, and administered them to him, that the Chalcedonians should give tribute, as much as they had been accustomed, to the Athenians, and pay up the arrears due; and that the Athenians should not make war on the Chalcedonians until the ambassadors from the king arrived. 10. Now Alcibiades was not present at this interchange of oaths, but was in the neighbourhood of Selymbria; after taking which place he came to Byzantium, with the inhabitants of the Chersonesus in full force, and some soldiers from Thrace, and more than three hundred horse. 11. Pharnabazus, thinking that he also ought to take the oaths, was waiting for him at Chalcedon till he should come from Byzantium; but when he came, he said he would not take them, unless Pharnabazus also took them to him. 12. After

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ποταμοῦ.] i. e. the Chalcedon, which ran through a valley on one side of the town, to which it gave its name.

this he took them at Chrysopolis before commissioners from Pharnabazus—Metrobates and Arnapes,—and Pharnabazus took them at Chalcedon before commissioners from Alcibiades—Euryptolemus and Diotimus,—both taking the public oath, and giving mutually on their private account also assurances of friendship. 13. Pharnabazus then departed immediately, and told the ambassadors who were going to the king to meet him at Cyzicus. The Athenians who were sent were Dorotheus, Philodices, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, and Mantitheus; and with them Cleostratus and Pyrroloechus from Argos; there also went, as an embassy from the Lacedæmonians, Pasippidas and some others; and with them Hermocrates also,<sup>1</sup> being now exiled from Syracuse, and his brother Proxenus. 14. So Pharnabazus escorted these, while the Athenians were besieging Byzantium, after circumvallating it, and were skirmishing and making assaults on the wall. 15. In the town was Clearchus the Lacedæmonian harmost, and with him some of the *periæci*, and a few of the newly enfranchised, and a body of Megarians, with their commander Helixus of Megara, and another of Bœotians, with their commander Cœratadas. 16. When the Athenians could produce no effect by force, they persuaded some of the Byzantines to betray the place to them. 17. But Clearchus, the harmost, not thinking that any one would do that, after arranging everything in the best way he could, and intrusting the command of the town to Cœratadas and Helixus, crossed over to Pharnabazus on the other side of the straits, to get from him money to pay the soldiers, and to collect vessels, of which there were some in the Hellespont, left as guard-ships by Pasippidas, and others at Antandrus, besides those which Hegesandridas (sailing as a passenger with Mindarus) had on the coast of Thrace; and to provide that others should be built, and that all these being united should devastate the allies of the Athenians, and so draw off their armament from Byzantium. 18. When Clearchus had sailed away, those of the Byzantines who were prepared to betray the town, namely, Cydon, Ariston, Anaxi-

<sup>1</sup> ἡδὲ φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν.] As Hermocrates has already been spoken of as a banished man, (i. 27,) Schneider supposes these words to refer to a voyage home he had made in the mean time, and a fruitless attempt to get his sentence rescinded; quoting Diodorus, xiii. 63, in support of this view.

crates, Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus, (who was afterwards tried for his life at Lacedæmon on account of his treason, but was acquitted, on the ground that he had not betrayed the town, but saved it, when he saw children and women dying of famine, he all the time being a Byzantine, and not a Lacedæmonian; (for the corn that was in the place was given by Clearchus to the Lacedæmonian soldiers;) for these reasons therefore he said that he had admitted the enemy, not for mercenary motives, nor from hatred of the Lacedæmonians): 20. these men, I say, when their preparations were completed, opened by night the gates—those which have their denomination from looking towards the Thracian<sup>1</sup> square—and introduced the army and Alcibiades. 21. Helixus and Cœratadas, knowing nothing of this, went to the rescue with all the troops into the market-place; but since the enemy were in possession on all sides, having nothing that they could do, they gave themselves up. 22. These, then, were sent off to Athens; and while they were landing in Piræus, Cœratadas, during the confusion, escaped unobserved, and arrived safe at Decelea.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Favourable reception of a Spartan embassy at the court of Persia; the envoys from Athens being stopped on their way by Pharnabazus at the instigation of Cyrus. Alcibiades is elected general while still in exile, and soon afterwards returns home. The different opinions entertained of him. He defends himself in the council and assembly, and being intrusted with the absolute command of the forces, sails against Andros, and thence to Samos.

1. PHARNABAZUS and the ambassadors were at Gordium in Phrygia for the winter, when they heard of what had been done at Byzantium. 2. At the beginning of spring, as they were on their way to the king, there met them on their return to the coast the ambassadors<sup>2</sup> of the Lacedæmonians,—a man

<sup>1</sup> το Θράκιον.] Described in the Anabasis, vii. 1. 24, as a space within the walls *ξηρῶν οἰκῶν καὶ πεδινόν*.

<sup>2</sup> Schneider observes that this Spartan embassy, under Bœotius, was evidently a different one from that under Pasippidas, mentioned in the previous chapter.

named Boëtius and his companions,—and the other messengers; and told them that the Lacedæmonians had gained all their requests from the king. 3. And with them was Cyrus, who was to have the government of the whole sea-board, and to join the Lacedæmonians in the war; and he was bearer of a letter with the royal seal upon it to all on the coast, in which were the following words: “I send down Cyrus as *Caranus* of those who assemble at Castolus;”<sup>1</sup> the meaning of *Caranus* being “lord.” 4. When, therefore, the Athenian ambassadors heard this, and saw Cyrus, they wished, if possible, to go up to the king; but if not, to go back home. 5. But Cyrus told Pharnabazus either to deliver up the ambassadors to him, or not to send them back home at present, as he wished the Athenians not to know what measures were being taken. 6. So Pharnabazus detained the ambassadors for some time; telling them at one time, that he would take them up to the king; at another, that he would send them back home in a way they would not object to. 7. But when three years had passed, he begged Cyrus to let them go; saying that he had sworn to take them back to the sea, since he had not taken them to the king. So they sent them to Ariobarzanes, and ordered him to escort them; and he conducted them back to Cios in Mysia, whence they sailed back to the rest of the armament.

8. Now Alcibiades, wishing to return home with his troops, put out immediately for Samos; and thence, taking twenty of the ships, he sailed to the Ceramic Gulf on the coast of Caria. 9. Thence, after collecting a hundred talents, he came to Samos. Thrasybulus, with thirty ships, set out for Thrace, and subdued both the other places in that quarter which had gone over to the Lacedæmonians, and Thasos, which was being ravaged both by wars, and seditions, and famine. 10. Thrasybulus, with the rest of the army, sailed home to Athens: but before his arrival the Athenians chose as their generals, Alcibiades, who was in banishment, and Thrasybulus, who was

<sup>1</sup> *Καστωλόν*.] Mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus as a town in Lydia, and referred to in the *Anabasis*, i. 1. 2, under the title of *Κασταλοῦ πεδίου*. The assemblies mentioned both in this and that passage probably refer to periodical reviews of the troops in the district.

absent, and for the third, Conon, from amongst those who were at home.

11. Now Alcibiades sailed with his treasures from Samos to Paros, with twenty ships; and thence put out straight for Gythium, to watch the triremes which he heard the Lacedæmonians were equipping there, to the number of thirty, and to observe, with regard to his return home, how the state was affected towards him. 12. When he saw that it was well disposed to him, and had chosen him general, and that in private his friends were sending for him, he sailed into Piræus on the day on which the city was celebrating the Plynteria, when the statue of Athena was covered over; which some considered as an unfavourable omen both for him and for the state. For none of the Athenians would venture to transact any serious business on this day. 13. As he was sailing to shore, the multitude both from Piræus and from the city crowded to the ships, wondering, and wishing to see Alcibiades; saying, some of them, "that he was the best of the citizens, and alone had pleaded his own defence, as having been not justly banished, but plotted against by men who were less able than himself, and who spoke in a more unprincipled manner, and carried on the government for their own private gain; whereas he always promoted the general good, both with his own resources, and with the power of the state."<sup>1</sup> 14. And when, on that well-known occasion, he wished to be brought to trial immediately, when the charge was just brought against him of having been guilty of impiety with regard to the mysteries; his enemies, putting off what seemed to be a fair demand, deprived him of his country in his absence. 15. At which time, submitting through helplessness, he was compelled to court his bitterest enemies, being continually in danger of perishing from day to day: and though he saw those nearest to him, his fellow-citizens and kinsmen, and the whole state, taking a wrong course, he had no means of helping it, being prevented by exile. 16. Further, they declared that such a man as he was had no need of innovation or revolution: for the

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ.] Schneider thinks that this expression cannot have the interpretation I have given to it: but the very common phrases εἰς τὸ δυνατόν κατὰ τὸ δ. seem fully to warrant it.



fruits of the democracy were, in his case, to have more than his equals in age, and not less than his elders; but in the case of his enemies, to be thought the same men as they had always been; and afterwards, when they had raised themselves to power, to destroy the best men, and being themselves alone left, to be tolerated by their countrymen for this simple reason, because they could not secure the services of others who were better." 17. Others said "that he was the sole author of their past troubles, and seemed to have made himself the sole promoter of those which they had reason to fear might still fall on the state." 18. After coming to anchor near the shore, Alcibiades did not land immediately, for fear of his enemies; but standing on the deck, looked out to see if his friends were there. 19. When he saw Euryptolemus, the son of Peisianax, who was his own cousin, and the rest of his connexions and his friends with them, he then landed and went up the city, with a body of men prepared not to allow it, if any one should meddle with him. 20. In the council and the assembly he defended himself from the charge of impiety, and declared that he had been unjustly treated: and when much to this effect had been spoken, and no one contradicted him, (for the assembly would not have borne it,) he was declared absolute commander of all the forces, as being alone able to maintain the original power of the state. And whereas the Athenians before conducted the mysteries by sea,<sup>1</sup> on account of the war, he conducted them by land, leading out all the soldiers. 21. After this he enrolled a force of fifteen hundred heavy foot and a hundred and fifty horse, with a hundred ships: and the third month after his return home, he sailed out against Andros, which had revolted from the Athenians; and with him were sent Aristocrates and Adimantus, the son of Leucolophidas, who had been chosen as commanders by land. 22. Alcibiades disembarked the army at Gaurium in the Andrian territory; and when the Andrians came out against them, they routed them, and shut them up within their city, and killed some few of them, and the Lacedæmonians who were there. 23. He then erected a trophy, and after remaining there three days, sailed to Samos; from which place, as the base of his operations, he carried on the war.

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ θάλατταν.] Because they had not dared to travel by the sacred way to Eleusis since the occupation of Declea by the enemy.

## CHAPTER V.

Lysander, the Spartan admiral, is assisted by Cyrus in equipping his fleet. Alcibiades goes to meet Thrasybulus at Phocæa. During his absence Antiochus, contrary to his orders, engages the enemy, and loses fifteen vessels. The Athenians depose Alcibiades and appoint Conon in his stead.

1. A SHORT time previous to these events, when the period for Cratesippidas being admiral had expired, the Lacedæmonians sent out Lysander in that office. He, after coming to Rhodes, and taking thence some vessels, sailed to Cos and Miletus, and thence to Ephesus, where he remained with seventy ships, till Cyrus arrived at Sardis. 2. When he was come, he went up to him with the ambassadors from Lacedæmon. There, then, they told him of Tissaphernes, how he had acted; and begged Cyrus himself to be very zealous in prosecuting the war. 3. Cyrus said, that both his father had given him such instructions, and he had himself no other views; but would carry them all out; and that he had come with five hundred talents; and if these should fail, he would make use of his own money which his father had given him; and if that also were insufficient, he would cut up even the throne on which he sat, which was made of silver and gold. 4. They commended these sentiments, and desired him to agree to give an Attic drachma<sup>1</sup> a sailor; informing him that if that were made the pay, the sailors of the Athenians would desert their ships, and so he would have to expend less money. 5. He told them that they said well, but it was not possible for him to act differently to what the king had commanded; and the agreement was to this effect, that he should give thirty minæ a month for each ship, whatever number the Lacedæmonians might wish to maintain. 6. Lysander was silent at the time; but after supper, when Cyrus had drunk his health,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν.] The sum mentioned by Thucydides, vi. 31 as paid to the Athenian sailors in the great Sicilian expedition, the usual pay being only half a drachma. See below, par. 7.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ προπιῶν.] The Greek fashion of paying this compliment was for a man to pass on the cup to another, after first drinking himself.

and asked him what he could do to oblige him most, he said, "If you would add to the pay an obolus a sailor." 7. From this time the pay was four oboli, but before it had been only three. And he both paid up the arrears, and further gave a month's pay in advance; so that the armament was much more full of spirits. 8. The Athenians, on hearing these things, were disheartened, and sent ambassadors to Cyrus through Tissaphernes. 9. But he would not admit them, though Tissaphernes begged him, and urged him to provide (as he himself used to do, at the suggestion of Alcibiades) that none of the Greeks might be powerful, but all weak, through their party quarrels amongst themselves. 10. When the fleet had been organized by him, Lysander hauled up his ships at Ephesus, ninety in number, and kept quiet, refitting them, and refreshing the crews.

11. Now Alcibiades, hearing that Thrasybulus had come out of the Hellespont, and was fortifying Phocæa, sailed across to him, leaving in command of the fleet Antiochus, the master on board his own ship, with instructions not to sail against Lysander's fleet. 12. But Antiochus, going with his own ship and another from Notium into the harbour of Ephesus, sailed along by the very prows of Lysander's ships. 13. Launching in the first instance but a few of his vessels, Lysander gave him chase; but when the Athenians came to support Antiochus with more ships, then indeed he drew up his whole number, and sailed against them. Afterwards the Athenians also launched the rest of their triremes at Notium, and put out to sea, as each cleared the shore. 14. Upon this they engaged, the Lacedæmonians being in line, but the Athenians with their ships dispersed, until they took to flight after losing fifteen triremes. Of the men the greater part escaped, but some were taken prisoners. After taking possession of the ships and erecting a trophy on Notium, Lysander sailed across to Ephesus, and the Athenians to Samos. 15. After this, Alcibiades came to Samos, and put out with all his ships to the harbour of Ephesus, and drew them up before the mouth of it, in case any one might wish to give him battle. But when Lysander did not put out against him, because he was inferior to him by many ships, he sailed back to Samos. The Lacedæmonians, a little after, take Delphinium and Eion. 16. And the Athenians at home, when news of the sea-fight was

brought, were angry with Alcibiades, thinking he had lost the ships through carelessness and intemperance; and they chose ten other generals, Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinidas, Aristocrates, Archestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, and Aristogenes. 17. Alcibiades therefore, being in ill favour with the army also, took one trireme, and sailed away to the Chersonesus, to his own castle. 18. And subsequently Conon came from Andros, with the twenty ships he had under him, as voted by the Athenians, and sailed to Samos to join the fleet. In the place of Conon they sent Phanosthenes to Andros, with four ships. 19. He, having fallen in with two Thurian triremes, took them with their crews; and the Athenians threw all the prisoners into irons; but on Dorieus, their commander, (who was a Rhodian, and had formerly been outlawed by the Athenians while living as a citizen amongst them, with sentence of death passed upon him and his kinsmen,) they had compassion, and released him without even exacting a ransom from him. 20. When Conon came to Samos, and found the fleet out of spirits, having completely manned seventy ships instead of the former number, which was more than a hundred, and putting out to sea with these in conjunction with the other generals, he landed in different parts of the enemy's country, and ravaged it. 21. And so the year ended, in which the Carthaginians made an expedition to Sicily, with a hundred and twenty triremes, and a land-force of a hundred and twenty thousand men, and reduced Agrigentum by famine; for though they were defeated in battle, they sat down before it seven months.

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## CHAPTER VI. ★

Callieratidas, Lysander's successor, refuses to court the Persians. Having received supplies from Miletus and Chios, he storms Methymna, and blockades Conon at Mitylene. On the arrival of a large fleet from Athens, he is defeated and drowned at Arginusæ. Clever escape of Eteonicus with his ships from Mitylene.

1. THE following year, in which the moon was eclipsed in the evening, and the old temple of Athena was burnt at

Athens, Pityas being ephor, and Callias archon at Athens, the Lacedæmonians sent Callicratidas to the fleet, Lysander's period of command having now expired, and twenty-two years of the war. 2. When Lysander gave up the ships, he told Callicratidas that he did so while in command of the sea, and after gaining the victory in a naval action. Callicratidas told him to coast along from Ephesus, with Samos, where the Athenian fleet was, on his left hand, and give up the ships at Miletus; and then he would confess that he had command of the sea. 3. When Lysander declined being so officious while another man was in office, Callicratidas himself, in addition to the vessels he had received from Lysander, manned from Chios and Rhodes, and other places belonging to the allies, fifty ships besides. Having combined all these, to the number of a hundred and forty, he made preparations for meeting the enemy. 4. But finding that he was factiously opposed by the friends of Lysander, who not only served him without any zeal, but also spread it abroad in the different states that the Lacedæmonians very greatly erred in changing their admirals so often—in the place of those who had grown fit for the office, and had just acquired a knowledge of naval matters, and knew how to behave to people in those parts, sending men who were unacquainted with the sea, and unknown to people there,—and so<sup>1</sup> were in danger of incurring some disaster on this account; finding this, I say, Callicratidas assembled those of the Lacedæmonians who were there, and addressed them as follows:

5. "I am contented to remain at home; and whether Lysander or any one else professes to be more experienced in naval matters, I make no objection, as far as I am concerned. But since I have been sent by my country to the fleet, I know not what else to do but to obey my orders in the best way I can. Do ye then, with regard to the points on which I feel this ambition, and our country is exposed to reprehension, (for ye know it yourselves as well as I do,) advise what appears best

<sup>1</sup> *κινδυνεύουσιν τε παθεῖν*. It is impossible to translate this passage without inserting the conjunction, as I have done; otherwise, there is no connexion between *κινδυνεύουσιν* and *παραπίπτουσιν*. Dindorf does not seem to have noticed this consequence of his changing the *δέ* after *ἀπείρους* (as Schneider had it) into *δή*;—a change quite justified by the context, but requiring the insertion of *καί* before the next verb.

to you, about my continuing where I am, or sailing back home, to report the state of things here."

6. When no one dared to express any opinion, but that he should obey those at home, and do what he came for, he went to Cyrus, and asked for pay for the seamen: but he told him to wait two days. 7. Callicratidas, annoyed at being put off, and at having to go repeatedly to his doors, grew angry, and said that the Greeks were most miserable men, in having to fawn on Barbarians for money: and, declaring that if he got safe home, to the best of his ability he would reconcile the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he sailed away to Miletus. 8. There, after sending triremes to Lacedæmon for money, he convened an assembly of the Milesians, and spoke thus: "For me, Milesians, it is necessary to obey the rulers at home: and on you I call to be most zealous in the war, inasmuch as, through living amongst the Barbarians, you have suffered ere now most evil at their hands. 9. And you ought to take the lead of the rest of the allies, in order that we may do the quickest and the greatest mischief to the enemy, until those come from Sparta whom I have sent to fetch pecuniary supplies. 10. For what there were here Lysander, before he took his departure, gave back to Cyrus, as being more than were wanted. And Cyrus, when I went to him, continually put off giving me an audience; and I could not persuade myself to be repeatedly going to his doors. 11. But I promise you, that in return for the benefits conferred on us while we are expecting our supplies from home, I will repay you with becoming gratitude. Come then, let us, with the help of the gods, show the Barbarians, that without paying court to them, we are able to avenge ourselves on our enemies." 12. When he had thus spoken, many rose, and especially those who were charged with being opposed to him, (for they were afraid,) and proposed a grant of money, themselves also promising more from their own private resources. Having received the supplies, and obtained from Chios five drachmæ for each of the sailors, he sailed against Methymna in Lesbos, which was hostile to them. 13. When the Methymnæans would not surrender, but had an Athenian garrison in the place, and those at the head of affairs were on the Athenian side, he assaulted the town, and took it by storm. 14. The whole of the property, then, was plundered by the soldiers; but all the

slaves Callicratidas collected into the market-place; and when the allies urged him to sell the Methymnæans also, he said that whilst he was commander none of the Greeks should be enslaved, so far as he could prevent it. 15. The next day he set at liberty the free-men, and the Athenian garrison, and sold all the slaves<sup>1</sup> that were of servile origin; and told Conon that he would stop his dallying with the sea. At day-break, observing him putting out to sea, he gave chase, cutting him off from the passage to Samos, that he might not flee thither. 16. Conon had fast-sailing ships for his flight, because the best seamen had been picked out of many vessels, and put into a few: and he takes refuge at Mitylene in Lesbos, and with him two of the ten generals, Leon and Erasinides. Callicratidas sailed in with them into the harbour, pursuing them with a hundred and seventy ships.

17. Being thus stopped by the enemy before he could go any farther, Conon was compelled to engage in the harbour, and lost thirty ships, the crews, however, escaping to the shore. The rest of his vessels, forty in number, he hauled up under the wall. 18. Callicratidas anchored in the harbour, and blockaded him there, having command of the passage out. He sent also by land for the Methymnæans in full force, and carried over the troops from Chios; while pecuniary supplies reached him from Cyrus. 19. When Conon was thus besieged both by land and sea, and could from no quarter obtain supplies of provisions, while the number of men in the place was large, and the Athenians did not come to rescue him, through not hearing of the circumstances; he launched the two fastest sailers of his fleet, and manned them before day-break, picking the best rowers out of all the ships, and removing the soldiers into the hold, and putting up the curtains.<sup>2</sup> 20. During the day, then, they thus continued; and in the evening, when it was dark, he landed them, so as not to be seen by the enemy in doing it.

<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα, i. e. in opposition to those who had been reduced to bondage by war or any other violence.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ παραρρύματα παραβαλῶν. Bishop Thirlwall remarks on this passage, "The object plainly was concealment: but the precise nature of the contrivance cannot be understood without a clearer notion than we now possess of the παραρρύματα here mentioned by Xenophon, and of the purpose for which they were used on this occasion."

On the fifth day, having put on board a moderate stock of provisions, when it was now noon, and the blockading squadron were paying little attention, and some of them were refreshing themselves, they sailed out of the harbour, one of them making all speed for the Hellespont, the other for the open sea. 21. The blockaders, as they severally cleared, cutting their cables and bestirring themselves, prepared to go after them in disorder, for they happened to have been at breakfast on shore; and having gone on board, they gave chase to the one which had rushed into the open sea, and overtook it at sunset; and after defeating it in action, took it in tow, and led it back to the camp, crew and all. 22. But the ship which had fled for the Hellespont escaped, and arriving at Athens, brought tidings of the siege. And Diomedon went with twelve ships to the rescue of Conon thus besieged, and came to anchor in the Euripus of Mitylene. 23. Callicratidas immediately sailed against him, and took ten of his ships, Diomedon escaping with his own and another. 24. When the Athenians heard of these facts, and of the siege, they voted to send succours with a hundred and ten ships, compelling all who were of age to go on board, both slaves and freemen; and in thirty days they had manned the hundred and ten ships, and set sail; many even of the knights having gone on board. 25. Afterwards they put out to Samos, and took thence ten Samian ships. They mustered also more than thirty others from the rest of the allies, compelling all to go on board; and in the same way with any they happened to have abroad. The total number amounted to more than a hundred and fifty. 26. On hearing of this reinforcement being already at Samos, Callicratidas left where he was fifty ships, with Eteonicus as commander, and putting to sea with the remaining hundred and twenty, took his evening meal at the promontory of Malea in Lesbos, over against Mitylene. 27. The same day the Athenians also happened to be taking theirs at the Arginusæ, which lie opposite Lesbos, near the promontory of Malea, over against Mitylene. 28. Having seen their fires in the night, and some men having brought him word that they were the Athenians, he weighed anchor about midnight, that he might fall on them unexpectedly; but heavy rain and thunder coming on prevented his putting out to sea. When the storm had ceased, at day-break he sailed to the Arginusæ. 29. And the Athenians



their left wing put out into the open sea to meet him, drawn up as follows. Aristocrates, occupying the extreme left, took the lead with fifteen ships, and then came Diomedon with fifteen more. Behind Aristocrates was posted Pericles, and behind Diomedon, Erasinides. By the side of Diomedon were the Samians with ten ships, drawn up in single line, and commanded by a Samian, named Hippias. Next were ten vessels of the Taxiarchs,<sup>1</sup> also in single line; and behind these the three of the admirals, and whatever others there were belonging to the allies. 30. The right wing was held by Protomachus with fifteen ships; and by the side of him was Thrasyllus with fifteen more; Lysias, with an equal number, being posted behind Protomachus, and Aristogenes behind Thrasyllus. 31. They were drawn up in this way that they might not allow any breaking through their line; for they were worse sailors than the enemy.

The ships of the Lacedæmonians were all drawn up in single line, prepared for breaking through the enemy's line, and tacking about again; for they were better sailors. Their right wing was held by Callicratidas. 32. He was told by Hermon the Megarian, master of his own vessel, that it was advisable for him to retire; for the triremes of the Athenians were far the more numerous. Callicratidas said, that Sparta would be none the worse governed for his death, while to flee was disgraceful.

33. After this the fleets engaged for a long time, at first in a close body, and afterwards separately. But when Callicratidas, on his ship's making a charge, fell off into the sea, and was seen no more, and Protomachus with his division on the right defeated the enemy's left; upon that the Peloponnesians fled to Chios, and the greatest part of them even to Phocæa: while the Athenians sailed back again to the Arginusæ. 34. There were lost, on the side of the Athenians, twenty-five ships with their crews, except a few men who were floated to the shore; and on that of the Peloponnesians, nine Lacedæmonian vessels, their whole number being but ten, and of the rest of the allies more than sixty.

35. Now it was determined by the generals of the Athenians; that Theramenes and Thrasybulus, who commanded triremes,

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ταξιάρχων. "Who however were properly military officers. But of the ναύαρχοι, who are mentioned on this occasion as three in number, we can find no explanation." Thirlwall.

and some of the taxiarchs, should sail with forty-seven ships to the vessels that were sunk,<sup>1</sup> and the men upon them; while with the rest they went against the squadron with Eteonicus blockading Mitylene. But when they wished so to do, a storm of wind, coming on with violence, prevented them. So they erected a trophy, and passed the night there.

36. All the particulars of the sea-fight were reported to Eteonicus by his boat in attendance; but he immediately sent it out again, telling those on board to sail out in silence, and to speak [to nobody; but immediately to come back again to their encampment with crowns on their heads, and crying out, "Callicratidas has gained the victory in a sea-fight, and all the ships of the Athenians are destroyed." 37. They did so: and he, when they sailed in, offered sacrifices for the good tidings; at the same time sending round orders to the soldiers to take their supper, and to the merchants to put their property on board their vessels in silence, and sail away to Chios, the wind being favourable for them, and the triremes likewise as quickly as possible. He himself led off the land force to Methymna, after burning his camp. 38. When the enemy had retreated, and the wind was calmer, Conon launched his ships, and meeting the Athenians, who had now put out from the Arginusæ, told them the fact concerning Eteonicus. Thence they pushed out against Chios; and having effected nothing there, sailed back for Samos.

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## CHAPTER VII.

The Athenians depose and bring to trial the victorious generals for not having taken up their men from the wrecks. Speech of Euryptolemus in their defence. They are condemned, and six of them, then in the city, are put to death. The people soon afterwards repent, and impeach their accusers.

1. Now the people at home deposed these generals, with the exception of Conon; in addition to whom they appointed Adimantus, and Philocles as the third. Of the generals who had joined in the sea-fight, Protomachus and Aristogenes did not return to Athens. 2. On the arrival of the other six, namely,

<sup>1</sup> i. e. were made water-logged, so as to be useless, though they did not sink to the bottom. See Arnold's note on Thucydides i. 50. 1.

Pericles, Diomedon, Lysias, Aristocrates, Thrasyllus, and Erasinides, Archedemus, who was at that time the leader of the commons at Athens, and superintendent of Decelea, imposed a penalty on Erasinides, and accused him in a court of justice, declaring that he was in possession of a sum of money from the Hellespont, which belonged to the people. He also brought a charge against him with reference to his conduct as general; and the resolution of the court was to imprison Erasinides. 3. After this the generals made a statement before the council concerning the naval engagement, and the violence of the storm. And when Timocrates said that the others also ought to be imprisoned and brought before the people, the council imprisoned them. 4. Afterwards an assembly was held, in which both others accused the generals, and especially Theramenes, saying that they ought to be brought to trial for not having rescued the men on the wrecks. For as evidence that they blamed no one else for it, he brought forward a despatch which the generals had sent to the council and the people, laying the blame in it on nothing else but the storm. 5. After this the generals each made a short defence, (for they were not formally called on to speak, according to law,) relating the facts of the case; namely, that they were themselves sailing against the enemy, but gave orders for the rescue of the men on the wrecks to certain of the captains, who were able men, and had already held command, namely, Theramenes and Thrasybulus, and others of the same character. 6. And if they ought to blame any with regard to the rescue of the men, they could blame none but those to whom the orders were given. "At the same time," said they, "we will not, because they accuse us, speak what is false, by saying that they are to blame; but that it was the violence of the storm which prevented their rescuing them." As witnesses of this they offered to bring forward the pilots, and many others who were on board with them. 7. By thus speaking they convinced the people; and many private individuals rose up and wished to be sureties for them; but it was resolved to adjourn it to another assembly, (for it was then late, and they could not have seen clearly the show of hands,) and that the council, having previously deliberated on it, should bring in a motion as to the manner in which the men should be tried

8. After this the Apaturian festival came on, during which fathers and members of families meet together. Theramenes and his party therefore got ready a number of men at this festival, dressed in black, and with their heads closely shaved, to come before the assembly, as kinsmen of those who had been lost; and they persuaded Callixenus to accuse the generals. 9. Upon that they held an assembly, at which the council, with Callixenus as its spokesman, brought in its own decree, to the following effect.

“Forasmuch as at the former assembly they have heard both the accusers of the generals, and the generals speaking in their own defence; let all the Athenians severally give their votes by tribes. Let them place for each tribe two urns; and in each tribe let the herald proclaim, ‘Whoever thinks that the generals are guilty, for not having rescued the men who won the victory in the sea-fight, let him put his ballot into the former of the two urns; whoever thinks they are not, into the latter.’ 10. If they are considered guilty, let them sentence them to death, and deliver them over to the Eleven, their goods being confiscated, and a tithe of them reserved for the goddess.”

11. Now there came forward into the assembly a man who said that he had escaped on a meal-tub, and that those who were perishing gave him a command, in case he should be saved, to carry word to the people that the generals had not rescued those who had proved themselves most brave men in their country’s behalf. 12. But Euryptolemus, son of Peisianax, and some others, summoned Callixenus to stand his trial, declaring that he had drawn up an illegal decree. Some of the people approved of this; but the greater part cried out, that it was strange if any one would not allow the people to do as it pleased. 13. Upon this when Lyciscus had moved that they too should be tried by the same balloting as the generals, if they did not let the assembly go its own way; the mob was again clamorous, and they were compelled to abandon their summonses. 14. But when some of the presidents refused to put the question to the vote contrary to the laws, Callixenus again rose up, and charged them in the same terms; while his supporters called out that they should summon the recusants. 15. So the presidents were frightened, and agreed all of them to put it, with the exception of Socrates the son of Sophroniscus;

who said that he would only act according to law. 16. After this, Euryptolemus mounted the tribune, and spoke in behalf of the generals, as follows :

“I have come up here, men of Athens, partly to censure Pericles, my kinsman and associate, and Diomedon my friend ; partly to speak in their defence ; and partly to give you such advice as I think best for the state. 17. I censure them then, because, when their colleagues wished to send a despatch to the council and to you, to the effect that they had commanded Theramenes and Thrasybulus with forty-seven ships to rescue the men on the wrecks, and they had not done so, they dissuaded them from it. 18. Consequently they now incur general blame, though it was only those individuals who did wrong ; and in return for their kindness at that time, they are now plotted against by the objects of it, and some others, and are in danger of losing their lives. But not so, if you will be persuaded by me, and do what is just and right, and by means of which you will best hear the truth ; instead of repenting afterwards, and finding that you have sinned most grievously against both the gods and yourselves. 19. I give you, then, advice by which it is not possible for you to be deceived, either by me or by any one else ; but you will know and punish those who are guilty, in whatever way you choose to try them, whether all together, or one by one, allowing them, if not more, yet at least one day for defending themselves, and not believing others more than yourselves. 20. You know, men of Athens, that the decree of Cannonus is a very severe one, which orders, ‘that if any one wrong the people of the Athenians, he shall plead his cause in chains before the people, and if condemned as guilty, shall be put to death, and thrown into the pit ; his goods being confiscated, and a tithe of them being devoted to the goddess.’ 21. By this decree I recommend that the generals should be tried, and, by heaven, if you think fit, Pericles, my own kinsmen, first of them : for it were base in me to prize him more highly than the state. 22. Or, if you prefer it, try them by this law, which is enacted against sacrilegious men and traitors ; ‘that if any one either betray the state, or steal what is holy, he shall be tried in a court of justice, and, if condemned, shall be refused burial in Attica ; and that his goods shall be confiscated.’ 23. By whichever of these two laws you please, Athenians, let the men be tried,

each singly, and making three distinct parts of the day; one for your assembling and giving your votes, as to whether you consider them guilty or not; another for accusing them; and another for their making their defence. 24. If this be done, the guilty will incur the heaviest vengeance, and the innocent will be released by you, men of Athens, and not be put to death as guilty. 25. You, at the same time, will judge according to the law, with due regard for religion, and for your oaths; and will not aid the Lacedæmonians in the war, by putting to death without a trial, contrary to the law, those who took from them seventy ships, and gained the victory over them. 26. And what are you really afraid of that you are in such a hurry? Is it, that you would not put to death, or release, whom you choose, if you tried them according to law, and not contrary to law, as Callixenus persuaded the council to bring in its decree before the people for deciding by a single balloting?<sup>1</sup> 27. Nay, but in that case you might perhaps put to death some one who was innocent; and you will be sorry for it afterwards. But remember that regret is then but a painful and useless thing; and, moreover, that it is with regard to man's life that you were mistaken. 28. And you would act shamefully, if, in the case of Aristarchus, who tried to abolish the democracy, and then to betray CEnoe to the Thebans, who were your enemies, you allowed him a day for defending himself as he wished, and afforded him all other advantages, according to law; but will deprive of these very things the generals who did everything according to your wishes, and gained the victory over your enemies. 29. Nay, act not so, Athenians; but maintaining the laws, which are your own, and by means of which, more than anything else, you have attained to the greatest power, without them attempt to do nothing. But now go back with me to the circumstances themselves, under which the offences of the generals are thought to have been committed. When they returned to land after being victorious in the sea-fight, Diomedon advised that all of them should put to sea in single column, and recover the wrecks and the men upon them; while Erasimides was of opinion that they should all sail as quickly as possible against the enemy; and Thrasyclus represented that

<sup>1</sup> Of the many emendations which have been proposed for this corrupt passage, I think that of Kœppen the simplest and best, namely, to insert δέ after ἀναμνήσθητε.

both these objects might be secured, if they left some of their ships there, and with the rest sailed against the enemy. 30. When this course had been adopted, they agreed that each of the generals, who were eight in number, should leave behind three vessels of his division, with the ten of the taxiarchs, the ten of the Samians, and the three of the admirals. These altogether amount to seven and forty, four for each of the lost ships, which were twelve in number. 31. Amongst the Taxiarchs left behind were both Thrasybulus and Theramenes, who in the former assembly was the accuser of the generals. With the rest of the ships they sailed against those of the enemy. In which of these things did they not act ably and well? It is but right, therefore, that for any measures against the enemy which were not well executed, those who were appointed to act against them should be called to account; but that those who were appointed to recover the wrecks, if they did not do what the generals ordered, should be tried, as to the reasons for their not recovering them. 32. This much, however, I can say for both of them, that it was the storm which prevented their executing any of the commands of the generals. As witnesses of this, there are the men who escaped by their own good fortune, and amongst them one of our generals, who was saved on board a ship that went down; and whom, though at that time he needed to be rescued himself, they require to be tried at the same balloting as those who did not do what they were commanded. 33. Do not now, men of Athens, instead of acting consistently with your victory and good fortune, behave like men who are vanquished and unfortunate; and instead of recognising the irresistible will of heaven, appear to be unfeeling, by charging them with treason, instead of want of power, because they were not able, in consequence of the storm, to do what they were commanded. Nay, but it were much more just to reward the conquerors with crowns, than to punish them with death, at the instigation of evil men."

34. Having thus spoken, Euryptolemus drew up a resolution that the men should be tried according to the decree of Canonus, each separately: whereas that of the council was to try them all by a single balloting. On these motions being put to the assembly, at first they decided in favour of that of

Euryptolemus; but when Meneceles protested on oath,<sup>1</sup> and the motions were again put, they decided in favour of the council's. Subsequently they condemned the generals who had fought the battle, eight in number; and the six of them who were present were put to death. 34. No long time after, the Athenians repented of their conduct, and passed a decree, that whoever had been the deceivers of the people, an impeachment of them should be proposed, and they should give securities, until they were brought to trial; and that Callixenus should be included in their number. Four others also were impeached, and put in bonds by their securities. But subsequently, on the occurrence of a certain sedition, in which Cleophon was killed, these escaped before being brought to trial. Callixenus was restored at the same time as<sup>2</sup> those in the Piræus returned into the city; but being hated by all, he died of starvation.

## BOOK II.

### CHAPTER I.

Eteonicus crushes a plot of his destitute forces to plunder Chios. At the request of the allies, Lysander is sent out as second in command of the fleet, and after storming Lampsacus, destroys the Athenian fleet at Ægospotami. He puts to death all his prisoners, except Adimantus.

1. THE soldiers who were at Chios with Eteonicus, so long as the summer lasted, supported themselves on the fruits of the season, and by working for hire through the country. But when winter came on, and they had no food, and were in want of clothes and shoes, they combined together, and formed a plot for making an attack upon Chios; and it was arranged that such as approved of this should carry a reed, that they might recognise one another, and ascertain how many they were. 2. On hearing of the plot, Eteonicus was at a loss how to

<sup>1</sup> ὑπομοσασμένου. "According to Hud-t-walcher, p. 96, the ὑπομοσία was a protest upon oath, which had the effect of suspending the force of the decree, until the question of its legality had been decided." Thirlwall.

<sup>2</sup> See book II. ch. 4.



treat the matter, owing to the great number of the reed-bearers. For to take it in hand openly seemed dangerous, lest they should run to their arms, and take possession of the city, and, proceeding to hostilities with him, ruin the whole cause, if they gained the mastery. And, on the other hand, to put to death allies in great numbers appeared a formidable thing, lest they should incur a degree of prejudice with the rest of the Greeks also, and the soldiers should be ill-affected to the cause. 3. Accordingly he took with him fifteen men with daggers, and went into the city; and meeting with a man who had the ophthalmia, as he was coming out of a surgery, with a reed, in his hand, he slew him. 4. And when a disturbance was made, and some inquired why the man was killed, Eteonicus ordered them to spread the report, that it was because he had the reed. On this report being circulated, all that had the reeds threw them away, each one who successively heard it being afraid of being seen with one. 5. Afterwards Eteonicus called the Chians together, and urged them to contribute a sum of money, that the sailors might receive their pay, and not form any revolutionary schemes. They made the contributions; and at the same time he gave orders for going on board the ships; and visiting them in turns alongside of each vessel, he both encouraged them and gave them much advice, as though he knew nothing of what had happened, and distributed to each of them a month's pay. 6. Subsequently the Chians and the rest of the allies assembled at Ephesus, and resolved, after consultation on the present state of affairs, to send ambassadors to Lacedæmon to state these facts, and to ask for Lysander to be sent to the fleet, as he was in good favour with the allies, on the strength of his former discharge of the admiral's office, when he gained the victory in the sea-fight at Notium. 7. Accordingly ambassadors were sent, and with them also messengers from Cyrus, speaking to the same effect. The Lacedæmonians granted them Lysander as second in command, but Aracus as admiral; for it is not lawful with them for the same man to be admiral twice. They gave up, however, the fleet to Lysander, when twenty-five years of the war had now expired.

8. In the course of this year Cyrus put to death Autobœsaces and Mitræus, who were sons of the sister of Dariæus,<sup>1</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς.] Schneider observes that the want of a correct genealogy renders this passage inexplicable.

daughter of Xerxes, the father of Darius, because, when they met him, they did not thrust their hands through their sleeve, which they do for the king alone ; the sleeve being longer than the hand, so that a man who has his hand in it can do nothing. 9. Hieramenes therefore and his wife represented to Darius, that it was shameful if he overlooked his excessive presumption ; and accordingly he sent for him, on the plea of illness, despatching messengers for the purpose.

10. The following year, when Archytas was ephor, and Alexius archon at Athens, Lysander, on his arrival at Ephesus, sent for Eteonicus to Chios with his ships, and combined all the others, wherever there was one, and both refitted these and built more at Antandrus. 11. He went also to Cyrus and asked him for money ; but he told him that all he had received from the king was expended, and much more beside ; showing him how much each of the admirals had ; yet he gave him some notwithstanding. 12. And when Lysander had got the money, he appointed captains to the galleys, and paid off the arrears due to the sailors. Meantime the generals of the Athenians also were raising supplies for the fleet at Samos.

13. After this, Cyrus sent for Lysander, on the arrival of a messenger from his father, saying that he was ill, and desired his presence, being at Thamneria in Media, in the neighbourhood of the Cadusians, against whom he had made an expedition, as they had revolted. 14. When Lysander came, he urged him not to fight by sea with the Athenians, unless he had by far the larger fleet. For both the king and himself, he said, had money in abundance ; so that, as far as that was concerned, he might man many ships. And he assigned to him all the tribute from the cities, which was his own private revenue ; and gave him all the money he could spare. And after reminding him what friendship he entertained both towards the Lacedæmonian state, and towards Lysander personally, he went up the country to his father.

15. When Cyrus had made over all his income to him, and was going up the country to his sick father, in obedience to his summons, Lysander distributed pay to the forces, and put out for the Ceramic Gulf in Caria. There he attacked a town which was in alliance with the Athenians, by name Cedreæ, and on the second day's assault took it by storm, and sold into slavery the inhabitants, who were a mixed race of Greeks and

Barbarians. Thence he sailed to Rhodes. 16. The Athenians in the mean time, with Samos as the base of their operations, were ravaging the king's country, sailing both against Chios and Ephesus ; and were preparing for a sea-fight, having chosen as generals, in addition to their present ones, Menander, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus. 17. And now Lysander sailed out from Rhodes along the coast of Ionia to the Hellespont, to attend both to the outward passage of the merchant vessels, and to the cities which had revolted from them. The Athenians likewise put out from Chios, keeping the open sea ; for Asia was hostile to them. 18. Lysander coasted along from Abydus to Lampsacus, which was in alliance with Athens ; and the people of Abydus and the rest supported him by land, under the command of Thorax, a Lacedæmonian. 19. Having assaulted the town, they took it by storm, and the soldiers plundered it ; for it was rich, and full of wine, and corn, and other provisions ; but all the freemen in it Lysander released. 20. The Athenians, sailing in their track, came to anchor at Eleus in the Chersonesus, with a hundred and eighty ships. There, then, while they were taking their breakfast, the tidings of what had happened at Lampsacus reached them, and they immediately pushed out to Sestus. 21. Thence, after victualling the ships, they sailed straightway to Ægospotami, over against Lampsacus ; the Hellespont at that point being about fifteen stades across. There they prepared their evening meal. 22. The next night, when day was beginning to dawn, Lysander gave orders to breakfast and go on board their ships. After preparing everything as for an engagement, and putting up his parapets, he gave command that no one should stir from his position, or put out to sea. 23. At sun-rise the Athenians drew themselves up by the harbour with a close front, prepared for action ; but when Lysander did not advance against them, and it was now late in the day, they sailed back again to Ægospotami. 24. Lysander ordered the fastest of his ships to follow the Athenians, and after they had landed, to observe what they did, and return to him with the intelligence. And he did not allow his men to land before these vessels had arrived. This he did for four days ; while the Athenians continued putting out against him.

25. Now Alcibiades observed from his fortress that the Athe-

nians were lying at anchor on an open beach, and near no city, having to fetch their provisions from Sestus, fifteen stades from the fleet; whereas the enemy were in harbour, and close to a city, with supplies of everything. He told them therefore, that they were not lying in a good position; but he advised them to change their moorings to Sestus, to a harbour and a city both together; "and when there," said he, "you will give battle when you please." 26. But the generals, especially Tydeus and Menander, told him to go away; for that they were in command now, and not he. Accordingly he departed.

27. When it was now the fifth day that the Athenians sailed against him, Lysander told those who followed them from him, that when they had seen them landed, and dispersed about the Chersonesus, (as they did much more every day, having to buy their provisions from a distance, and despising Lysander, because he did not put out against them,) they should sail back again to him, and lift up a shield in the middle of the passage. 28. They did as he had commanded: and immediately Lysander gave the signal for sailing at their utmost speed; while Thorax with the land force marched along in a line with him. Conon, on seeing his advance, gave orders to go on board the ships and oppose them with all their might. But as the men were dispersed, some of the vessels had only two benches manned, others only one, and others were quite empty. Conon's own ship, however, and seven others about him, together with the *Paralus*, put out to sea with their full equipment; but all the rest Lysander took by the land. He also captured most of the men ashore; but some of them fled to the fortified towns. 29. Conon, flying with his nine ships, when he found that the cause of Athens was utterly ruined, landed at Abarnis, the headland of Lampsacus, and took thence the large sails of Lysander's vessels, and himself sailed away with eight ships to join Evagoras in Cyprus, while the *Paralus* went to Athens with tidings of what had happened.

30. Lysander took back his fleet, and prisoners, and everything else, to Lampsacus, having captured, besides others of the generals, Philocles and Adimantus. The day on which he achieved this, he despatched Theopompus, the Milesian privateer, to Lacedæmon, to report what had been done; who

arrived there on the third day, and communicated the tidings. 31. Afterwards Lysander assembled the allies, and desired them to deliberate respecting the punishment of the prisoners. There, then, many accusations were brought forward against the Athenians, both touching the things in which they had already offended against all law, and what they had determined to do, if victorious in the sea-fight, namely, to cut off the right hand of all their prisoners; and because, on their capture of two galleys, a Corinthian and an Andrian one, they had thrown all the crews of them down a precipice. It was Philocles, general of the Athenians, who put these men to death. 32. Many other statements were also made; and it was determined to slay as many of the prisoners as were Athenians, with the exception of Adimantus, as he alone objected in the assembly to the decree for cutting off the hands. He was accused, however, by some of having betrayed the fleet. Accordingly, Lysander first asked Philocles, who had thrown the Andrians and Corinthians down the precipice, what he deserved to suffer for having been the first to treat Greeks in defiance of the law, and then put him to the sword.

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## CHAPTER II.

The *Paralus* having carried to Athens the news of their defeat, the citizens prepare for a siege. After great sufferings they are compelled to surrender, and their walls are demolished by the conquerors.

1. WHEN he had arranged matters at Lampsacus, he sailed against Byzantium and Chalcedon; where the inhabitants admitted him, after sending away the Athenian garrison under treaty. The party that had betrayed Byzantium to Alcibiades, at that time fled to Pontus, and afterwards to Athens, and became citizens there. 2. The garrison troops of the Athenians, and whatever other Athenian he found anywhere, Lysander sent to Athens, giving them safe conduct so long as they were sailing to that place alone, and to no other; knowing that the more people were collected in the city and Piræus, the sooner there would be a want of provisions. And

now, leaving Sthenelaus as Lacedæmonian harmost of Byzantium and Chalcedon, he himself sailed away to Lampsacus, and refitted his ships.

3. At Athens, on the arrival of the *Paralus* in the night, the tale of their disaster was told; and the lamentation spread from the Piræus up the long walls into the city, one man passing on the tidings to another: so that no one went to bed that night, not only through their mourning for the dead, but much more still because they thought they should themselves suffer the same things as they had done to the Melians, (who were a colony from Lacedæmon,) when they had reduced them by blockade, and to the Histiaæans, Scionæans, Toronæans, Æginetans, and many others of the Greeks. But the next day they convened an assembly, at which it was resolved to block up the harbours, with the exception of one, and to put the walls in order, and mount guard upon them, and in every other way to prepare the city for a siege. They, then, were engaged with these objects.

5. Lysander, having come with two hundred ships from the Hellespont to Lesbos, regulated both the other cities in the island, and especially Mitylene; while he sent Eteonicus with ten ships to the Athenian possessions Thrace-ward, who brought over all the places there to the Lacedæmonians. 6. And all the rest of Greece too revolted from Athens, immediately after the sea-fight, except the Samians; but they massacred the notables amongst them, and kept possession of the city. 7. Afterwards Lysander sent word to Agis at Decelea, and to Lacedæmon, that he was sailing up with two hundred ships. And the Lacedæmonians went out to meet him "en masse," and all the rest of the Peloponnesians but the Argives, at the command of the other Spartan king, Pausanias. 8. When they were all combined, he took them to the city and encamped before it, in the academy—the gymnasium so called. 9. Then Lysander went to Ægina, and restored the city to the Æginetans, having collected as many of them as he could; and so likewise to the Melians, and as many others as had been deprived of their city. After this, having ravaged Salamis, he came to anchor off the Piræus, with a hundred and fifty ships, and prevented all vessels from sailing into it.

10. The Athenians, being thus besieged by land and by sea, were at a loss what to do, as they had neither ships, nor allies,

nor provisions; and they thought nothing could save them from suffering what they had done to others, not in self-defence, but wantonly wronging men of smaller states, on no other single ground, but their being allies of the Lacedæmonians. 11. Wherefore they restored to their privileges those who had been degraded from them, and held out resolutely; and though many in the city were dying of starvation, they spoke not a word of coming to terms. But when their corn had now entirely failed, they sent ambassadors to Agis, wishing to become allies of the Lacedæmonians, while they retained their walls and the Piræus, and on these conditions to make treaty with them. 12. He told them to go to Lacedæmon, for that he had himself no power to treat. When the ambassadors delivered this message to the Athenians, they sent them to Lacedæmon. 13. But when they were at Sellasia, near the Laconian territory, and the ephors heard what they proposed, which was the same as they had done to Agis, they bade them return from that very spot, and if they had any wish at all for peace, to come back after taking better advice. 14. When the ambassadors came home, and reported this in the city, dejection fell on all; for they thought they would be sold into slavery; and that even while they were sending another embassy, many would die of famine. 15. But with respect to the demolition of their walls, no one would advise it: for Arches-tratus had been thrown into prison for saying in the council, that it was best to make peace with the Lacedæmonians on the terms they offered, which were, that they should demolish ten stades of each of the long walls; and a decree was then made, that it should not be allowed to advise on that subject. 16. Such being the case, Theramenes said in the assembly, that if they would send him to Lysander, he would come back with full knowledge whether it was from a wish to enslave the city that the Lacedæmonians held out on the subject of the walls, or to have a guarantee for their good faith. Having been sent, he remained with Lysander three months and more, watching to see when the Athenians, from the failure of all their food, would agree to what any one might say. 17. On his return in the fourth month, he reported in the assembly that Lysander had detained him all that time, and then told him to go to Lacedæmon; for he had not power to speak to the questions he was asked by him, but the ephors. After this he was

chosen ambassador to Lacedæmon with full powers, together with nine others. 18. Now Lysander had sent, along with some others who were Lacedæmonians, Aristoteles, an Athenian exile, to carry word to the ephors that he had answered Theramenes, that it was they who were empowered to decide on the question of peace or war. 19. So when Theramenes and the rest of the ambassadors were at Sellasia, and, being asked on what terms they had come, replied that they had full powers to treat for peace; the ephors then ordered them to be called onward. Upon their arrival they convened an assembly, at which the Corinthians and Thebans contended most strenuously, though many others of the Greeks did so too, that they should conclude no treaty with the Athenians, but make away with them. 20. The Lacedæmonians, however, said they would not reduce to bondage a state which had done great good at the time of the greatest dangers that had ever befallen Greece; but they offered to make peace, on condition of their demolishing the long walls and Piræus, giving up all their ships but twelve, restoring their exiles, having the same friends and foes as the Lacedæmonians, and following, both by land and by sea, wherever they might lead. 21. Theramenes and his fellow-ambassadors carried back these terms to Athens. On their entering the city, a great multitude poured round them, afraid of their having returned unsuccessful: for it was no longer possible to delay, owing to the great numbers who were dying of famine. 22. The next day the ambassadors reported on what conditions the Lacedæmonians were willing to make peace; and Theramenes, as their spokesman, said that they should obey the Lacedæmonians, and destroy the walls. When some had opposed him, but far more agreed with him, it was resolved to accept the peace. 23. Subsequently Lysander sailed into the Piræus, and the exiles were restored; and they dug down the walls with much glee, to the music of women playing the flute; considering that day to be the beginning of liberty to Greece.

24. And so ended the year, in the middle of which Dionysius the son of Hermocrates, the Syracusan, became tyrant; after the Carthaginians, though previously defeated in battle by the Syracusans, had reduced Agrigentum through the failure of their provisions, when the Siceliots had evacuated the city.



## CHAPTER III.

The tyrannical government of the Thirty established in Athens, and supported by a Lacedæmonian guard. Their most violent leader, Critias, quarrels with Theramenes, and procures his execution.

1. THE year following<sup>1</sup> was that of the Olympic festival, at which Crocinas the Thessalian was victor in the foot-race, Eudicus being ephor at Sparta, and Pythodorus archon at Athens; whom the Athenians do not mention in their records, as he was chosen in the time of the oligarchy, but call the year that of the anarchy. The circumstances under which this oligarchy was established were as follows. 2. It was resolved by the people to elect thirty men, who should draw up a code of laws from those inherited from their fathers, by which they should regulate their affairs. And the following men were elected: Polyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hiero, Mnesilochus, Chremo, Theramenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phædrias, Chærelaus, Anæcius, Piso, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Æschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesithides. 3. When this had been done, Lysander sailed away to Samos; and Agis withdrew the land forces from Decelea, and dismissed them to their several cities.

4. It was at this period, about the time of the eclipse of the sun, that Lycophron the Pheræan, wishing to have the rule over the whole of Thessaly, defeated in battle those of the Thessalians who opposed him,—the Larissæans and others,—and slew many of them.

5. It was also at the same period that Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, being defeated in an engagement by the Carthaginians, lost Gela and Camarina. A short time afterwards, the Leontines also, who were united with the Syracusans, severed their connexion with Dionysius and the Syracusans, and established themselves in their own city. Immediately upon this the Syracusan cavalry were despatched by Dionysius against Catana.

<sup>1</sup> τῷ δ' ἐπιούρῳ ἔτι.] I have supplied the apodosis which is wanting in the original of this paragraph.

6. Now the Samians were besieged by Lysander on every side; and, on their at first refusing to surrender, he was now on the point of assaulting the place, when they agreed to evacuate it with a single dress for each of the freemen, giving up everything else: and on these terms they marched out of it. 7. Lysander restored the city and all that was in it to the original citizens, and appointed ten officers to guard it; after which he dismissed the fleet of the allies to their several cities. 8. With the Lacedæmonian ships he sailed away to Laconia, taking both the beaks of the captured ships, and the galleys from the Piræus, all but twelve, with crowns which he received as personal presents from the states, and four hundred and seventy talents of silver, which remained over from the revenues assigned him by Cyrus for the prosecution of hostilities, and whatever else he had gained in the course of the war. 9. All these things he delivered up to the Lacedæmonians at the close of the summer, in which, after continuing twenty-eight years and six months, the war came to a conclusion. During these years the following were the ephors enumerated in the lists: first Ænesias, in whose year of office the war began, in the fifteenth year of the thirty years' treaty after the reduction of Eubœa; 10. and after him the following; Brasidas, Isanor, Sostratidas, Hexarchus, Agesistratus, Angenidas, Onomacles, Zeuxippus, Pityas, Pleistolas, Cleinomachus, Ilarchus, Leon, Chæridas, Patesiadas, Cleosthenes, Lycarius, Eperatus, Onomantius, Alexippidas, Misgolaidas, Isias, Aracus, Euarchippus, Pantacles, Pityas, Archytas, Eudicus; in whose year Lysander returned home, after achieving the above-mentioned exploits.

11. Now the Thirty were elected as soon as the long walls and those round the Piræus had been demolished: but though elected for the purpose of drawing up a code of laws by which they should regulate their affairs, they continually deferred drawing up and promulgating those laws, but appointed a council, and the other offices, according to their own pleasure. 12. Then they arrested, and brought to trial for their lives, in the first instance, those whom all knew to have lived in the time of the democracy by laying false informations, and to have been a pest to the better kind of men; and both the council gladly passed sentence upon them, and the rest, as many as were conscious of not being similar characters, were not at all

sorry for it. 13. But when they began to form designs for having power to govern the city as they pleased, in the first place they sent *Æschines* and *Aristoteles* to *Lacedæmon*, and persuaded *Lysander* to assist in arranging that a guard should be sent them, they themselves promising to maintain it, until they had put the ill-disposed out of the way, and established the government. In compliance with their wishes, he assisted in arranging that the guard should be sent them, and *Calibius* as harmost. 14. On receiving the guard, they courted *Calibius* with every kind of obsequiousness, that he might sanction what they did; and when he sent with them soldiers of the guard, they arrested whom they pleased; no longer those only who were ill-disposed and little worth, but now such as they thought to bear least patiently being thrust aside, and who, if they should attempt any measure against them, would find the most numerous supporters. 15. In the first period of their rule, then, *Critias* was of one mind, and on friendly terms, with *Theramenes*; but afterwards he was headlong in putting many to death, (inasmuch as he had himself been banished by the people,) while *Theramenes* was opposed to it; alleging that it was not right to put to death any one who, though honoured by the people, did the better kind of men no harm; "for," said he, "both I and you have both said and done many things with a view to pleasing our countrymen." 16. But *Critias*, being still intimate with *Theramenes*, contended that it was not possible for those who wished to take an advantage of others, to abstain from putting out of the way such as were most able to prevent them; "and if," said he, "because there are thirty of us, instead of one, you suppose we are less bound to provide for our government as for a tyranny, you are a simple creature." 17. But when, in consequence of the numerous unjust executions, many were evidently conspiring, and wondering what would become of the constitution; *Theramenes* again said, that if they did not adopt many associates in their measures, it would be impossible for the oligarchy to stand. 18. Upon that, indeed, *Critias* and the rest of the Thirty, being now afraid, and not least of *Theramenes*, lest the citizens should unite under him, make a list of three thousand who should have a share in the administration. 19. But, again, with regard to this also, Thera-

menes said, that to him it appeared an absurdity, in the first place, if they wished to take the best of the citizens as their associates in the government, that they should take just three thousand; as though that number involved any necessity of their being the better class of men, and it were not possible, either for any to be good beyond it, or bad within it. "And secondly," said he, "I see that we are doing two things most inconsistent one with the other, in establishing a government which is carried on by force, and at the same time is weaker than the governed."

20. To this effect spoke Theramenes. But the Thirty held a review of the Three Thousand in the market-place, and of those not included in the list in several different places, with subsequent orders to appear in arms; and while the latter were gone away, they sent the guards, and those of the citizens who held the same views as themselves, and took away the arms of all but the Three Thousand, and having carried them up to the Acropolis, deposited them together in the temple. 21. When this was done, thinking that they might now act as they pleased, they put to death many for the gratification of their hatred, and many others for the sake of their property. And in order that they might have money to give to the guards, they determined to choose one each of the resident aliens, and having put them to death, to confiscate their property. 22. They also desired Theramenes to take whichever of them he would. But he answered, "Nay, it does not appear to me to be right that, while professing to be the best men, we should act more unjustly than the very sycophants.<sup>1</sup> For they allowed those to live from whom they got money: and shall we put to death men who do us no harm, in order that we may get money? How is not this conduct in every respect more iniquitous than theirs?" 23. Thinking him therefore an obstacle to their doing as they pleased, they conspired against him, and privately accused him to different members of the council, as marring the

<sup>1</sup> τῶν συκοφαντῶν.] "Sycophantes in the time of Aristophanes and Demosthenes designated a person of a peculiar class, not capable of being described by any single word in our language, but well understood and appreciated by an Athenian. He had not much in common with our *sycophant*, but was a happy compound of the *common barretor*, *informer*, *pettifogger*, *busybody*, *rogue*, *liar*, and *slanderer*." Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

government. And, having sent word to some young men, whom they considered to be most daring, to attend with daggers under their cloaks, they convened the council.

24. When Theramenes was come, Critias rose and spoke as follows.

“Gentlemen of the council, if any of you think that more are being put to death than the occasion requires, let him reflect, that where forms of government are changed, these things in all cases happen; and in this place there must needs be the greatest number hostile to those who changed the government into an oligarchy, because our city is the most populous one of all in Greece, and the people have for the longest time been brought up in liberty. 25. We however, knowing that democracy is a hateful form of government to such men as we and you, and knowing also that to the Lacedæmonians, who have been our preservers, the people would never be friendly, whereas the aristocracy would always continue faithful to them, are, in accordance with the wishes of the Lacedæmonians, establishing this form of government. 26. And if we find any one opposed to the oligarchy, as far as we can, we put him out of the way: but most of all by far does it appear right to us, that if any of ourselves be a marrer of this constitution, he should pay the penalty of it. 27. Now then we find this Theramenes here by all the means at his command to be ruining both us and you. And to prove that this is true, if you consider, you will perceive no one finding more fault than this Theramenes with the present state of things, or offering greater opposition, when we wish to put any of the demagogues out of the way. Now had he held these views from the beginning, he would have been, it is true, our enemy, but still would not justly have been considered a villain. 28. But as it is, after being himself the originator of our confidence and friendship with the Lacedæmonians, and of the putting down of the democracy, and after urging us more than any one else to inflict punishment on those who were first brought before you; now, when both you and we have clearly incurred the hatred of the people, he is no longer pleased with what is going on; in order that he may again secure his own safety, while we pay the penalty for what has been done. 29. So that not only as an enemy, but as a traitor also both to you and to us, it is right that he should be brought to justice. Treason,

however, is a thing as much more fearful than open enmity, as it is more difficult to guard against what is unseen, than what is seen; and so much more hateful a thing, inasmuch as with enemies men make peace again, and return to confidence; but the man whom they find betraying them, with him no one ever yet made peace, or trusted him in future.

30. "And that you may know that it is no new thing this man is practising, but that he is a traitor by nature, I will remind you of the things that have been done by him. Whereas, then, he was originally honoured by the people from regard for his father Hagnon, he became the most violent agent in changing the democracy to the government of the Four Hundred, and was the leading man amongst them. But when he perceived that an opposition to the oligarchy was being formed, he became again the first leader of the people against them. 31. On which account, as you are aware, he is called the Shoe; for the shoe seems to fit both feet, and looks to being worn by both. But, Theramenes, the man who deserves to live, ought not to be clever at leading on his associates to the adoption of measures, and then, if any difficulty arise, immediately to change about; but to exert himself throughout, as in a ship, until they have got a fair wind: else how could they ever reach their destination, if, when any difficulty arose, they should immediately be for sailing in opposite directions? 32. It is true that all changes of government are fatal to some; but you, through being so fickle, are the cause of most supporters of the oligarchy being put to death by the commons, and most supporters of the democracy by the better class.

"This too is the man who, when ordered by the generals to rescue those of the Athenians who were wrecked in the sea-fight off Lesbos, did not rescue them himself, and yet accused the generals and put them to death, that he might save his own life. 33. The man, however, who is seen to be always studying his own advantage, but to have no regard for honour, and for his friends, how can it ever be right to spare him? How can it fail to be right to guard against him—knowing as we do his shiftings about—that he may not be able to treat us also in the same way? We arraign therefore this man before you, as at once a conspirator and a traitor both to us and to you.

34. "And to prove that we are acting rightly, consider this

also. The constitution of the Lacedæmonians is [thought, I suppose, to be the best. Now if under that constitution any of the ephors, instead of obeying the majority, should set about finding fault with the government and opposing its measures, do you not think he would be deemed worthy of the severest punishment, both by the ephors themselves, and by the rest of the state? And so you too, if you are wise, will spare, not this man, but yourselves; for if he should escape, he would cause many of those who differ in sentiments from you to be full of confidence; but if he were put to death, he would cut short the hopes of all of them, both in the city and out of it.”

35. Having thus spoken, he sat down; and Theramenes rose and said:

“I will allude, gentlemen, in the first place, to the last statement he made against me. He says that I put the generals to death by my accusation. But surely it was not I who began speaking against them, but it was they who said, that when orders had been given me by them, I did not rescue the unfortunates in the sea-fight off Lesbos. But, when I urged in my defence, that owing to the storm it was not possible even to put to sea, much less rescue the men; I was thought by my country to speak reasonably, while they seemed to accuse themselves. For though they declared that it was possible to save the men, they left them to perish, and sailed away. 36. I do not, however, wonder at Critias’s illegal conduct; for when these things happened, he was not present, but was in Thessaly, establishing a democracy with Prometheus, and arming the Penestæ<sup>1</sup> against their lords. 37. Now may none of the things he was doing there be done here! In this, however, I agree with him; that if any one wishes to depose you from your government, and is strengthening the hands of those who are conspiring against you, it is right that he should incur your severest vengeance. But who it is that is doing this, I think you will best judge, if you will consider what has been done, and what each of us is now doing. 38. Until, then, you were established in the government, and the offices were arranged,

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πενέστας.] The Thessalian Penestæ were a kind of serfs, standing in nearly the same relation to their lords as the helots to their Spartan conquerors, being a remnant of the old Æolian inhabitants, as the helots were of the Messenian.

and the acknowledged sycophants were brought to trial, we were all of one mind: but when these men began to arrest good and honourable men, upon that I too began to be of a different mind from them. 39. For I knew that by the death of Leon of Salamis, who both was and was considered to be an able man, and was guilty of no single offence, those of the same character would be alarmed, and being alarmed would become opposed to this form of government. And I knew that through the arrest of Niceratus, son of Nicias, both a rich man and one who had never yet done anything to please the commons, neither himself nor his father, those of the same character would become ill-affected towards you. 40. And again, through the destruction by your means of Antiphon, who in the war furnished two fast-sailing triremes, I knew that all likewise who had been zealous in behalf of the state would be suspicious of you. I also opposed them, when they said that each should take one of the resident aliens; for it was clear that through their being put to death, all the resident aliens likewise would be enemies to the constitution. 41. I also opposed them, when they wished to take away their arms from the populace; because I did not think we ought to render the state powerless. For I did not see that the Lacedæmonians wished to preserve us for this purpose, that by waxing few, we might have no power to help them: for if that were what they wanted, they might have left not so much as one of us, by only pressing us a little longer with famine. 42. Nor indeed was the hiring of the guards agreeable to me, as to them; since we might have attached to us as many of the citizens themselves, until we in the government would easily have mastered those who were under it. Again, when I saw many in the city disaffected towards this government, and many being cast into exile, it did not seem right to me to banish either Thrasybulus, or Anytus, or Alcibiades. For I knew that in this way the opposition would be strengthened, if able leaders should join the populace, and many allies should offer themselves to those who wished to take the lead. 43. The man then who openly gave this advice, should he with justice be considered a well-wisher, or a traitor? Those, Critias, who prevent many becoming your foes, and who teach you how to gain most allies, those are not the men who strengthen the enemy; but such as unjustly take away pro-



perty, and put to death men who are guilty of nothing, it is these that both make many enemies, and betray not only their friends, but themselves also, through their base love of gain. 44. If it is not certain on other grounds that I speak the truth, look at it in this way. Do you think that Thrasybulus, and Anytus, and the other exiles would rather that what I say should be done here, or what these men are doing? For my opinion is that now they consider every place to be full of their allies; but that, if the best part of the city were friendly towards us, they would deem it a difficult thing even to set foot any where in the country. 45. And now, again, as to what he said of my being always disposed to change about, consider this also. The government under the Four Hundred was voted, we know, even by the people itself, on being informed that the Lacedæmonians would trust any form of government rather than a democracy. 46. But when the Four Hundred left nothing unattempted, but Aristoteles, Melanthius, and Aristarchus, acting as generals, were seen building a fort<sup>1</sup> upon the mole, into which they wished to admit the enemy, and so to render the city subject to themselves and their associates; if I, on perceiving this, prevented it, is that being a traitor to my friends? 47. And he calls me 'Shoe,' as endeavouring to suit both parties. But the man who pleases neither party, what, in the name of the gods, should we ever call him? For you indeed, under the democracy, were considered the greatest hater of the people; and under the aristocracy, you have been the greatest hater of the good. 48. But I, Critias, have all along been a foe to those, who think that there cannot be a true democracy, before both the slaves and those who would sell their country for a drachma<sup>2</sup> are in receipt of the drachma: and, again, I have always been opposed to those, who think that there cannot be established amongst us a true oligarchy, before they have brought the state under the tyranny of a few. But in conjunction with men of influence,<sup>3</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα.] i. e. the fort Eetionea; for the nature and object of which, see Arnold's note on Thucydides viii. 90.

<sup>2</sup> δραχμῆς μετέχουσιν.] i. e. were in receipt of a senator's salary, which was a drachma a day.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις, κ. τ. λ.] It is generally assumed by commentators that the text of this passage is corrupt. If it is not so, the interpretation which I have given seems the only one the words will bear.

both cavalry and infantry, to aid by their means the constitution, this I thought best in former days, and I do not change my opinion now. 49. If, however, you can say, Critias, on what occasion, in concert with the popular or the tyrannical party, I attempted to deprive the good and honourable of a share in the government, mention it; for should I be convicted of either doing this now, or having ever yet done it, I acknowledge that I should justly be put to death after suffering the most extreme of all tortures."

50. When, after thus speaking, he ceased, and the council by a murmur of applause plainly showed their favourable feeling, Critias, perceiving that if he left it to the council to decide on his case by vote, he would escape, and thinking that life would then be not worth having, he went up to the Thirty, and held some conversation with them. 51. After this he went out, and ordered the men with the daggers to present themselves openly before the council, at the bar of the house. Then he went in again, and said, "Gentlemen of the council, I think it the part of a leader who is what he ought to be, when he sees his friends being imposed upon, not to allow it. I therefore will act in this manner. For the men standing here declare that they will not tolerate us, if we let off a man who is openly marring the oligarchy. Now it is enacted in the recent laws, that none of those included in the Three Thousand shall be put to death without your vote; but with regard to those who are not in the list, that the Thirty are authorized to put them to death. I then," said he, "strike off this Theramenes here from the list, with the consent of you all: and we," he added, "condemn him to death." 52. On hearing this, Theramenes sprang up on the altar of Vesta, and said, "But I, gentlemen, entreat you for what is most strictly legal,—that it may not be in the power of Critias to strike off me, or any of you whom he pleases; but that according to the law which these men passed respecting those in the list, according to that may be the decision, both for you and for me. 53. And of this indeed," said he, "by the gods, I am not ignorant, that this altar will be no protection to me; but what I wish to show is, that these men are not only most unjust with regard to mankind, but also most impious with regard to the gods. At you, however, who are good and honourable men, I am astonished, if you do not come forward in your own defence;

knowing moreover, as you do, that my name is not at all more easy to strike off than each of yours." 54. Upon this, the herald of the Thirty ordered the Eleven to come for Theramenes; and when they had entered with the officers, led by Satyrus the boldest and most shameless of their number, Critias said, "We deliver up to you this Theramenes here, condemned according to law: do ye, Eleven, seize, and lead him off to the proper place, and do your duty with him." 55. When he had thus spoken, Satyrus dragged him from the altar, and so did the officers. Theramenes, as was natural, called both on gods and men to look on what was doing. But the council kept quiet, seeing both the fellows of Satyrus at the bar, and the space before the council-house filled with guards, and not being ignorant that they had come with daggers. 56. So they led off the man through the market-place, while he declared with a very loud voice how he was being treated. And this one expression also is told of him. When Satyrus said that he would rue it if he were not silent; he asked, "And shall I not then rue it, if I am?" Moreover, when he was compelled to die, and drank the hemlock, they said that he jerked<sup>1</sup> out on the floor what was left of it, saying, "Let this be for the lovely Critias." Now I am aware that these sayings are not worth mentioning: but this I consider admirable in the man, that when death was close at hand, neither his good sense nor his pleasantry deserted his soul.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Thrasybulus occupies Phyle, and defeats the forces of the Thirty, who are afterwards deposed, and Ten appointed in their place. When Lysander and his brother had nearly reduced the exiles in the Piræus, the army of Pausanias saves them, and peace is restored between them and their countrymen.

1. **THUS**, then, died Theramenes. The Thirty, thinking they might now play the tyrant without fear, published an order to all who were not in the list, not to come into the city; while

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκοτταβίσαντα.] The original word alludes to the favourite Grecian game of the "Cottabus," one form of which (for there were several) consisted in jerking out of the cup the wine which remain-

they brought them to trial from their estates,<sup>1</sup> that themselves and their friends might take possession of their lands. And when they took refuge in the Piræus, they arrested many there likewise, and filled Megara and Thebes with fugitives.

2. After this, Thrasybulus set out from Thebes with about seventy men, and occupied Phyle, a place of much strength. The Thirty went to the rescue from the city, with the Three Thousand, and the Knights, the weather being very fine at the time. On their arrival, some of the young men, in a foolhardy spirit, immediately assaulted the place, producing, however, no effect upon it, but retiring with many wounds. 3. When the Thirty were desirous of surrounding it with works, that they might reduce them by cutting off all supplies of provisions; there came on during the night a very heavy fall of snow, covered with which they returned the next day into the city, after losing very many of their camp followers by an attack of the men from Phyle. 4. Knowing, however, that they would also plunder the country, if there were no watch to prevent it, they despatch to the frontiers, at the distance of fifteen stades from Phyle, all but a few of the Lacedæmonian guards, and two squadrons of horse. These having encamped on a rough piece of ground, proceeded to keep watch. 5. There were by this time assembled at Phyle about seven hundred men, whom Thrasybulus took, and marched down by night; and having grounded arms about three or four stades from the party on guard, remained quietly there. 6. When it was towards day-break, and the enemy now began to get up and retire from their post on necessary purposes, and the grooms were making a noise in currying their horses; at this juncture the party with Thrasybulus took up their arms again, and fell upon them at a run. Some of them they despatched, and routed and pursued them all for six or seven stades; killing more than a hundred, and twenty of the infantry, and of the cavalry, Nicostratus (surnamed The Handsome) and two

ed in it after drinking; mentioning at the same time the especial object of their affection, whose feelings towards them were supposed to be favourable or not, in proportion to the clearness of the ring with which the wine fell on the floor. Hence Cicero's translation of this passage; "Reliquum sic ejecit e poculo, ut id resonaret." Quæst. Tusc. 1. 40.

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῶν Χωρίων.] Or, "from the towns."

others also, whom they surprised while yet in their beds. 7. After returning and erecting a trophy, they packed up all the arms and baggage they had taken, and withdrew to Phyle. And now the horsemen in the city came out to the rescue, but found none of the enemy any longer on the spot; having waited, therefore, till their relatives had taken up the dead, they returned into the city.

8. Upon this the Thirty, no longer thinking their cause safe, wished to secure for themselves Eleusis, that they might have a place of refuge, if required. Having sent their orders to the cavalry, Critias and the rest of the Thirty came to Eleusis; and having held a review of the horse in the place, alleging that they wished to know what was their number, and how much additional garrison they would require, they ordered them all to write down their names, and as each one wrote it down in his turn, to pass out through the postern to the sea. On the beach they had posted their cavalry on both sides, and as each successively passed out, their attendants bound him. When all were arrested, they ordered Lysimachus, the commander of the cavalry, to take them to the city and deliver them up to the Eleven. 9. The next day they summoned to the Odeum the heavy-armed in the list, and the rest of the cavalry; when Critias stood up, and said: "It is no less for your advantage, gentlemen, than for our own, that we are establishing the present form of government. As then you will share in its honours, so-too you ought to share in its dangers. You must give your votes therefore against the Eleusinians here arrested, that you may have the same grounds with us both of confidence and of fear." And pointing out a certain spot, he ordered them openly to deposit their votes in it. 10. At the same time the Lacedæmonian guard under arms occupied half of the Odeum: and these measures were approved by such of the citizens also as only cared for their own advantage.

After this, Thrasybulus takes those at Phyle, who had now gathered together to the number of about a thousand, and comes by night into Piræus. The Thirty, on this intelligence, immediately went out to the rescue with both the Lacedæmonians, and the cavalry, and the heavy-armed; and then advanced along the cart-way that leads to Piræus. 11. The force from Phyle for some time attempted to stop their ap-

proach ; but when the great circuit of the wall appeared to require a large body to guard it, and they were not a large one, they marched in close order into Munychia. The troops from the city, having come to the market-place of Hippodamns, in the first place drew themselves up so as to fill up the road which leads to the temple of the Munychian Diana, and to the Bendideum, being not less than fifty shields deep. In this order they marched up the hill. 12. The force from Phyle also filled up the road, but were not more than ten deep in their heavy-armed ; behind whom, however, there were posted both targeteers and light dart-men, and behind them the slingers. These indeed formed a numerous body ; for the inhabitants of the place had joined them. While the enemy were coming on, Thrasybulus ordered his men to ground their shields, and having grounded his own, but keeping the rest of his arms, he took his stand in the midst of them, and spoke thus :

13. "My fellow-citizens, I wish to inform some of you, and to remind others, that of the men who are coming against us, those on the right wing are they whom you routed and pursued five days ago ; and those on the extreme left are the Thirty, who both deprived us of our country when guilty of nothing, and expelled us from our houses, and prosecuted the dearest of our relatives. But now truly they have come into a position, where they never thought of being, but we have always been praying that they might be. 14. For we are posted against them with arms in our hands ; and seeing that in former days we were arrested both when at our meals, and asleep, and in the market-place, while others of us were banished, when, so far from being guilty of any offence, we were not even in the country ; for these reasons the gods are now clearly fighting on our side. For even in fair weather they raise a storm, when it is for our advantage ; and when we make an attack, though our enemies are many, they grant to us, who are but few, to erect trophies. 15. And now, too, they have brought us into a position, in which our opponents can neither hurl their spears nor their darts beyond those who are posted before them, through its being up-hill ; whereas we, discharging down-hill both spears, and javelins, and stones, shall both reach them, and mortally wound many of them. 16. And one might perhaps have thought that the first ranks, at

any rate, must fight on equal terms ; but as it is, if you only discharge your weapons with spirit, as suits your character, no one will miss, since the road is filled up with them, and standing on their guard they will all the time be skulking under their shields ; so that we shall be able both to strike them when we please, like blind men, and to leap on and overturn them. 17. But, sirs, we must act in such a way that each of us may have the consciousness of having been most instrumental towards the victory. For that (if God will) will now restore to us both country, and houses, and freedom, and honours, and children, (such as have them,) and wives. O blessed, then, those of us who, as victors, may see that sweetest day of all ! And happy, too, he who falls ! For no one, however rich he may be, shall enjoy so glorious a monument. I, then, when the time is come, will begin the pæan : and when we have called on Mars to help us, then let us all with one heart avenge ourselves on these men for the insults we have suffered."

18. Having thus spoken, he faced about towards the enemy, and remained still. For their prophet gave them orders not to make the onset before some one on their side had either fallen, or been wounded : " When, however," said he, " that has happened, I will lead the way, and there will be victory for you who follow, but death to me, as I, at least, am of opinion." 19. And he spoke no falsehood ; but when they had taken up their arms, he himself, as though led by some destiny, was the first to bound forward, and falling on the enemy was killed, and is buried by the passage of the Cephisus ; but the rest were victorious, and pursued them as far as the level ground. There were slain there, of the Thirty, Critias and Hippomachus ; of the ten commanders in Piræus, Charmides son of Glaucon ; and of the rest about seventy. The conquerors took the arms, but plundered the clothes of none of their fellow-citizens. And when this was done, and they were returning the dead under a truce, many on both sides came up and conversed together. 20. And Cleocritus, the herald of the initiated, being gifted with a very fine voice, hushed them into silence and thus addressed them.

" Fellow-citizens, why are you driving us from our country ? Why do you wish to kill us ? For we have never yet done you any harm ; but have shared with you both the most solemn

rites, and the noblest sacrifices and festivals; and have been your companions in the dance, and in the schools, and in war; and have faced many dangers with you by land and by sea, for the common safety and liberty of both parties. 21. In the name of our fathers' and our mothers' gods, in the name of kindred, and affinity, and fellowship, (for all these things have we in common with one another,) cease sinning against your country, and be not persuaded by those most impious Thirty, who for the sake of their own gain have killed almost more of the Athenians in eight months, than all the Peloponnesians in ten years' warfare. 22. And when we might live together in peace, these men inflict on us that war which of all is the most disgraceful, and grievous, and impious, and most hateful both to gods and men—war with one another. But, however, be well assured, that for some of those now slain by us, not only you, but we also, have shed many tears." Such was his speech. The rest of the enemy's commanders, from the very fact of their hearing such fresh appeals to them, led back their men into the city.

23. The next day the Thirty, quite dejected and solitary, sat together in council: while the Three Thousand, wherever they were severally posted, were at variance with one another. For as many as had acted in a more violent manner, and were therefore afraid, vehemently maintained that they ought not to submit to those in Piræus: while such as were confident that they had done no wrong, both reflected themselves, and were persuading the rest, that there was no necessity for these troubles: and they said that they ought not to obey the Thirty, nor suffer them to ruin the state. At last they voted for deposing them, and choosing others: and accordingly they chose ten, one from each tribe.

24. So the Thirty departed to Eleusis; while the Ten, together with the commanders of the cavalry, directed their attention to those in the city, who were in a state of great confusion and distrust of each other. The cavalry also bivouacked in the Odeum, with both their horses and their shields; and owing to their want of confidence they kept going their rounds along the walls, after evening had set in, with their shields, and towards morning, with their horses, being constantly afraid that some of those in Piræus might attack them. 25. They, being now many in number, and men of all sorts,



were making themselves arms, some of wood, others of wicker-work, and were whitening them over. Before ten days had elapsed, after giving pledges that whoever joined in the war, even though they were strangers, should have equal privileges, they marched out, with many heavy-armed and many light-armed. They had also about seventy horse; and making forays by day, and carrying off wood and corn, they slept again in Piræus. 26. Of those in the city none else came out under arms, but the cavalry sometimes secured plunderers from the force in Piræus, and annoyed their phalanx. They also fell in with a party of Æxonians going to their own estates for provisions; whom Lysimachus, the commander of the horse, butchered, though they begged hard for their lives, and though many of the cavalry were indignant at his conduct. 27. Those in Piræus also, by way of retaliation, put to death one of the knights, whom they had taken in the country—Callistratus, of the Leontine tribe. For indeed they were now in high spirits, so that they even made attacks on the city wall. And here I may mention (if it is worth while) a device of the engineer in the city; who, when he knew that they were about to bring up their engines along the race-course leading out of the Lyceum, ordered all the carts to take stones that were a load each, and throw them down in whatever part of the course each man pleased. When this was done, every one of the stones caused them great trouble.

28. And now the Thirty from Eleusis, and those in the list from the city, sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, and urged them to come to their support, as the people had revolted from the Lacedæmonians. Lysander, calculating that it was possible quickly to reduce those in Piræus, when besieged both by land and by sea, if once they were cut off from all supplies, joined in getting a hundred talents lent them, and himself sent out as harmost, with his brother Libys as admiral. 29. And having himself proceeded to Eleusis, he raised a large force of Peloponnesian heavy-armed; while the admiral kept guard that no provisions should go in for them by sea; so that those in Piræus were soon in a strait again, while those in the city, on the other hand, were elated again with confidence in Lysander.

When things were progressing in this way, Pausanias the king, filled with envy at the thought of Lysander's succeeding in these measures, and so at once winning reputation and

making Athens his own, gained the consent of three of the ephors, and led out an expedition. 30. All the allies also joined him, except the Bœotians and Corinthians. These alleged that they did not consider they should show due regard for their oaths, if they marched against the Athenians while doing nothing contrary to the treaty: and they took this course, because they knew that the Lacedæmonians wished to make the country of Attica a faithful dependency of their own.

Pausanias encamped on a spot called Halipedum, near Piræus, himself occupying the right wing, and Lysander, with his mercenaries, the left. 31. And he sent ambassadors to those in Piræus, telling them to go away to their own homes; but when they did not obey his message, he made an assault, (so far, at least, as noise went,) that he might not openly appear to wish them well. When he had retired with no result from the assault, the day following he took two brigades of the Lacedæmonians, and three squadrons of the Athenian cavalry, and went along to the Mute Harbour,<sup>1</sup> reconnoitring in what direction Piræus was most easy to circumvallate. 32. On his retiring, a party of the besieged ran up to him, and caused him trouble; annoyed at which, he ordered the horse to charge them at full speed, and such as had passed the period of youth ten years to accompany them, while he himself followed with the rest. And they slew about thirty of the light-armed, and pursued the rest to the theatre in Piræus. 33. There all the targeteers and heavy infantry of the party in Piræus happened to be arming themselves. And now the light-armed immediately running forward began darting, throwing, shooting, slinging. The Lacedæmonians, when many were being wounded, being very hard pressed, began slowly to retreat; and upon this their opponents threw themselves on them much more vigorously. It was there that Chæron and Thibrachus, both of them polemarchs, were killed, with Lacrates the Olympic conqueror, and others who lie buried before the gates in the Ceramicus. 34. Seeing this, Thrasybulus and the rest of the heavy-armed went to the support of their men, and quickly drew themselves up in front of the others, eight deep. Pausanias, being very hard pressed, and having retired about

<sup>1</sup> Κωφὸν λιμένας.] "I have no knowledge of this. Wytttenbach thought it was the port of Munychia. Weiske remarks, sec. 30, that it was situated towards the east." *Schneider*.

four or five stades to a hill, sent orders for the Lacedæmonians and the rest of the allies to advance and join him. There having formed his phalanx very deep, he led it against the Athenians. They received his charge, but then some of them were driven into the mud at Halæ, and the rest gave way; about a hundred and fifty of them being slain. 35. Pausanias erected a trophy, and withdrew.

Not even under these circumstances was he exasperated with them, but sent secretly, and instructed those in Piræus, with what proposals they should send ambassadors to him and the ephors who were there. They complied with his advice. He also set those in the city at variance, and advised that as many as possible should collect together and come to the Spartan officers, alleging that they did not at all want to be at war with the men in Piræus, but to be reconciled together, and both parties to be friends of the Lacedæmonians. 36. It was with pleasure that Naucleides also, the ephor, heard this proposal: for as it is customary for two of the ephors to take the field with a king, so on that occasion he and another were present, both of them being men of Pausanias's views, rather than of Lysander's. For these reasons, then, they also with alacrity sent to Sparta the envoys from Piræus, with the treaty they proposed to make with the Lacedæmonians, and the private individuals from the party in the city, namely, Cephisophon and Meletus. 37. When, however, these were gone to Lacedæmon, the public authorities in the city also sent ambassadors, declaring that they surrendered to the Lacedæmonians both the fortresses in their possession and themselves, to be treated as they pleased; and they said they thought it but fair that those in Piræus also, if they professed to be friends to the Lacedæmonians, should surrender Piræus and Munychia. 38. The ephors and the committee appointed to consider the question having heard all their statements, despatched fifteen men to Athens, and ordered them, in concert with Pausanias, to effect the best reconciliation of the parties they could. So they reconciled them on condition of their making peace with one another, and returning to their several homes, with the exception of the Thirty, the Eleven, and the Ten who had commanded in Piræus. If any of those in the city should feel afraid of remaining there, it was determined that they should establish themselves at Eleusis.

39. These arrangements being effected, Pausanias disbanded his army, and the party from Piræus went up under arms to the Acropolis, and sacrificed to Athena. When the generals had come down again, Thrasybulus then delivered the following speech.

40. "To you, gentlemen of the city, I give this advice—to know yourselves. And you would best gain that knowledge by considering upon what grounds you ought to be so lifted up as to attempt to rule over us. Are you more honest men?"  
"Nay, but the people, though poorer than you, never yet wronged you for the sake of money: whereas you, though richer than all of us, have done many base deeds for gain. But since you have no claim to honesty, see whether, then, it is on your courage that you should pride yourselves. 41. And what better test of this could there be, than the manner in which we have carried on war against each other? But is it in council that you would profess to surpass us?—you who, with a fortified town, and arms, and money, and allies from the Peloponnesus, have met with such reverses at the hands of men who had none of these advantages? But is it by your connexion with the Lacedæmonians, forsooth, that you think you ought to be elated? How so? For just as men fasten a collar to biting curs, and give them up to those they have bitten; so they, too, have given you up to this injured people, and are gone away. 42. I do not, however, wish *you*, my friends, to break any of the conditions to which you have sworn; but in addition to all your other noble qualities to show this also, that you are both true to your oaths, and have a sense of religion."

"Having spoken these words, with others to the same purport, and told them that they should create no confusion, but live according to their ancient laws, he broke up the assembly.

"43. At that time, then, they appointed their magistrates, and carried on the government. But some time afterwards, hearing that the party at Eleusis were hiring mercenaries, they took the field *en masse* against them; and when their commanders had come to a conference, they put them to death; but sent in to the others their friends and relations, and persuaded them to a reconciliation. And having sworn not to remember past grievances, they still live together under the same government, and the popular party abide by their oaths.

## BOOK III.

## CHAPTER I.

Cyrus the Younger solicits aid from the Lacedæmonians on going to war with his brother, and, by their directions, Samius their admiral secures him a safe passage through Cilicia. The Lacedæmonians send Thibron, with a moderate force, in which are some Athenian cavalry, to the support of the Greeks in Asia Minor, and, as he is joined by the Greeks that had served under Cyrus, he is able to oppose Tissaphernes in the field. He takes some towns, but lingering too long at the siege of Larissa, is ordered by the ephori to march into Caria. He is succeeded by Dercylidas, who makes a treaty with Tissaphernes, and unites his forces with him against Pharnabazus. Mania, who governed Æolis after the death of her husband Zenis, is assassinated by her son-in-law, Meidias. Pharnabazus prepares to avenge her death, but is opposed by Dercylidas, who afterwards marches himself against Meidias, and strips him of his troops and treasures, leaving him nothing but what he had inherited from his father.

1. THE discord at Athens was thus at an end. Soon after, Cyrus sent deputies to Lacedæmon, and requested that, "as he had conducted himself towards the Spartans in the war with the Athenians,<sup>1</sup> so the Spartans would conduct themselves towards him." The ephori, thinking that he proposed what was just, sent orders to Samius, who was then admiral of the fleet, "to assist Cyrus if he should in any way require his services." Samius accordingly executed with alacrity whatever Cyrus required; for, joining his own fleet with that of Cyrus, he sailed round to Cilicia, and prevented Syennesis, the governor of Cilicia, from being able to oppose Cyrus by land in his march against the king. 2. How, therefore, Cyrus collected an army and went up with it against his brother; how the battle took place, how he was killed, and how the Greeks afterwards returned in safety to the sea, has been written by Themistogenes the Syracusan.<sup>2</sup>

3. When Tissaphernes, however, who was thought to have been of great service to the king in the war with his brother,

<sup>1</sup> See book i. c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See "Remarks on the Authorship of the Anabasis," prefixed to the Translation of it.

was sent down as satrap, not only of the provinces which he had governed before, but also of those which Cyrus had held, he immediately required that all the cities of Ionia should put themselves under his dominion. But these cities, desiring to be free, and at the same time dreading Tissaphernes, because they had shown more regard for Cyrus, while he was alive, than for him, would not admit him within their walls, but sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, and entreated them, "as they were masters of all Greece, to take them also, the Greeks in Asia, under their protection, that their lands might not be ravaged, and that they themselves might continue free." 4. The Lacedæmonians accordingly sent Thibron to them as harmost, assigning him a thousand soldiers of the newly-enfranchised citizens, and four thousand of the other Peloponnesians. Thibron also solicited three hundred cavalry from the Athenians, engaging that he himself would secure them pay. The Athenians sent him that number, selected from those who had served with the Thirty, thinking it would be a gain to the state if, leaving the country, they should meet their deaths.

5. When they arrived in Asia, Thibron collected also the troops from the Greek cities on the continent; for all those cities were then ready to obey whatever orders a Lacedæmonian might give. But with all this army, Thibron, observing the cavalry opposed to him, would not go down into the plain, but was satisfied with preserving that part of the country in which he was from being ravaged. 6. After the troops, however, that had gone up with Cyrus, and had returned safe, joined him,<sup>1</sup> he immediately arrayed himself against Tissaphernes on the level ground, and got possession of some cities, Pergamus by voluntary surrender, and also Teuthrania and Halisarna, which Eurysthenes and Procles governed, descendants of Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, to whom that part of the country had been given by the king,<sup>2</sup> as a reward for having accompanied his army against Greece. Gorgion and Gongylus, two brothers, also came over to him, the one of whom possessed Gambhreion and Palægambreion, the other

<sup>1</sup> See Anab. vii. 8. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Xerxes. On the flight of Demaratus, the Spartan king, to the Persians, see Herod. vi. 70. *Dindorf*. See also Anab. ii. 1. 3; vii. 8. 17.

Myrine and Gryneion; these cities, also, had been a gift from the king<sup>1</sup> to Gongylus, because he was the only one of the Eretrians that was banished for his attachment to the Persians. 7. Some cities that were weak, too, Thibron took by assault; before Larissa, however, called the Egyptian, he encamped, as it refused to submit, and proceeded to besiege it. Being unable to take it by other means, he marked out and dug a passage under-ground,<sup>2</sup> with the intention of cutting off their water, but as the besieged, sallying out frequently from the walls, threw timber and stones into the part that was dug, he constructed a wooden pent-house and placed it over the opening. But the Larissæans rushed out in the night and set fire to it. And as he seemed to be doing nothing to any purpose, the ephori sent him word to quit Larissa and march into Caria.

8. But while he was at Ephesus, in the course of his march towards Caria, Dercylidas came to the army to take the command of it; a man who was considered extremely fertile in expedients, and had in consequence the name of Sisyphus. Thibron accordingly returned home, and was fined and banished; for the allies accused him of allowing his troops to plunder their friends.

9. Dercylidas, when he took the command of the forces, knowing that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were jealous of each other, made some communication to Tissaphernes, and led off his army into the territory of Pharnabazus, choosing rather to go to war with one of them, than with both of them at once. Dercylidas had also previously been an enemy to Pharnabazus; for, having been harried at Abydos when

<sup>1</sup> Darius, as it appears. *Dindorf.*

<sup>2</sup> Φρεαρίαν—ὑπόνομον.] It appears to me that these two words must be taken together [as a substantive and adjective]. Morus, on the contrary, makes φρεαρίαν a reservoir, referring to Polyb. x. 25. Weiske agrees with Morus, and translates, *cum lacum sive cisternam fecisset, cuniculum agebat seu latius terram excavabat.* Τῇ φρεαρίᾳ, below, seems to refer to the same excavation, and I was inclined to alter it to τῇ φρεαρίᾳ: the form φρεαρίας, however, I have not yet found. φρεάρια occurs in Hesychius as signifying τὰ βαθῆς ὕγματα. *Schneider.* Liddell and Scott concur with Schneider in rendering φρεαρίαν ὑπόνομον "an under-ground channel to a tank or reservoir," but observe that "the passage is obscure." Dindorf dissents from Schneider, and agrees, apparently, with Morus and Weiske.

Lysander was commander of the fleet, and having been accused of some offence by Tissaphernes, he had been obliged to stand holding his shield; a circumstance which is thought by the respectable Lacedæmonians a mark of disgrace, for it is the punishment for neglect of discipline. 10. He therefore marched with much more readiness against Pharnabazus, and soon showed such superiority in generalship to Thibron, that he led the army through a friendly part of the country as far as that portion of Æolia belonging to Pharnabazus, without doing the least damage to the allies.

This district of Æolia belonged indeed to Pharnabazus, but Zenis, a Dardanian, had governed here for him as long as he lived. When Zenis was carried off by disease, and Pharnabazus was preparing to give the government to some one else, Mania his wife, who was also a native of Dardania, prepared her retinue,<sup>1</sup> and taking with her presents to give Pharnabazus himself, and to gratify his mistresses, and such as had most influence with him, set out to visit Pharnabazus. 11. Being admitted to a conference, she said, "My husband, Pharnabazus, was friendly to you in other respects, and paid you tribute in such a way that you praised and honoured him. If I, therefore, can serve you not worse than he did, why need you appoint another governor? And if I should not satisfy you in any particular, it will still be in your power to take the government from me and to give it to some one else." 12. Pharnabazus, on hearing this application, determined that the woman should be governor. Mania, when she became mistress of the country, paid the tribute not less punctually than her husband had paid it, and, in addition, whenever she went to see Pharnabazus, always took him presents, and whenever he came down into her province, entertained him by far the most honourably and agreeably of all his deputy-governors. 13. Whatever towns she had received, she kept secure for him; and of such as were not in subjection to him, she captured Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ, places on the sea-coast, assailing their walls with a Greek mercenary force, and viewing the efforts of the troops in her chariot; and whomsoever she thought worthy of praise,

<sup>1</sup> 'Αναζεύξασα στόλον.] It is doubtful whether by στόλος Xenophon intends a journey by sea, or a journey by land, or a military retinue or force. *Schneider*.



she rewarded with the utmost liberality; so that she brought her mercenaries to a most excellent condition. She also joined Pharnabazus in the field, whenever he invaded the Mysians or Pisidiæ for committing depredations on the king's territory. Pharnabazus, in consequence, honoured her most magnificently in return, and sometimes called her in as a counselor. 14. But when she was something more than forty years old, Meidias, her daughter's husband, (being lightly persuaded by some of his people that it was disgraceful to him for a woman to govern, while he himself was only in a private station, and she being carefully on her guard against others, as is fitting in a despotic government, but trusting and caressing him as any woman would caress her son-in law,) is said to have gone into her apartment and strangled her. He also put to death her son, a youth of very handsome person, and about seventeen years of age. 15. After committing these crimes, he seized upon Scepsis and Gergis, two strong cities, in which the chief part of Mania's treasures were deposited. The other cities, however, would not admit him, but the garrisons that were in them kept them for Pharnabazus. Meidias soon after sent presents to Pharnabazus, and asked to have the government of the province as Mania had had it. Pharnabazus replied, that he might keep his presents, until he himself should come and take both him and them; for he said that he would not live if he did not avenge Mania.

16. At this time Dercylidas arrived, and took in one day, by voluntary surrender, the cities on the coast, Larissa, Hamaxitus, and Colonæ. He sent also to the cities of Æolia, and urged them to assert their freedom, to admit him within their walls, and to become his allies. The Neandrians, Ilians, and Cocylitans accordingly complied with his request; for the Greeks that garrisoned them had not treated the people well since Mania died; 17. but he that commanded the garrison in Cebren, a very strong place, thought that if he preserved the town for Pharnabazus, he should be honourably recompensed by him, and refused to admit Dercylidas, who, being exasperated, prepared to assail the walls. As the omens were unfavourable, however, when he sacrificed the first day, he offered sacrifice again on the following day, and, as they were not even then favourable, again on the third day, and continued to sacrifice for four days together, being extremely

discontented, for he was eager to become master of all *Æolia* before *Pharnabazus* could come to its relief. 18. Meanwhile an officer named *Athenadas*, a native of *Sicyon*, thinking that *Dercylidas* was trifling and wasting time, and that he himself could cut off the water of the *Cebrenians*, ran forward with his troop and tried to fill up their fountain; but the inhabitants, sallying out, wounded the officer himself, and killed two of his men, and repulsed the rest with swords and missiles. While *Dercylidas* was under concern at this occurrence, and judged that the assault would in consequence be less spirited, heralds from the Greeks came out of the town, and said that "what their commander was doing did not please them, as they themselves wished to join Greeks rather than Barbarians." 19. As they were still talking on the matter, a messenger came from their commander to announce that what the previous messengers had said, they had said with his approbation. *Dercylidas* therefore, as he happened to have sacrificed satisfactorily that day, took up his arms and led his men towards the gates, which the inhabitants opened and gave him admittance. He then established a garrison in the place, and marched without delay towards *Scepsis* and *Gergis*.

20. *Meidias*, who expected *Pharnabazus*, and was then in fear of the inhabitants, sent to *Dercylidas*, and said that he would come to a conference with him, if he might be allowed to receive hostages. *Dercylidas* sent him one from each city of the allies, and desired him to take whatever number and whichsoever of them he pleased. He took ten, and came out, and going to *Dercylidas*, asked him "on what conditions he might become his ally." *Dercylidas* replied, "on condition that he would leave the inhabitants of the cities free and independent." As he gave this answer, he advanced towards *Scepsis*. 21. *Meidias*, knowing that he could not stop him without the consent of the people, allowed him to enter. *Dercylidas*, after sacrificing to *Minerva* in the city of the *Scepsians*, drew out the garrison of *Meidias*, and put the city into the hands of the inhabitants, and exhorting them to manage their affairs as became Greeks and freemen, went out and led his troops towards *Gergis*. Many of the *Scepsians* also attended him on his march, paying him honour and expressing their pleasure at what he had done. 22. *Meidias*, following close upon him, begged him to give him the city of

Gergis. Dercylidas, however, merely replied that "he would not fail to obtain whatever was right," and, while he was uttering the words, went up to the gates with Meidias, the troops quietly following two by two. The people on the towers, which were very high, seeing Meidias with Dercylidas, threw no missiles; but when Dercylidas said, "Give orders, Meidias, to open the gates, that you may lead the way in, and that I may go with you to the temple and sacrifice in it to Minerva," Meidias hesitated to have the gates opened; yet fearing that he should instantly be put under arrest, he at last gave orders to open them. 23. When he had entered, he took Meidias with him and proceeded to the citadel; and ordering the other soldiers to pile their arms round the walls, he himself, with his staff, offered sacrifice to Minerva. When the sacrifice was ended, he ordered also the guards of Meidias to pile their arms in front of his own troops, as if they were going to be taken into his pay, since Meidias had no longer anything to fear. 24. Meidias, however, being perplexed how to act, said, "I am now going away, to see the entertainment prepared for you." "No, indeed," rejoined Dercylidas, "for it would be unbecoming in me, after having sacrificed, to be entertained by you, and not to afford you entertainment. Stay here, therefore, with us, and while the table is being prepared, you and I will consider and settle what is right towards each other."

25. When they were seated, Dercylidas asked this question: "Tell me, Meidias," said he, "did your father leave you master of all his property?" "Certainly," said Meidias. "And how many houses were there for you? how many fields? how many pastures?" As he was writing down his answers, those of the Scepsians who were present said, "He is deceiving you, Dercylidas." 26. "Well," rejoined Dercylidas, "do not require too minute an account." When the property of his father had been taken down, "Tell me," added Dercylidas, "to whom did Mania belong?" They all said, "To Pharnabazus." "Then her property," rejoined he, "belonged also to Pharnabazus." "Assuredly," they replied. "It must now be ours, then," said he, "since we are conquerors; for Pharnabazus is our enemy. But let somebody show us where the effects of Mania and Pharnabazus are deposited." 27. As the others conducted him into the house of Mania, of which Meidias had taken possession, Meidias also

followed. When Dercylidas had entered, he called the stewards, and desiring his attendants to take charge of them, gave them notice that if they were found secreting anything belonging to Mania, they should be instantly put to death. They made, however, a full discovery. When he had inspected everything, he shut up the whole, set his seal upon it, and appointed a guard. 28. As he came out, he said to such of his centurions and captains as he found at the gates, "Pay, my friends, has been secured by us for the army, enough for eight thousand men for nearly a year; and if we gain anything besides, it will be an addition to it." This he said, in the belief that on hearing it they would be more orderly and ready to serve him. When Meidias asked, "And where must I live, Dercylidas?" he replied, "Where it is most proper that you should live, in your native place, Scepsis, and in your father's house."<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

Pharnabazus makes a truce with Dercylidas, who winters in Bithynia and ravages the country. Messengers from the ephori come to him at Lamp-sacus to commend him and prolong his command. Learning from these messengers that the people of the Chersonesus had applied to the Lacedæmonians to build a wall across the isthmus to defend them from the Thracians, he sets out with his army to the Chersonesus and builds the wall. He then returns into Asia and takes Atarneus from certain Chian exiles who had seized it, and prepares it as a residence for himself. He proceeds to Ephesus, where he receives orders from the ephori to march into Caria to bring Tissaphernes to submission. Pharnabazus having joined Tissaphernes in Caria, and both of them having crossed the Meander, Dercylidas crosses it to oppose them. Both parties prepare for an engagement, but Tissaphernes, fearing the valour of the Greeks, prefers to invite Dercylidas to a conference, at which it is understood that a peace should be made on condition that the king should give liberty to the Greek cities in Asia, and that the Lacedæmonians should withdraw their harmosts and troops from the king's territories. In Greece the Lacedæmonians make war on the Eleians, to avenge old insults; but their king, Agis, on entering the enemy's territory, thinks himself supernaturally admonished to return. Next year he ravages the country of the Eleians who at length obtain peace on very unfavourable terms.

1. DERCYLIDAS, having accomplished these objects, and taken nine cities in eight days, deliberated by what means he

<sup>1</sup> We hear nothing further of Meidias. It would have been satisfactory to learn that he had received some additional punishment from Pharnabazus, as he threatened, sect. 15

might avoid being burdensome to the allies, as Thibron was, by wintering in a friendly part of the country, and by what means Pharnabazus, on the other hand, might be prevented from harassing the Greek cities with his cavalry in contempt of him. He therefore sent to Pharnabazus, and asked him "whether he wished to have peace or war." Pharnabazus, considering that *Æolia* was now fortified to bear upon *Phrygia*, his place of residence, preferred peace.

2. When this point was settled, Dercylidas marched into *Bithynian Thrace*, and fixed his quarters there for the winter, Pharnabazus being very little concerned at the procedure, for the *Bithynians* were often at war with him. Dercylidas continued to ravage and plunder *Bithynia* in other ways, and to get from it abundance of provisions for his troops. But as some of his allies joined him from the opposite side of the country, (a party of the *Odryse* that came from *Seuthes*, about two hundred horse and three hundred peltasts,) they, forming an encampment, enclosed it with a palisade, about twenty stadia from that of the Greeks, and, having requested of Dercylidas some heavy-armed men to guard their camp, went out for booty, and captured a great number of slaves and other valuable effects. 3. But while their camp was crowded with so many prisoners, the *Bithynians*, having learned how many had gone out, and how many Greeks they had left to keep guard, assembled in great numbers, both cavalry and peltasts, and proceeded to attack our heavy-armed men, who were about two hundred, at break of day. As they approached, some threw stones, and others hurled javelins, at them; and as the defenders of the camp began to be wounded, and some of them killed, and were unable to make any effectual efforts, being confined within a palisading of the height of a man, they made an opening in the rampart, and sallied out upon the enemy; 4. who, whenever the Greeks advanced, retreated, and, being peltasts, easily escaped from men in heavy armour, hurling their javelins at them from all sides, and striking down several of them at every sally that they made, till at last, pent up as it were in a sheep-fold, they were overwhelmed with darts. About fifteen of them, however, made their escape to the camp of the Greeks, but these, as soon as they saw what was going to happen, had gone off in the midst of the struggle, slipping through among the *Bithynians* while

they neglected to watch them. 5. The Bithynians, having thus succeeded in their enterprise, and put to death the tent-keepers of the Odrysæ, went off, taking all their booty with them; so that when the Greeks heard of the attack, and went to give succour, they found nothing in the camp but stripped corpses. But after the Odrysæ returned, and had buried their dead, drinking a great quantity of wine, and celebrating a horse-race at their funeral, they encamped thenceforward close to the Greeks, and ravaged and wasted Bithynia with fire.

6. When spring came, Dercylidas marched from the country of the Bithynians, and proceeded to Lampsacus. While he was there, Aracus, Naubates, and Antisthenes arrived from the authorities at Sparta; persons who had come to see how affairs were, in other respects, in Asia, and to tell Dercylidas that he was to remain there and hold the command for the following year; they stated also that the ephori had directed them to call together the soldiers, and to tell them that they censured them for what they had previously done, but commended them now, as they were doing nothing wrong; and to assure them also, with regard to the future, that if they committed any injustice, they would not let it pass; but that, if they acted justly towards the allies, they would give them commendation. 7. After they had assembled the troops, and delivered this message, the commander<sup>1</sup> of those who had gone up with Cyrus replied, "We, for our parts, men of Lacedæmon, are the same soldiers now that we were a year ago; but the general that commands now is different from him who commanded in past time; the reason, therefore, that we commit no irregularities now, though we were guilty of them then, you yourselves are very well able to discover."

8. When the ambassadors from home, and Dercylidas, were at an entertainment together in his tent, one of the friends of Aracus mentioned that they had left behind them at Lacedæmon an embassy from the people of the Chersonesus; who they said, stated that they could not at present cultivate the Chersonesus, as it was ravaged and plundered by the Thracians; but that if it were fenced in by a wall from sea to sea,

<sup>1</sup> Morus, Weiske, and Schneider, agree in thinking that Xenophon himself is probably meant, as he may have remained with the army after he had put it under the command of Thibron, *Anab.* vii. 8. 24.

there would be abundance of good land for themselves to till, and for as many of the Lacedæmonians as might wish to settle there; so that they should not wonder, they said, if some Lacedæmonian should be sent out by the state with a body of men to effect that object. 9. Dercylidas, as he listened to this account, gave no intimation what he thought on the subject, but sent away the commissioners from Ephesus<sup>1</sup> through the Greek cities, being rejoiced that they would see those cities in a state of peace and prosperity. The commissioners set out accordingly. But Dercylidas, as soon as he knew that he was to remain, sent again to Pharnabazus, and asked him "whether he was inclined to continue the truce, as during the winter, or to go to war." As Pharnabazus preferred to prolong the truce, Dercylidas, leaving all the allied cities near Pharnabazus at peace with him, crossed over the Hellespont with his army into Europe, and marching through the friendly part of Thrace, and being hospitably entertained by Seuthes, made his way to the Chersonesus. 10. Finding that the peninsula contained eleven or twelve towns, and that the ground was extremely fertile and valuable, but was ravaged, as had been stated, by the Thracians, and having measured the isthmus and found that it was seven and thirty stadia across, he lost no time, but, after sacrificing, began to erect a wall, portioning out the ground among his troops; and by promising rewards to such as should finish their part of the wall first, and to others as they should respectively deserve, he succeeded in completing the wall, beginning in the spring, before autumn; and he included within it eleven cities, several harbours, a great quantity of excellent land for sowing and planting, and a vast number of the finest pastures for all sorts of cattle. Having thus effected his purpose, he crossed over again into Asia.

11. Making an inspection of the cities there, he found them in good condition in other respects, but learned that certain exiles from Chios were in possession of Atarneus, a strong place, and, making excursions from thence, were ravaging and plundering Ionia, and by that means gaining subsistence.

<sup>1</sup> 'Απ' 'Εφέσου.] Dr. Smith's translation has, "to Ephesus," from a conjecture of Dr. Taylor's, ἐπ' 'Εφέσου. Some alteration seems necessary; for Dercylidas, as appears from sect. 6, was now at Lampsacus. All the editors are silent on the subject.

Discovering that they had a large quantity of corn in the place, he encamped around it and laid siege to it; and, having reduced it in eight months, he appointed Draco, a native of Pallene, to take charge of it, laying up in it abundance of all kinds of stores, that he might be able to sojourn there whenever he came into those parts. He then went off to Ephesus, which is distant from Sardes three days' journey.

12. Till this period, Tissaphernes and Dercylidas, and the Greeks and Barbarians in those parts, had continued at peace with each other. But as deputies from the cities of Ionia went to Lacedæmon, and represented that "it was in the power of Tissaphernes, if he were inclined, to leave the Greek cities independent," and that "if, therefore, Caria, in which Tissaphernes' residence was, should be attacked, they thought that he would soon consent," they said, "to leave them at liberty," the ephori, on hearing this statement, sent to Dercylidas, and ordered him to cross over<sup>1</sup> with his army into Caria, and directed Pharax, their commander at sea, to support him with the fleet. These orders they accordingly executed. 13. Just at that time, however, Pharnabazus happened to pay a visit to Tissaphernes, both to congratulate him on being appointed commander-in-chief, and to testify, for himself, that he was ready to concur in a general war, to unite his force with that of Tissaphernes, and to join in driving the Greeks out of the king's dominions. Nevertheless he envied Tissaphernes his supremacy, and was extremely dissatisfied at being deprived of Æolia. Tissaphernes, on hearing what he said, replied, "In the first place, then, cross over with me into Caria, and we will then consult about these matters." 14. When they were come into Caria, however, it seemed advisable to them, after placing sufficient garrisons in the fortresses, to cross over again into Ionia.

Dercylidas, hearing that they had again crossed the Mæander, and telling Pharax that he feared lest Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus should invade Ionia, if left undefended, and plunder and ravage the country, crossed over also himself. 15. The two leaders,<sup>2</sup> advancing with their troops in no regular order, as supposing that the enemy had gone forward to the

<sup>1</sup> Over the Mæander.

<sup>2</sup> Οὔροι.] Dercylidas and Pharax. Pharax had probably landed a portion of his troops and joined Dercylidas. *Weiske* and *Schneider*.



neighbourhood of Ephesus, suddenly observed, over against them, some scouts mounted upon the tombs, and having caused their own scouts to climb upon some tombs and turrets that were near them, discovered the enemy's force drawn up in the part through which their road lay, consisting of Carians with their white shields, as many Persian troops as chanced to be in those quarters, whatever Greeks each of the satraps had in his pay, and a great number of cavalry, that of Tissaphernes being on the right wing, and that of Pharnabazus on the left.

16. When Dercylidas saw this force, he immediately ordered the centurions and captains to draw up their men eight deep, directing that the peltasts and the cavalry, such and so many as he had, should be posted on either flank; and he then offered sacrifice. 17. Whatever troops were from the Peloponnese, stood quiet, and prepared for battle; but of those from Priene, Achilleium, and the islands and cities of Ionia, some left their arms in the corn (for in the plain of the Mæander the corn was very high) and ran away; and such as stood showed that they would not stand long. 18. Pharnabazus, it was said, gave orders to engage; but Tissaphernes, reflecting how the Greeks under Cyrus had fought against the Persians, and supposing that all Greeks resembled them, would not consent to fight, but sent to Dercylidas, and said, "that he wished to come to a conference with him." Dercylidas, taking the best-looking of the horse and foot that were about him, advanced towards the messengers, and said, "I was preparing to fight, as you see; since Tissaphernes, however, desires to come to a conference, I offer no objection. But if it is to take place, we must give and receive hostages as securities." 19. This arrangement being approved and settled, the armies drew off, that of the Barbarians to Tralles in Caria, and that of the Greeks to Leucophrys, where there was a temple of Diana, held in great veneration, and a lake of more than a stadium in length, with a sandy bottom, supplied by perpetual springs, its water being good for drinking and warm.

Such were the events of that day. On the morrow they met at the place appointed; and each proceeded to ask the other on what terms they might conclude a peace. 20. Dercylidas said, "On condition that the king would leave the

Greek cities independent." Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus said, "On condition that the Grecian army would quit the king's territory, and the Lacedæmonian harmosts the cities." Having made these proposals, they settled a truce between them, until the requisitions of Dercylidas could be reported at Lacedæmon, and those of Tissaphernes to the king.

21. Whilst these affairs were conducted in Asia by Dercylidas, the Lacedæmonians, during the same period, who had long been exasperated against the Eleians, both because they had made an alliance<sup>1</sup> with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, and because, on the allegation that a fine<sup>2</sup> had been imposed upon them, they excluded them from the equestrian and gymnastic games; nor had they been content with this, but when Lichas, having joined his chariot with those of the Thebans, went forward, on the Thebans being proclaimed victors, to crown his charioteer, they scourged him, though an old man, and expelled him from the lists;<sup>3</sup> 22. and some time afterwards, when Agis was sent in obedience to an oracle to sacrifice to Jupiter, the Eleians would not allow him to pray for success in war, saying that "it was a rule from old time that Greeks should not consult the oracle with regard to a war against Greeks," so that he went away without sacrificing; 23. being exasperated on all these accounts, therefore, the ephori and assembly of the people resolved to bring them to their senses. Sending ambassadors accordingly to Elis, they acquainted them that it seemed equitable to the magistracy of the Lacedæmonians "that the Eleians should leave the neighbouring cities free." As the Eleians answered that "they would not do so, since they were masters of those cities by right of war," the ephori called out their forces to attack

<sup>1</sup> See Thucydides, v. 43—47, where the form of the treaty is given.

<sup>2</sup> "The Lacedæmonians were excluded from the temple by the Eleians, so that they could neither sacrifice nor enter the lists, as refusing to pay the fine to which the Eleians, by virtue of the Olympian law, had condemned them, alleging that they had attacked the fortress of Phyrus, and sent a body of their heavy-armed into Lepreum during the Olympic truce. The fine imposed upon them was two thousand minæ. \* \* \* But the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors, and pleaded that it had not been fairly imposed upon them." Thucyd. v. 49, Dale's Translation.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. v. 50.

them. Agis led the army through Achaia, and entered Elis at Larissus.<sup>1</sup> 24. But as soon as the troops were in the enemy's country, and the lands began to be ravaged, an earthquake took place; and Agis, thinking it a sign from the gods, went back out of the country, and disbanded his army. In consequence, the Eleians became bolder, and sent deputies round to whatever cities they knew to be disaffected towards the Lacedæmonians.

25. After the expiration of a year, the ephori again assembled a force to invade Elis; and, except the Bœotians and Corinthians, all the other allies, as well as the Athenians, accompanied Agis in the expedition. As Agis entered the country through Aulon, the people of Lepreum revolted from the Eleians and joined him, when the Macistians immediately did the same, and soon after the Epitalians. While he was crossing the river,<sup>2</sup> the Letrians, Amphidolians, and Marganians came over to him. 26. Soon after he went to Olympia, and sacrificed to Olympian Jupiter; and no one any longer tried to hinder him. When he had finished the sacrifice, he advanced towards the city,<sup>3</sup> laying waste and burning up the country; and a vast quantity of cattle, as well as a great number of slaves, were taken from the fields; so that many others of the Arcadians and Achæans, when they heard of these proceedings, came of their own accord to join the army, and had a share of the plunder; and this enterprise was, as it were, a foraging expedition for the Peloponnesus. When he arrived at the city, he destroyed the suburbs and gymnasia, which were splendid; but as to the city itself, for it was unwall'd, they thought that he was rather unwilling to take it than unable.

While the country was thus devastated, and the army was in the neighbourhood of Cyllene, Xenias and his party, a man who was said to measure his money in a bushel-measure,<sup>4</sup> being desirous<sup>5</sup> \* \* \* \* the whole army was abundantly

<sup>1</sup> Some place, as it seems, on the river Larissus, or Larissus, which separated Achaia from Elis. See *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> The Alpheius. See sect. 29.

<sup>3</sup> The city of Elis.

<sup>4</sup> *Μεδιμνυς*.] The medimnus was about a bushel and a half.

<sup>5</sup> I give this passage in conformity with Dindorf's last edition of the text, 1850; in his edition of 1825 he differs very little from *Schneider*

supplied. But some of the Eleians conspiring together, and meeting in a certain house, and issuing from it, commenced a massacre; they put to death several others, and having also killed a man very like Thrasydæus, the head of the popular party, they thought that they had killed Thrasydæus himself; so that the people were totally dispirited, and remained passive; 28. and the assassins thought that their purpose was fully effected, and their whole party began to bring out their arms to join them in the market-place. But Thrasydæus was still lying asleep where he had been overcome with wine; and when the people heard that he was not dead, his house was surrounded with crowds on every side, as the queen of a hive is encircled by a swarm of bees. 29. Thrasydæus putting himself at the head of the people and leading them on, and an engagement taking place, the people had the advantage, and those who had commenced the massacre were driven to join the Lacedæmonians.

When Agis had retreated, and repassed the Alpheius, he left a garrison, with the exiles from Elis, and Lysippus as harmost, in Epitalium on that river, and then disbanded his army, and went off home. 30. During the rest of the summer, and the ensuing winter, the country of the Eleians was plundered and ravaged by Lysippus and his soldiers.

The following summer, Thrasydæus sent deputies to Lacedæmon, and signified his consent to pull down the walls of Phea and Cyllene, and to leave the Triphylian towns, Phryxa, Epitalium, the Letrians, Amphidolians, and Marganians, free; and, in addition to these, the Acrorians, and Lasion which was claimed by the Arcadians. But Epeium, a city between Heræa and Macistus, the Eleians insisted on keeping; for they said that they had bought that whole district for thirty talents from the people who then held the city, and had paid the money. The Lacedæmonians, however, knowing that it is not more just in those who take from the weaker to buy by force, than to seize by force, compelled them to leave that city also free; yet of the presidency of the temple of Olympian Jupiter, though it did not originally belong to the Eleians, they did not deprive them; regarding the people<sup>1</sup> who claimed it as rustics, and unfit for such a charge. These

<sup>1</sup> The Arcadians and Pisans, of whom Pausanias speaks, v. 4. *Dindorf.*

matters being amicably settled, peace and an alliance were contracted between the Eleians and Lacedæmonians. Thus the war between the Lacedæmonians and Eleians was brought to an end.

### CHAPTER III.

The death of Agis, and dispute between Agesilaus and Leotychides about the succession; Agesilaus is preferred. Account of the conspiracy of Cinadon, and its suppression by the ephori.

1. SOME time afterwards, Agis, having gone to Delphi, and offered the tenth of the spoil, fell ill on his return, as he was now an old man, at Heræa, whence he was conveyed to Lacedæmon alive; but expired there soon after, and was honoured with a funeral more magnificent than that of a mere man.<sup>1</sup> But when the days for the funeral solemnities were past,<sup>2</sup> and it was necessary for another king to be appointed, Leotychides, who said that he was the son of Agis, and Agesilaus his brother, stood forward as competitors for the throne. 2. Leotychides saying, "The law, Agesilaus, directs, not that the brother, but that the son of the king is to reign; though if there happen to be no son, the brother may in that case become king," Agesilaus rejoined, "Then I must be king." "How," said Leotychides, "when I am alive?" "Because," returned Agesilaus, "he whom you call your father, said that you were not his son." "But my mother, who knows much better than he, still declares that I am." "Neptune, however," said Agesilaus, "showed that what you assert is false, as he drove your father abroad by an earthquake from her

<sup>1</sup> The laws of Lycurgus, by the honours which they appointed to be paid to the Lacedæmonian kings at their death, signified that the people honoured them, not as mere men, but as heroes. Xen. de Rep. Laced. 15. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *ᾧωθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι.*] The conjecture of Dindorf, for the previous reading *ὥς εἰώθεσαν*. "As, at the death of a king of Sparta, there was a cessation from business for ten days, during three of which it was unlawful to sell anything, so it is probable that after the funeral a certain number of days was fixed, before the expiration of which a successor could not be installed." *Weiske*.

chamber ; and time, which is said to be the truest of witnesses, gives testimony with him to the same effect ; for you were born in the tenth month after he fled from her, and was never after seen in her chamber." 3. In this manner they disputed. But Diopceithes, a man who paid great attention to oracles, supported Leotychides, and said that there was an oracle of Apóllo enjoining them "to beware of a halting reign." Ly-sander however said in reply to him, on behalf of Agesilaus, that "he did not think the god desired them to beware lest their king should stumble and halt, but rather lest one who was not of the royal family should reign ; for that the royal power would assuredly be lame whenever men not descended from Hercules should rule the state." 4. The people, after hearing such arguments from both sides, chose Agesilaus for their king.

Agesilaus had not yet been a year on the throne, when, as he was offering one of the sacrifices appointed for the city, the augur told him that the gods indicated some conspiracy of the most dangerous kind. When he sacrificed a second time, the augur declared that the victims appeared still more threatening than before. When he sacrificed a third time, he said, "Signs are given to me, Agesilaus, just as if we were in the midst of enemies." They then sacrificed to the gods who avert evil, and to those who preserve the state, and having scarcely obtained favourable omens, they ceased. Within five days after the conclusion of this sacrifice, somebody gave information to the ephori of a conspiracy, and said that "Cinadon was leader in the affair." 5. Cinadon was a man of vigorous frame, and of powerful mind, but not one of the Equals.<sup>1</sup> When the ephori asked the informer what account he could give of the way in which the plot would be carried into effect, he said that "Cinadon, having conducted him to the outside of the forum, desired him to count how many Spartans there were in the forum ; and I," continued he, "having counted the king, the ephori, the senators, and about forty others, asked him, 'And why, Cinadon, have you told me to count them ?' 'Consider these,' he replied, 'as enemies, and all the rest now in the forum, who are more than

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν ὁμοίων.] The ὅμοιοι at Sparta were those who were alike eligible to all the honours and offices of state. See note on Anab. iv. 6. 14.

four thousand, as allies.'” He said also that Cinadon pointed out to him in the streets sometimes one, and sometimes two, that were enemies, and said that all the other people were auxiliaries, and that whatever Spartans were on their estates in the country, one, namely the master, was an enemy, while on every estate there were numbers of allies. 6. The ephori then inquiring how many Cinadon said were privy to the plot, he replied that he told him, as to that point, that “there were not very many in concert with the principal agents, but that they were trust-worthy, and declared that they were in communication with all the Helots, the newly-enfranchised, the inferior citizens, and the people in the parts about the city; for whenever any mention of the Spartans was made among them, no one could forbear from showing that he would willingly eat them up alive.”<sup>1</sup> 7. When the ephori further asked “whence they said they would get arms,” he answered, that Cinadon had stated to him, “Those of us who are already united, say we have arms enough;” and for the multitude, he said that Cinadon, conducting him into the iron-market, had pointed out numbers of daggers, swords, spits, axes, hatchets, and scythes, and added that “all the instruments with which men cultivate the ground, or hew wood or stone, would serve as weapons, while the greater part of the artificers had sufficient tools to fight with, especially against unarmed enemies.” The informer being finally interrogated “at what time the scheme was to be carried into execution,” replied that “directions had been given him to be in readiness at home.”

8. The ephori, after listening to his statement, were of opinion that he had given information of a well-concerted plot, and were greatly alarmed; nor did they summon even what was called the lesser assembly, but some of the senators, conferring together here and there, resolved to send Cinadon to Aulon, accompanied by some others of the younger men, with directions to bring back with him certain inhabitants of that place, and some Helots, whose names were written on his scytale. They desired him also to bring with him a certain woman, who was said to be the handsomest in the place, and was thought to corrupt all the Lacedæmonians, old as well as young, that went thither. 9. Cinadon had executed similar

<sup>1</sup> See note on Anab. iv. 8. 14.

commissions for the ephori before; and they now delivered to him the scytale on which were written the names of the persons that were to be apprehended. As he asked "which of the young men he should take with him," they said to him, "Go, and desire the eldest of the hippagretæ<sup>1</sup> to send with you six or seven of such of his men as may be at hand." They had previously taken care that the hippagretes should know whom he was to send, and that those who were sent should be apprized that they were to secure Cinadon. They moreover acquainted Cinadon that they would send three carriages, that they might not bring away their prisoners on foot, concealing from him as carefully as possible that they sent them with a view to his security alone. 10. They did not apprehend him in the city, because they were uncertain how far the plot might have spread, and wished first to hear from Cinadon himself who were his accomplices in it, before they themselves should be aware that information was given against them, lest they should make their escape. The party who took him were to keep him prisoner, and when they had learned from him the names of his accomplices, were to send them in writing to the ephori as speedily as possible. So intent indeed were the ephori on effecting their object, that they even despatched a troop of horse to support the party that was gone to Aulon.

11. As soon as Cinadon was secured, and a horseman arrived with the names of those whom he had put on his list, they instantly apprehended Tisamenus the soothsayer, and the other principal conspirators; and when Cinadon was brought back and examined, and had made a full confession and specified his accomplices, they at last asked him "with what object he had engaged in such a scheme." He replied, "in order that he might be inferior to no man in Lacedæmon." Soon after he was fastened, arms and neck, in a wooden collar, and scourged and pricked with lances; and in this condition he and his accomplices were led round the city. Thus they suffered the penalty of the law.

<sup>1</sup> There were three *hippagretæ* at Sparta, who were officers set over the ephebi, to practise them in various kinds of exercises, as is stated by Xenophon, de Rep. Laced. c. 4. *Schneider.*



## CHAPTER IV.

News being brought to Lacedæmon that a great fleet was being prepared in Phœnicia by the Persians, Agesilaus collects forces for an expedition into Asia, and takes Lysander with him. When he is going to sacrifice at Aulis, he is prevented, with insults, by the Bœotians. He sails to Ephesus, and having acquainted Tissaphernes that he was come to set free the Greek cities in Asia, Tissaphernes makes a truce with him until he should communicate with the king. Agesilaus religiously observes the truce; Tissaphernes pays too little regard to it. Lysander, conducting himself too ostentatiously, is sent away to the Hellespont, where he is of some service to Agesilaus. Tissaphernes, elated by a reinforcement from the king, prepares for war with Agesilaus, unless he should quit Asia. Agesilaus invades Phrygia, and carries off a great quantity of spoil. The cavalry of Pharnabazus encounter those of Agesilaus, who puts them to flight with the aid of his infantry. He prepares to raise an additional number of cavalry. In the spring he resumes hostilities, and eludes and defeats the forces of Tissaphernes, who, not being present in the engagement, is accused of treachery to the king, and beheaded by Tithraustes.

1. SHORTLY after these occurrences, a person named Herodes, a native of Syracuse, being with a master of a vessel in Phœnicia, and seeing there several Phœnician galleys, some arriving from other parts, some being manned where they were, and some still in a state of preparation, and hearing besides that there were to be three hundred in all, went on board the first vessel that was sailing for Greece, and gave notice to the Lacedæmonians that "the king and Tissaphernes were preparing this fleet, but whither it was to be sent," he said, "he did not know." 2. The Lacedæmonians being roused at this intelligence, and assembling their allies and consulting how they ought to act, Lysander, who believed that the Greeks would be far superior in naval force, and reflected how the troops that went up with Cyrus had saved themselves, persuaded Agesilaus to make an offer, that if they would give him thirty Spartans,<sup>1</sup> two thousand of the newly-enfranchised, and a body of six thousand of the allies, he would make an expedition into Asia. In addition to this suggestion, he wished

<sup>1</sup> The Lacedæmonians were accustomed to appoint a council of Thirty to attend the kings, committing to their charge the army, and sometimes the kings themselves. Plutarch, Ages. c. 6; Lysander. c. 23; Diod. Sic. xiv. 79; Xen. de Rep. Laced. c. 13. *Schneider* Lysander was one of the Thirty on this occasion.

to accompany Agesilaus himself, in order that he might re-establish, in concert with him, the governments of Ten which had been appointed by him in the several cities, and which had been abolished by the ephori, who ordered the people to return to their own forms of government. 3. Agesilaus accordingly engaging to undertake the expedition, the Lacedæmonians granted him all that he asked, and a supply of corn for six months. When he had offered such other sacrifices as were necessary, and especially those preparatory to crossing the borders, he set forward, and, sending messengers to the several cities, gave them notice how many men were to be sent from each, and where they were to join him; while he himself proposed to go and sacrifice at Aulis, where Agamemnon had sacrificed when he sailed to Troy. 4. When he arrived there, the Bœotarchs,<sup>1</sup> who heard that he was sacrificing, sent thither a party of horse, and forbade him to sacrifice there for the future; and the victims which they found sacrificed they threw off the altar. Agesilaus, making appeals to the gods, and feeling greatly enraged, went on board his galley, and sailed off. Arriving at Geræstus, and assembling there as many of his forces as he could, he set sail for Ephesus.

5. When he had arrived there, Tissaphernes, in the first place, sent messengers to him, and asked him "for what purpose he was come." He replied, "In order that the Greek cities in Asia may be free, like those in Greece with us." To this Tissaphernes rejoined, "If then you are willing to conclude a truce, until I can send messengers to the king, I think that you may attain your object and sail back again, if you think proper." "I should be willing to do so," replied Agesilaus, "if I were not apprehensive of being deceived by you. But it is in your power," he added, "on giving me a pledge of what you promise, to receive also a pledge from me that if you act in the matter without fraud, we will do no injury to your province during the truce." 6. On this proposal being made, Tissaphernes swore to Herippidas, Dercylidas, and Megillus, who were sent to him for the purpose, that "he would endeavour without fraud to procure a peace;"

<sup>1</sup> The Bœotarchs were the *undecemviri* of the Thebans, presidents of Bœotia both in war and peace. The number eleven is given by Thucydides, iv. 91, and by his Scholiast, ad ii. 2. *Weiske*.

and they swore to him in return, on the part of Agesilaus, that "he would, if Tissaphernes acted as he said, strictly observe the truce." Tissaphernes, however, soon ceased to observe what he had sworn; for, instead of fixing his thoughts on peace, he sent for a large body of troops from the king, in addition to those which he already had; but Agesilaus, although he was aware of his proceedings, nevertheless adhered to the truce.

While Agesilaus was passing his time in quiet and inactivity at Ephesus, the people in general, as the governments in the cities were unsettled, there being no longer democracies, as under the Athenians, nor councils of Ten, as under Lysander, made application, as they were acquainted with Lysander, to him, and solicited him to obtain from Agesilaus whatever they desired. Hence a vast number of persons were always following and paying court to him, so that Agesilaus seemed only a private man, and Lysander a king. That this state of things irritated Agesilaus, he afterwards showed; and the rest of the Thirty could not hold their peace for envy, but observed to Agesilaus that Lysander was acting illegally, in assuming too much ostentation even for the royal dignity; and when Lysander proceeded to introduce some of his suitors to Agesilaus, Agesilaus dismissed all those whom he knew that Lysander was anxious to support, without granting their requests. As the result, therefore, was always contrary to Lysander's wishes, he began to understand the state of things, and no longer permitted a crowd to follow him, but frankly told those who asked his assistance, that they would be less likely to succeed if he appeared in their favour. 9. Being concerned, too, at the dishonour thrown upon him, he went to Agesilaus, and said to him, "Were you always clever, Agesilaus, at humbling your friends?" "Yes, by Jupiter," replied he, "at least such as wish to seem greater than myself; but such as promote my honour I should be ashamed if I did not know how to honour in return." "Perhaps, then," said Lysander, "you act in a more reasonable way than I have acted; but for the future, that I may neither feel the dishonour of wanting influence with you, nor give you any personal offence, do me the favour to send me to some other post; for wherever I may be, I will strive to be of service to you." 10. As he made this proposal, it seemed advisable to

Agesilaus to comply with it; and he accordingly despatched him to the Hellespont. Here Lysander, having learned that Spithridates the Persian had been in some way insulted<sup>1</sup> by Pharnabazus, sought a conference with him, and persuaded him to revolt, and to bring with him his children, the money which he had in his possession, and two hundred cavalry. The rest Lysander left at Cyzicus, but put Spithridates himself, with his son, on board a vessel, and conveyed him to Agesilaus; who, on seeing him, was highly pleased at the adventure, and immediately proceeded to make inquiries about the province and government of Pharnabazus.

11. As Tissaphernes, when he was encouraged by the arrival of the troops that had come down from the king, declared war against Agesilaus, unless he should quit Asia, the rest of the allied force, and whatever Lacedæmonians were with the king, were evidently much troubled, deeming that the force with Agesilaus was inferior to that of the king of Persia; but Agesilaus, with an extremely cheerful countenance, desired the deputies to acquaint Tissaphernes that "he was under great obligations to him, as he had, by perjuring himself, rendered the gods his enemies, and made them, at the same time, favourable to the Greeks." Immediately afterwards he issued orders to the troops to prepare to take the field, and sent notice to the towns at which he had to stop in his route to Caria, to have provisions ready for sale. He sent also to the Ionians, Æolians, and the people on the Hellespont, to send their troops that were to join him to Ephesus.

12. Tissaphernes, as Agesilaus had no cavalry, as Caria was a country unsuitable for them, and as he thought Agesilaus was exasperated with him for his perfidy, concluded that he would assuredly march into Caria to attack his residence, and despatched all his infantry thither, whilst he led his cavalry round to the plain of the Mæander; imagining that he would be able to trample down the Greeks with his cavalry before they reached the parts in which cavalry could not act. Agesilaus, however, instead of going towards Caria, turned himself in a quite contrary direction, and proceeded towards Phrygia; and, receiving such reinforcements as met him on his route, he led them on with him, reduced the towns, and,

<sup>1</sup> Pharnabazus had sought to make the daughter of Spithridates his concubine. Xen. Agesil. iii. 3

by an invasion so unexpected, secured a vast quantity of spoil.

13. For some time he pursued his march without molestation. But when Dascyleium was at no great distance, his cavalry, that were in advance, rode up to a rising ground, that they might see what was before them. By chance, too, the cavalry of Pharnabazus, commanded by Rathines and Bagæus, his illegitimate brother, being about equal to the Greek cavalry in number, were just then sent forward by Pharnabazus, and rode up to the same eminence at the same time. Getting sight of one another, scarcely four hundred feet distant, both parties at first made a halt, the Grecian cavalry being formed four deep, like a body of foot, the Barbarians with not more than twelve men in front, but several deep. 14. Soon after the Barbarians advanced first to the charge; and when they closed hand to hand, whatever Greeks assailed the enemy, all broke their lances, while the Persians, who had spears made of cornel-wood, soon killed twelve men and two horses; and the Greeks were in consequence put to flight. But as Agesilaus advanced to their relief with the heavy-armed troops, the Barbarians retreated in their turn, and one of them was slain.

15. After this encounter between the cavalry had taken place, Agesilaus, on offering sacrifice the next day, with a view to advancing, found the victims inauspicious, and, in consequence of this indication, turned off and proceeded towards the coast. But being convinced that, unless he procured an efficient body of cavalry, he should be unable to march over the plains, he decided that he must procure them, that he might not be obliged to fight like one running away. He therefore obtained a list of the richest men in all the towns there, that they might maintain cavalry; and, giving notice that whoever supplied a horse, arms, and an approved rider, might be exempted from personal service, he caused his wishes to be executed as promptly as if each was eagerly seeking for a man to die in his stead.

16. In the next place, as soon as the spring appeared, he assembled his whole force at Ephesus; and, wishing to exercise his men, he offered prizes for such of the companies of heavy-armed as should show themselves in the finest condition, and for such of the troops of cavalry as should exhibit the

best horsemanship ; and he promised rewards, also, to such of the peltasts and archers as should appear ablest in their several capacities. In consequence, a person might have seen all the gymnasia full of men at their exercises, the horse-courses full of riders, and the javelin-men and archers improving themselves in their duties. 17. He indeed made the whole city in which he was quartered worthy of being seen ; for the market-place was crowded with horses and arms of all kinds for sale ; and the braziers, carpenters, smiths, curriers, and decorators were all engaged in preparing equipments for the field ; so that a person might really have thought the city to be a workshop of war. 18. Every spectator, too, would have felt encouraged at seeing Agesilaus walking in front, and his men following him with chaplets on their heads, as they went away from the places of exercise, and proceeded to offer their chaplets to Diana ; for where men reverence the gods, cultivate martial exercises, and are careful to obey their superiors, how can everything be otherwise than full of the best hopes ?

19. Reflecting also that a contempt of the enemy produces in men confidence on taking the field, he ordered the criers to sell such of the Barbarians as were taken prisoners by the plundering parties, without their upper garments. The soldiers, in consequence, seeing that their skins were extremely white, as they never stripped themselves for exercise, and that they were delicate and unfit for labour, as they constantly rode in carriages, thought that the war would be of no other nature than if they were going to fight with women.

20. A year had now expired from the time when Agesilaus had sailed from Greece ; so that the Thirty, of whom Lysander was chief, returned home by sea, and their successors, the principal of whom was Herippidas, arrived. Of these, Agesilaus appointed Xenocles and another over the cavalry ; Scythes over the heavy-armed that were of the newly-enfranchised ; Herippidas over those who had served with Cyrus ; and Migdon over the troops from the allied cities ; and gave them notice that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route into the best parts of the country, that they might thence recruit their bodies and their spirits so as be in a condition for action. 21. Tissaphernes, however, thought that he made this announcement only with a view to

deceive him again, and that he would now undoubtedly invade Caria. He accordingly despatched his cavalry, as before, into Caria, and stationed his cavalry at the plain of the Mæander. But Agesilaus had given no false intimation; for he marched at once, as he had signified, to the parts about Sardes; and proceeding for three days through a country void of enemies, he secured abundance of provisions for his army. 22. On the fourth day the enemy's cavalry appeared, and their commander ordered the officer in charge of the baggage to cross the river Pactolus and encamp; the cavalry themselves, seeing the followers of the Greeks dispersed to look for plunder, slew several of them. Agesilaus, observing what was taking place, ordered his cavalry to advance to their succour; and the Persians, on their side, when they saw the reinforcement coming up, collected themselves into a body, and drew up, with the whole of their numerous troops of cavalry, in order of battle. 23. Upon this, Agesilaus, knowing that the infantry of the enemy was not yet at hand, while on his own side none of the forces that he had procured were absent, thought it a favourable opportunity to come to an engagement, if he found it possible. Having offered sacrifice, therefore, he immediately led his main body against the cavalry arrayed in front of him, and ordered the youngest<sup>1</sup> of the heavy-armed men to hurry forward at the same pace with them, and told the peltasts also to advance running. He then ordered the cavalry to charge, as he and the whole army would follow close upon them. 24. The Persians stood, indeed, the charge of the cavalry, but when every species of danger threatened them at once, they gave way; and some of them immediately met their fate in the river,<sup>2</sup> while the rest fled. The Greeks pursued, and took their camp. The peltasts, as was to be expected, betook themselves to plundering; but Agesilaus surrounded all with his force, both friend and foe; and a vast quantity of spoil was captured, which was sold for more than seventy talents; the camels also were taken on that occasion, which Agesilaus brought into Greece.

25. When this engagement took place, Tissaphernes was at

<sup>1</sup> Τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβης.] Properly those of eight-and-twenty years of age, ἡβη, or puberty, being fixed by the Spartans at eighteen.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ.] *Ceciderunt in flumine, non inciderunt in flumen.* Dindorf.

Sardes; so that the Persians laid to his charge, that they had been betrayed by him. The king of Persia himself, too, knowing that Tissaphernes was the cause of his affairs being in ill condition, sent down Tithraustes, and had his head cut off.

Tithraustes, having executed the order, sent deputies to Agesilaus with this message: "He, Agesilaus, who was the cause of trouble to you and us, has received his punishment; but the king requires that you shall sail home, and that the cities in Asia, being left to govern themselves by their own laws, shall pay him the same tribute as formerly." 26. Agesilaus replying that "he could not comply with these requisitions without the consent of the authorities at home," Tithraustes rejoined, "But till you can learn the wishes of your countrymen, then, remove your camp into the province of Pharnabazus, since I have taken vengeance on your enemy here." "Until I can march thither, therefore," said Agesilaus, "supply me with provisions for my troops." Tithraustes then gave him thirty talents, and he proceeded, on receipt of them, into that part of Phrygia belonging to Pharnabazus.

27. As he was in the plain above Cyme, a message arrived from the government at home that "he was to direct the fleet as he judged best, and to appoint as admiral of it whomsoever he pleased." The Lacedæmonians adopted this measure from the following consideration, that if the same man should have the command of both, the land forces would feel far more confidence, as the efforts of both would be made in concert, and the fleet would feel more assured, as the land army would appear to support it wherever it might be necessary. 28. Agesilaus, accordingly, having received this commission, sent orders, in the first place, to the towns on the islands and on the coast, to build as many galleys as each of them might think proper. New galleys, in consequence, to the number of a hundred and twenty, were constructed, partly from what the towns engaged to furnish, and partly from what private individuals, who wished to oblige Agesilaus, contributed. 29. Peisander, his wife's brother, he appointed admiral, a man of ambition, and of strong natural abilities, but too little skilled in the proper management of a fleet.

Peisander accordingly set out to attend to his naval duties; and Agesilaus pursued his march, as he had commenced it, towards Phrygia.



## CHAPTER V.

Agésilas is desired by Tithraustes to quit Asia, but is so far from obeying that he contemplates an expedition against the king himself. Tithraustes sends an envoy into Greece with a large sum of money, to bribe several of the states to raise war against the Lacedæmonians. The envoy executes his commission with such subtlety and success, that the Lacedæmonians themselves are obliged to commence a war with the Thebans. The Lacedæmonians are unsuccessful; Lysander is killed at Haliartus, and Pausanias returns home with the army. Pausanias is found guilty of having neglected his duty to his country, and afterwards dies in exile at Tegea.

1. TITHRAUSTES, however, feeling convinced that Agésilas despised the king's power, and had not the least intention of quitting Asia, but rather cherished strong hopes of overcoming the king, was concerned how to act under the circumstances, and sent into Greece a Rhodian named Timocrates, giving him money to the amount of fifty talents of silver,<sup>1</sup> and directing him to distribute it among the principal men in the several states, on the understanding that they should promote war with the Lacedæmonians, requiring from them the strongest engagements to that effect. Having arrived in Greece, he gave money, at Thebes, to Androcleides, Ismenias, and Galaxidorus; at Corinth, to Timolaus and Polyanthes; and at Argos, to Cylon and those of his party. 2. The Athenians, even without receiving any share of the money, were ready enough to go to war, thinking it dishonourable to be ruled by the Spartans.<sup>2</sup> Those who had received portions of the money, spread calumnies regarding the Lacedæmonians in their respective cities; and when they had brought them to conceive a detestation of Sparta, they put the principal states in communication with each other.

3. But as the leading men at Thebes saw that unless somebody should commence hostilities, the Lacedæmonians would be unwilling to break the treaty with their allies, they prevailed

<sup>1</sup> £12,189 10s.; the talent being valued at £243 15s. See Mr. Hussey's Essay on Ancient Weights and Money, ch. iii. sect. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Νομιζοντές τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι.] The commentators hesitate about this passage. "Mancum hoc esse patet," says Weiske; "verba nemo conjecturâ restituit." Schneider has αὐτῶν in his text, but suggests the insertion of ἀνάξιον, with which we must of course read αὐτῶν: Νομιζοντές τε [ἀνάξιον] αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι [ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων]: "thinking it unworthy of themselves to be ruled," &c.

on the Locrians of Opus to levy contributions on a certain district, the right to which was disputed between the Phocians and themselves, expecting that the Phocians, when this took place, would invade Locris. Nor were they deceived; for the Phocians burst into Locris at once, and carried off spoil to many times the amount of the contributions levied. 4. Androcleides and his party then prevailed on the Thebans to assist the Locrians, as the Phocians had made an incursion, not into a disputed territory, but into Locris itself, which was confessedly in friendship and alliance with Thebes. The Thebans, therefore, in retaliation, having invaded Phocis and ravaged the country, the Phocians immediately sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, and entreated assistance, representing that they had not commenced the war, but had gone against the Locrians in self-defence. 5. The Lacedæmonians gladly caught at a pretext for an attack upon the Thebans, having long harboured resentment against them for their claim of the tenth<sup>1</sup> belonging to Apollo at Deceleia, and for their refusal to march with them against the Piræus;<sup>2</sup> and they accused them also of persuading the Corinthians not to march with them; they remembered, too, that they had prevented Agesilaus from sacrificing at Aulis,<sup>3</sup> and had even hurled the slain victims from the altars; and that they had furnished no aid to Agesilaus for his expedition to Asia. They considered also that it was a favourable time for leading an army against them, and for putting a stop to their insolence towards themselves; for their own affairs in Asia were prosperous, as Agesilaus was victorious, and no other war stood in their way in Greece. 6. The people of Lacedæmon being of this opinion, the ephori gave notice for a foreign expedition, and despatched Lysander to the Phocians, directing him to come with the Phocians themselves, with the Ceteans, the Heracleans, the Melians, and Ænians, to Haliartus; where also Pausanias, who was to take the command, engaged to arrive with the Lacedæmonians, and the other confederates from the Peloponnesus, by a specified day. Lysander executed all the directions that were given

<sup>1</sup> "The Thebans alone claimed the tenth from the spoil of the war, while the rest of the allies remained quiet; they were also discontented about the money which Lysander sent to Sparta." Plutarch, *Lysand.* c. 27. See also Justin, v. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See ii. 4. 30.

<sup>3</sup> See iii. 4. 4.

him, and, in addition, prevailed on the Orchomenians to detach themselves from the Thebans. 7. But Pausanias, after the sacrifices were favourable for crossing the borders, encamped at Tegea, and, sending through the country the officers that were to command the allies, waited for the troops to arrive from the neighbouring cities. However, as it was plain to the Thebans that the Lacedæmonians would invade their territory, they sent ambassadors to Athens, who delivered the following speech :

8. "The complaints which you make against us, O men of Athens, as having formed severe resolutions against you at the close of the war,<sup>1</sup> you make without justice ; for it was not the people that formed those resolutions ; it was only one man,<sup>2</sup> who happened then to be at the consultation of the allies, that spoke to that effect. But when the Lacedæmonians called on us to march with them against the Piræus, the whole people at once passed a vote 'not to join them.' As the Lacedæmonians, therefore, are exasperated against us chiefly on your account, we think it but right that you should send succours to our city. 9. Such of you, also, as were among the number of those in the city, we entreat still more earnestly to march with vigour against the Lacedæmonians ; for after having established you as an oligarchy, and involved you in hostilities with the people, they came hither with a large force in the character of your supporters, and then delivered you over to the multitude ; so that, as far as was in their power, you were utterly undone, and it was the multitude here that saved you.

10. "That you would wish, O men of Athens, to recover that power which you formerly possessed, we all know ; and by what means is it more likely that this object should be effected, than by succouring, of yourselves, those who are oppressed by the Lacedæmonians ? Be not afraid of them because they rule over many states, but rather be greatly encouraged, by that consideration, to resist them ; reflecting that you yourselves, when you had the greatest number of

<sup>1</sup> See ii. 2. 19.

<sup>2</sup> He is called Erianthus by Plutarch, *Lysand.* c. 15. He proposed that the city should be razed, and the ground on which it stood made a pasture for sheep.

subjects, had also the greatest number of enemies. As long, indeed, as they had nobody to whom they could revolt, they concealed their enmity against you; but when the Lacedæmonians stood forward as leaders, they at once showed what their feelings towards you were; 11. and be assured that if you and we, on the present occasion, appear openly uniting our strength against the Lacedæmonians, many who cherish hatred to them will openly declare it.

“That we speak what is true, you will, if you reflect, presently acknowledge. For what people of Greece continues now well-affected towards them? Have not the Argives been constantly their enemies? 12. The Eleians, deprived of a great portion of land, and of several towns, have become also their enemies. The Corinthians, Arcadians, and Achæans, we need hardly mention; people who, during the war with yourselves, were earnestly solicited to join them, and shared in all its toils, dangers, and expenses; but, when the Lacedæmonians had effected their objects, of what dominion, or honours, or gains, did they allow them to partake? They even think their helots worthy to be made harmosts, and have declared themselves, since their successes, despots over their free allies. 13. Those whom they seduced from you they have manifestly deceived; for, instead of giving them freedom, they have laid upon them a double weight of bondage, for they are oppressed both by the harmosts, and by the councils of ten that Lysander has established in every city. As to the monarch of Asia himself, who contributed the most to their victory over you, what better treatment does he meet with from them than he would have received if he had joined with you in subduing them?

14. “If you place yourselves at the head, then, of those who are thus aggrieved, how can it be improbable that you may become greater than any people ever were? When you were in power before, you had dominion only by sea; but now you may be masters of all, of us, of the Peloponnesians, of those whom you ruled before, and of the king himself, who has the largest share of power. We were allies of some consideration to them, as you yourselves know; but now it is apparent that we shall support you with far more vigour in every way than we then supported the Lacedæmonians; for

we shall give aid, not in behalf of islanders, or Syracusans, or foreigners, as at that time, but in behalf of our own selves thus suffering from injustice.

15. "You ought also to understand that the usurpation of the Lacedæmonians is far more easy to be overthrown than your government was; for you, having a fleet, ruled over people who had none; but they, being but few, encroach upon others many times as numerous as themselves, and not at all worse equipped for the field.

"These considerations, therefore, we lay before you; and be perfectly assured, men of Athens, that we regard ourselves as inviting you to a course of conduct that will be even more beneficial for your city than for ours."

16. The speaker, having made these representations, concluded. Many of the Athenians then spoke to the same effect, and all unanimously passed a decree for supporting the Thebans. Thrasybulus, showing the ambassadors the decree by way of answer,<sup>1</sup> remarked to them also, that though the Piræus was yet unwall'd, they would nevertheless venture to return them greater favours than they had themselves received: "for you, Thebans," he said, "merely forbore from joining our enemies against us, but we will actually fight for you against your enemies the Lacedæmonians, if they attack you." 17. The Thebans accordingly departed, and made preparations for their defence; the Athenians made arrangements for sending them succour.

The Lacedæmonians, indeed, lost no more time; for Pausanias their king marched into Bœotia with the forces from Sparta and those from the rest of the Peloponnesus, except that the Corinthians did not join them. Lysander, however, who was bringing up the troops from the Phocians, from Orchomenus, and from the adjacent parts, arrived at Haliartus before Pausanias. 18. When he was come thither, he did not wait quietly for the army from Lacedæmon, but advanced with the force which he had up to the walls of Haliartus. At first he solicited the people to revolt, and declare themselves independent; but as some of the Thebans, who were in the

<sup>1</sup> Ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα.] Thrasybulus seems to have read the decree to the ambassadors. *Schneider*. Dindorf compares the expression, ἀποκρινάμενοι τὴν γνώμην, in Demosth. de Halonneso, p. 81. 16.

city, prevented them from doing so, he made an attack upon the walls. 19. The Thebans, hearing of the assault, hurried off, both heavy-armed and cavalry, to succour the place; but whether, unobserved by Lysander, they fell suddenly upon him, or whether he, perceiving their approach, awaited them in full assurance of victory, is uncertain; this, however, is undisputed, that a battle was fought under the walls, and a trophy erected at the gates, of Haliartus. As the Lacedæmonian party, Lysander being killed,<sup>1</sup> fled to the mountain, the Thebans pursued them with great vigour. 20. But when, in their pursuit, they had gained the ascent, and difficulties and defiles prevented their progress, the heavy-armed men faced about and hurled down javelins and stones upon them; and as two or three of the foremost fell, and they rolled down large pieces of rock upon the rest, and pressed upon them with great spirit, the Thebans were forced to take flight down the hill, and more than two hundred of them were killed.

21. During that day, therefore, the Thebans remained dispirited, thinking that they had suffered no less loss than they had inflicted; but on the next day, when they found that the Phocians had gone off in the night, and that the rest of the confederates were taking their departure to their several homes, they then felt more elated at what had taken place. But when again Pausanias came in sight, with the army from Lacedæmon, they thought themselves once more in extreme peril, and it was said that deep silence and dejection prevailed throughout their force. 22. Yet as, on the next day, the Athenians arrived and formed a junction with them, and Pausanias neither advanced nor prepared for battle, the spirits of the Thebans began to be greatly exalted. Pausanias, on his side, having called together his generals and captains, held a council whether he should give battle, or fetch off Lysander, and those who had fallen with him, under favour of a truce. But as not only Pausanias himself, but the rest of the Lacedæmonians that were in authority, reflected that Lysander was no more, and that his army was defeated and dispersed; that the Corinthians had utterly refused to follow them; and

<sup>1</sup> Lysander was killed by Nearchus of Haliartus, on the hill Archelis, which was also called Alopecus, near the river Hoplites, according to Plutarch, *de Oracul. Defect. and Lysand.* c. 39. *Schneider.*

that the troops who were with them were serving unwillingly; and as they considered, too, that the cavalry of the enemy was numerous, and their own but few, and, what was most important of all, that the dead were lying under the walls, so that it would not be easy for them to fetch them off, even if they gained a victory, because of the enemy on the towers; they deemed it advisable, on all these accounts, to bring off the dead under a truce. 24. But the Thebans declared that they would not give up the dead, except on condition that the Lacedæmonians should quit the country. The Lacedæmonians, however, listened to these terms with pleasure, and, taking off the dead, prepared to march out of Bœotia. When these matters were settled, the Lacedæmonians commenced their retreat with great dejection, while the Thebans went off with extreme insolence; and if any of the Lacedæmonians, on their march, trespassed in the slightest degree on the grounds of any person, they drove them back with blows into the road. Thus was this army of the Lacedæmonians disbanded.

25. However, Pausanias, when he returned home, was brought to trial for his life. Being accused of having arrived later than Lysander at Haliartus, though he had engaged to be there on the same day; of having resolved to recover the dead by a truce instead of a battle; and of having let the popular party at Athens escape,<sup>1</sup> when he had surprised them at the Piræus; and being, besides, absent on the day appointed for his trial, sentence of death was pronounced against him; and he fled to Tegea, where he died a natural death. Such were the events that occurred in Greece.

<sup>1</sup> For this supposed offence Pausanias had already been tried and acquitted: Pausan. iii. 5, p. 215. *Schneider*.

## BOOK IV.

## CHAPTER I.

**Agesilaus**, by the advice of **Spithridates**, proceeds to **Paphlagonia**, and makes an alliance with **Otys** the king, to whom he marries the daughter of **Spithridates**. He winters at **Dascyleium**, where **Spithridates**, on being deprived of his share of some spoil that he had taken, left him, and went off to **Ariæus**. A conference is held between **Pharnabazus** and **Agesilaus**, at which **Pharnabazus** states that if he should be put under the power of another by the king of **Persia**, he would join **Agesilaus**, but that, if the king should give him supreme authority, he would oppose **Agesilaus** to the utmost of his power. **Agesilaus**, charmed with his frankness, desists from ravaging his province. But as he is meditating an expedition against the king of **Persia**, he is recalled to defend his country.

1. **WHEN** **Agesilaus** arrived, at the beginning of autumn, at that part of **Phrygia** under the government of **Pharnabazus**, he proceeded to burn and lay waste the country, and took several cities, some by force, and others by voluntary surrender. 2. But as **Spithridates**<sup>1</sup> told him that if he would accompany him into **Paphlagonia**, he would bring the king<sup>2</sup> of the **Paphlagonians** to a conference with him, and make him his ally, he readily marched thither, having long desired to detach some nation<sup>3</sup> from the king.

3. As soon as he entered **Paphlagonia**, **Otys** came to him, and agreed to make an alliance; for, though he had received a summons from the king, he had not gone up in obedience to it. At the solicitation of **Spithridates**, **Otys** left with **Agesilaus** a thousand horse and two hundred peltasts.

4. **Agesilaus**, feeling grateful to **Spithridates** for these services, said to him, "Tell me, **Spithridates**, would you not be willing to marry your daughter to **Otys**?" "Much more willing indeed," replied **Spithridates**, "than he would be to take for a wife the daughter of an exile, when he is king over an extensive territory and great forces." This was all that was said of the marriage on that occasion. 5. But

<sup>1</sup> iii. 4. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Called **Otys** in the next sect.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀφιστάναι τι ἔθνος.] **Schneider**, **Weiske**, and **Morus** read τὸ ἔθνος.



when Oty's was going away, he went to Agesilaus to take his leave; and Agesilaus, sending Spithridates out of the way, entered upon the subject in the presence of the Thirty, 6. saying, "Tell me, Oty's, of what sort of family is Spithridates?" Oty's replied that he was inferior in birth to no one of the Persians. "And have you observed," said Agesilaus, "how handsome a youth his son is?" "How can I have failed to do so? for I supped last night in his company." "But they say that he has a daughter much more handsome." "By Jupiter, then," said Oty's, "she must be handsome indeed." 7. "And for my part," said Agesilaus, "since you are become our friend, I would recommend that this daughter of his should become your wife. She is extremely beautiful, and what is more pleasing to a husband than beauty? and she is the daughter of a man of the highest birth, and of so great power, that having been wronged by Pharnabazus, he has inflicted such vengeance upon him as to render him a fugitive from his whole province, as you yourself see." 8. "Be assured, too," added he, "that as he is able to avenge himself upon Pharnabazus his enemy, so he would be able to do service to a friend. Consider also that, if this connexion is formed, it is not Spithridates only that will be joined in affinity with you, but myself and all the Lacedæmonians, and, as we rule Greece, the rest of Greece besides." 9. And if you comply with my proposal, who would ever celebrate his marriage with greater pomp than yourself? For what bride have so many horsemen, and peltasts, and heavy-armed troops, ever escorted home, as will escort yours home to you?" 10. Oty's then asked, "Do you make this proposal, Agesilaus, with the sanction of Spithridates?" "By the gods," replied Agesilaus, "he gave me no commission to make any such suggestion. For myself, however, though I rejoice exceedingly when I take vengeance on an enemy, I am sensible of feeling much greater joy when I discover anything good for my friends." 11. "Why, then," said Oty's, "do you not ask him whether the proposal is agreeable to him?" "Go you, therefore, Herippidas," said he, "and prevail on him to be of the same mind with us." 12. Herippidas and his colleagues accordingly rose up and went to use their influence with him. As they made some delay, "Are you willing, Oty's," said Agesilaus, "that we should send for him hither?" "Indeed I think,"

replied Otys, "that he would be persuaded by you sooner than by all the rest." Agesilaus accordingly called in Spithridates and the others. 13. As they came forward, Herippidas immediately said, "Why should we give a long account, Agesilaus, of everything else that has been said? for, in conclusion, Spithridates says that he will gladly do whatever may please you." 14. "It pleases me, then," rejoined Agesilaus, "that you, Spithridates, with the favour of fortune, should give your daughter to Otys, and that you, Otys, should take her. We should not however be able to escort the damsel by land before the spring." "But, by Jupiter," returned Otys, "she may at once be sent by sea, if you desire it." 15. Having accordingly given their hands to one another to adhere to this contract, they sent Otys away.

Agesilaus, as he knew that Otys was impatient, manned a galley without delay, and, having ordered Callias the Lacedæmonian to take off the damsel in it, marched himself towards Dascyleium, where Pharnabazus had a palace, round which were a number of populous villages, stored with abundance of provisions. 16. There was also excellent hunting there, both in the parks and in the open grounds; while a river, full of all sorts of fish, surrounded the whole; and there were plenty of birds, too, for those who were skilful in fowling. Here he passed the winter, obtaining supplies from the place itself, or fetching them by means of foraging parties. 17. But as the soldiers, on one occasion, were getting provisions without any apprehension from the enemy, or taking any precaution against them, because they had hitherto suffered no injury, Pharnabazus, with two scythed-chariots, and about four hundred horse, surprised them while they were scattered over the plain. 18. The Greeks, when they saw him advancing, ran together in a body to the number of about seven hundred. Pharnabazus made no delay, but posting his chariots in front, and taking his own station with the cavalry behind, gave orders to charge the enemy. 19. As the chariots, dashing in among the Greeks, scattered their force, the cavalry soon despatched about a hundred of them; the rest fled to Agesilaus, who happened to be at hand with the heavy-armed troops.

20. The third or fourth day after this occurrence, Spithridates discovered that Pharnabazus was encamped at Caue, a

large village about a hundred and sixty stadia distant, and immediately sent intelligence of the circumstance to Herippidas. 21. Herippidas, who was eager to achieve some splendid exploit, asked Agesilaus for two thousand heavy-armed men, as many peltasts, the cavalry belonging to Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, and as many of the Greeks besides as he could persuade to accompany him. 22. As Agesilaus promised to let him have them, he proceeded to offer sacrifice, and, having found favourable omens, finished the sacrifice in the evening. Immediately after, he ordered the men to take their supper and join him in front of the camp. 23. When darkness came on, however, not half of each troop had come out; yet, for fear that the rest of the Thirty, if he should draw back from the enterprise, would turn him to ridicule, he marched off with what force he had; 24. and as he fell suddenly, at break of day, on the camp of Pharnabazus, many of his advanced guard, consisting of Mysians, were killed; the Persians fled, and the camp was taken, with a great quantity of plate and other valuables, that formed the equipment of Pharnabazus, as well as abundance of baggage, and a vast number of beasts of burden; 25. for as Pharnabazus was afraid that, if he made any stay in a place, he should be surrounded and besieged, he removed, like the Nomadic tribes, sometimes to one part of the country, sometimes to another, concealing his place of encampment with the utmost caution. 26. But when the Paphlagonians and Spithridates were bringing off the booty that had been taken, Herippidas, posting his centurions and captains for the purpose, took away from Spithridates and the Paphlagonians all that they had, in order that he himself might bring in as much booty as possible to the officers appointed to sell it. 27. To this treatment, however, they would not submit, but thinking themselves wronged and insulted, packed up their baggage and went off in the night to Sardes to join Ariæus,<sup>1</sup> being confident of a favourable reception with him, because he had revolted from the king, and was at war with him. 28. To Agesilaus nothing was a matter of greater concern, during the campaign, than

<sup>1</sup> The same that had joined Cyrus the younger when he went to war with his brother Artaxerxes, Anab. i. 8. By Diod. Sic., xiv. 24, he is called *the satrap of Cyrus*. Schneider.

this desertion of Spithridates, Megabates,<sup>1</sup> and the Paphlagonians.

29. There was a man named Apollophanes, a native of Cyzicus, who had been for a long time a guest-friend of Pharnabazus, and had at this period also become a guest-friend to Agesilaus. This man remarked to Agesilaus that he thought he could bring Pharnabazus to a conference with him about a peace. As Agesilaus listened to him, he brought Pharnabazus, after obtaining from him a truce, and a pledge of faith, to a place which had been agreed upon, where Agesilaus and the Thirty were seated on the grass and waiting for him. 30. Pharnabazus came in a dress of great value; but as his attendants were spreading carpets for him, on which the Persians sit at ease, he was ashamed, when he saw the simplicity of Agesilaus, to indulge himself in such a manner, and threw himself down, as he was, on the bare ground. 31. In the first place they saluted one another, and then, as Pharnabazus extended his hand, Agesilaus extended his in return, when Pharnabazus, for he was the elder, began to speak:

32. "I was a friend and ally to you, Agesilaus, and all you Lacedæmonians who are present, when you were at war with the Athenians; I both strengthened your fleet by supplying you with money, and, by land, I fought on horseback in company with you, and pursued your enemies into the sea;<sup>2</sup> nor can you accuse me of acting with duplicity, like Tissaphernes, either in deed or word towards you. 33. But, after conducting myself thus in regard to you, I receive such treatment from you, that I cannot get even a meal in my own province, unless I gather up, like the beasts, a portion of what you may have left; while I see the beautiful houses, and the parks stocked with timber and cattle, which my father left me, and in which I delighted, cut down or burnt. If, therefore, I do not know what is right and just, teach me yourselves how these can be the actions of men who know how to return good offices."

34. Thus spoke Pharnabazus, and the Thirty all felt ashamed

<sup>1</sup> The love of Agesilaus for this youth is noticed at some length by Xenophon in his *Agesilaus*.

<sup>2</sup> i. l. 6.

before him, and kept silence. Agesilaus, however, after some little time, addressed him thus :

"I think that you are aware, Pharnabazus, that in the cities of Greece men form connexions of hospitality with one another, yet, when the states of which they are members go to war with each other, they exercise hostilities, in behalf of their respective countries, even on those with whom they are in hospitable union, and they may, if it so happen, kill one another. We, in like manner, being now at war with your king, are obliged to regard all that is his as hostile to us ; yet to yourself, individually, we should desire, above all things, to be friends. 35. If, indeed, you were merely to make an exchange, and take us for your masters instead of having the king for your master, I would not advise you to make such exchange ; but it is now in your power, if you join us, to live in the full enjoyment of what belongs to you, without paying obeisance to any one, or having any master at all ; and I consider, indeed, that to be free is worth all the riches in the world. 36. Yet we do not call upon you, while you become free, to become at the same time poor, but, by using our services as allies, to enlarge, not the dominions of the king, but your own, and to oblige those who are now your fellow-slaves to become your subjects. And if you be free, and at the same time become rich, what will you want to be completely happy?"

37. "Shall I then," asked Pharnabazus, "tell you in one word what I mean to do?" "It will be well for you to do so," said Agesilaus. "Then," continued Pharnabazus, "if the king sends down another satrap, and orders me to be subject to him, I shall willingly become your friend and ally. But if he assigns the supreme command to me, you may be assured that (such, it seems, is the influence of ambition) I shall prosecute the war against you to the utmost of my power." 38. Agesilaus, on hearing this, took hold of his hand and said, "Noble-minded man, would that, being such as you are, you may become our friend ! But be assured of one thing, that I will now march out of your province as soon as I can ; and, for the future, if the war continue, we will, as long as we have another to attack, forbear from molesting you and yours."

39. Having spoken thus, Agesilaus put an end to the conference, and Pharnabazus, mounting his horse, rode away ;

but his son by Parapitas,<sup>1</sup> a person still in the beauty of youth, lingered behind, and, running up to Agesilaus, said, "I take you, Agesilaus, for my guest-friend." "And I receive you for mine," replied Agesilaus. "Remember me, then," said he, and immediately presented his lance (and a beautiful one he had) to Agesilaus, who accepted it, and as his secretary,<sup>2</sup> Idæus, had beautiful trappings on his horse, he took them off, and gave them to the young man in return. The son then leaped upon his horse and followed the father. 40. Some time after, when, in the absence of Pharnabazus, another brother deprived the son of Parapitas of his command, and drove him into exile, Agesilaus paid him great attention in other respects, and also, when he conceived a great affection for an Athenian youth, the son of Eualces, used every exertion that he might be admitted, for his sake, to the stadium at Olympia, though he was taller than any of the other youths.<sup>3</sup>

41. Agesilaus, as he had promised Pharnabazus, immediately marched out of his province; and soon after the spring came on. Having advanced into the plain of Thebe, he encamped about the temple of Diana Astyrene,<sup>4</sup> where he collected, from all quarters, a numerous force in addition to that which he had; for he was preparing to march as far up the country as he could, considering that whatever people he left behind him, he would completely detach from the king.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκ τῆς Παπαίτας.] Perhaps we should read Παπαίταδος, from the nominative Παπαίτας, since, according to Herodotus, i. 139, all Persian proper names ended in *ς*. *Weiske*. I have adopted *Weiske*'s suggestion.

<sup>2</sup> Τοῦ γραφέως.] Γραφεὺς in this passage does not mean a *painter*, but a *secretary*, a character that might oftener be wanted by the Lacedæmonians, both in the field and at home. This is the sense given to the word by Valckenaer ad Theoc. p. 263, and, as Morus observes, by Trotz in his Dissert. *de Scribis*. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> He wished to contend for some prize among the boys, but appeared, by his size, to have exceeded the proper age. See Plutarch, Ages. c. 13.

<sup>4</sup> From Astyrus, a town of Mysia. *Weiske*. See Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 615.

## CHAPTER II.

Agesilaus returns to Greece. The Corinthians consult the Bœotians and their other allies about the proper method of going to war with Sparta; the Spartans invade the territory of Sicyon. In a battle which ensues, the allies of the Lacedæmonians are all defeated except the Pellenians; the Lacedæmonians themselves are victorious, and make great havoc among the enemy.

1. SUCH were the occupations in which Agesilaus was engaged. But the Lacedæmonians, when they knew for certain that money was come into Greece, and that the chief cities were combining to go to war with them, thought their city in great danger, and judged it necessary to take the field. 2. They accordingly made preparations for the purpose, and despatched, at the same time, Epicydides to Agesilaus. Epicydides, when he came into the king's presence, told him how things were in other respects, and that "the state sent him orders to come to the succour of his country as soon as possible." 3. Agesilaus, on hearing this message, was greatly concerned, contemplating the honours and expectations of which he would be disappointed; nevertheless, calling an assembly of the allies, he communicated to them the orders which had been sent him by the government, and stated that it was incumbent on him to go to support his country; "but," said he, "if matters succeed well there, be assured, my friends and confederates, that I shall not be unmindful of you, but shall return to accomplish what you desire." 4. On hearing these words, many shed tears, and all declared their resolution to go with Agesilaus to the aid of Sparta, and, if affairs in Greece proved fortunate, to return with him again into Asia. They in consequence prepared themselves to follow him.

5. Agesilaus left Euxenus as harmost in Asia, and with him not less than four thousand troops for garrisons, that he might be able to secure the cities. But observing that many of the soldiers were more inclined to stay where they were than to bear arms against Greeks,<sup>1</sup> and yet being desirous to

<sup>1</sup> Having experienced the timidity of the Persians, and having begun to enjoy their effeminacy and splendour, they were more willing to continue the present war in Asia than to engage in another against their own countrymen. *Schneider.*

take with him the greatest possible number, in the best possible condition, he offered prizes for such of the cities as should send in the choicest bodies of men, as well as to such of the captains of the mercenaries, the heavy-armed, the archers, and the peltasts, as should present their companies in the best state of equipment. He gave notice also to the commanders of cavalry, that he would give prizes to such of them as exhibited their troops best mounted and best accoutred. 6. The decision he said that he would make in the Chersonesus, as soon as they had crossed over from Asia into Europe, that they might fully understand that all who engaged in the campaign must equip themselves carefully.<sup>1</sup> 7. The prizes were chiefly arms for infantry and cavalry, elegantly made; there were also golden crowns; and the whole of the prizes were worth not less than four talents. Such a sum being expended, arms of great value were provided for the army. 8. When he had passed over the Hellespont, judges were appointed; of the Lacedæmonians, Menascus, Herippidas, and Orsippus; of the allies, one from each city. Agesilaus, as soon as he had made the adjudication, set forward with his army by the same road which Xerxes had taken when he invaded Greece.

9. In the mean time the ephori had given notice of an expedition; and the government, as Agesipolis was yet a minor, commissioned Aristodemus, who was of the royal family, and guardian to the young king, to take the command of the army. 10. When the Lacedæmonians had marched forth, and their adversaries were assembled, the latter held a council how they might come to a battle with the greatest advantage to themselves; and Timolaus the Corinthian spoke as follows: 11. "The power of the Lacedæmonians, my friends and allies, seems to me to resemble the course of rivers; for rivers, at their sources, are small and easy to be crossed, but the farther they go from their sources, the stronger do other rivers, that flow into them, render their streams. 12. In like manner the Lacedæmonians, at the point from which they commence their course, are alone, but, as they proceed, and attach other peo-

<sup>1</sup> ἑκκρίνειν.] The critics are uncertain whether to take this verb in an active or neuter sense; whether to refer it to the officers, in the sense of *accuratum militum delectum habere*, or to the soldiers, in the sense of *accuratè se parare*. I have, with Schneider, preferred the latter. Weiske adopts the other.



ple to them, they become more numerous and more difficult to be resisted. I see also," he added, "that such as wish to destroy wasps, are, if they attempt to hunt them as they issue from their nests, stung by vast numbers of them; but that if, while they are still in the nest, they apply fire to it, they suffer nothing, but overcome the wasps. Taking instruction from these examples, I think it best for us to fight our battle in Sparta itself, or, if not, as near to it as possible." 13. As he appeared to offer reasonable advice, they decided upon the course which he recommended. But whilst they were settling about the command, and discussing how deep the army should be formed, (lest, if the states ranged their troops too deep, they should give the enemy an opportunity of surrounding them,) the Lacedæmonians, during the interval, having joined to themselves the Tegeans and Mantineans, had passed beyond the parts near the sea.<sup>1</sup> 14. As both parties advanced, the forces of the Corinthians were now almost at Nemea, and the Lacedæmonians and their allies at Sicyon. As the latter were effecting a passage by Epieicia,<sup>2</sup> the light troops of the enemy, by discharging stones and arrows at them from the heights, had at first grievously annoyed them; 15. but when they came down to the sea, they proceeded through the plain there, ravaging and burning the country; their adversaries, however, who were still advancing, came to an encampment with the ravine<sup>3</sup> in front of them. The Lacedæmonians, too, when they came up, and were scarcely ten stadia from the enemy, encamped there also and remained quiet.

16. I will now state the force on each side. The heavy-armed troops of the Lacedæmonians were assembled to the number of six thousand; of the Eleians, Triphylians, Acroreans, and Lasionians, there were nearly three thousand; of the Sicyonians fifteen hundred; of the Epidaurians, Trœze-nians, Hermionians, and Halieans, not less than three thou-

<sup>1</sup> Ἐξήσαν τὴν ἀμφίαν.] With ἀμφίαν Weiske is doubtless right in understanding χωράν. It seems to be the parts towards Temenium, on the Sinus Argolicus, that are signified.

<sup>2</sup> It is mentioned again, iv. 4. 13. That it was high ground appears from the context, for when the Lacedæmonians had crossed it, they came down into a plain near the sea. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Τὴν χαράδραν.] It was a well-known χαράδρα in the territory of Nemea; see *Æschines De falsa Legatione*, p. 331. "I suppose it to be the same that is called χάραδρος by Thucyd. v. 60." *Schneider*.

sand. In addition to these there were about six hundred Lacedæmonian cavalry; three hundred Cretan archers followed, and slingers, from the Marganians, Letrians, and Amphidolians, not fewer than four hundred. The Phliasians did not join the army, for they alleged that they had made a truce. Such was the force on the side of the Lacedæmonians. 17. On that of the enemy were assembled, of the Athenians, six hundred heavy-armed troops; of the Argives, there were said to be about seven thousand; of the Bœotians, as the Orchomenians had not arrived, about five thousand; of the Corinthians three thousand; and from the whole of Eubœa not fewer than three thousand. This was the number of their heavy-armed troops; the cavalry numbered, from the Bœotians, as that of Orchomenos had not arrived, about eight hundred; from the Athenians, six hundred; from the Chalcideans in Eubœa a hundred; and from the Opuntian Locrians fifty. Their light troops, including those of the Corinthians, were more numerous than those of the Lacedæmonians; for the Ozolian Locrians, Melians, and Acarnanians, had joined them.

18. Such was the strength of the two parties. The Bœotians, as long as they held the left wing,<sup>1</sup> were not in the least hurry to join battle; but as soon as the Athenians moved over against the Lacedæmonians, and they themselves occupied the right wing, and were posted in front of the Achæans, they immediately said that the sacrifices were favourable, and ordered their men to prepare for battle; and neglecting, in the first place, the custom of forming sixteen deep,<sup>2</sup> they drew up their main body of a very great depth, and still bore away towards the right, that they might stretch beyond the enemy with their wing; while the Athenians, that they might not

<sup>1</sup> As long as they stood in the left wing opposed to the Lacedæmonians. A change of disposition was then made, and the Thebans were posted in the right wing over against the Achæans. Xenophon therefore plainly charges the Thebans with timidity, intimating that they were afraid to attack the Lacedæmonians. Whether the charge be just or unjust, I cannot tell; but Xenophon seizes every opportunity of making his favourite Lacedæmonians appear to advantage. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Τοῦ εἰς ἑκαίδεκα.] That depth was therefore most approved in those times. It was that of the Macedonian phalanx, as is shown by Polybius, *Eclog. Hist. l. xvii. Weiske*.

be separated, continued to follow them, although aware that there was a risk that they would be surrounded.

19. For a time, however, the Lacedæmonians had no suspicion of the enemy's approach; for the ground was covered with shrubs; but when they raised the pæan, they understood how things were, and immediately gave orders, on their side, for all to prepare to engage. When they were drawn up in the order which the captains of the auxiliaries had settled for their several bodies, they exhorted the men to follow their leaders, and the Lacedæmonians bore off towards the right,<sup>1</sup> and so far outstretched the enemy's wing, that of the Athenian tribes,<sup>2</sup> six were opposite the Lacedæmonians, and four opposite the Tegeans. 20. They were now not a furlong asunder, when the Lacedæmonians, having sacrificed, as is their custom, a she-goat to the goddess of the chase,<sup>3</sup> led forward against the enemy, bending round that part of their line which stretched beyond the enemy's wing, to enclose them. When they joined battle, all the other allies of the Lacedæmonians were defeated by their antagonists, and the Pellensians only, who were opposed to the Thespians, maintained the contest, several on both sides falling on the spot. 21. As for the Lacedæmonians themselves, they defeated all the Athenians that they attacked, and surrounding them with that portion of their line that extended beyond them, slew them in great numbers, and, as they suffered no damage from the enemy, continued to push forward in firm array. Thus they passed the four tribes of the Athenians before they returned from the pursuit, so that none of these Athenians were killed, except the few that may have been slain by the Tegeans in the encounter with them. 22. The Lacedæmonians also met the Argives as they were retreating, but, when the chief commander was preparing to charge them in front, some one is said to have called out "to let the first pass," and as this was done, they assailed them, as they hurried past, on their undefended flanks, and killed a great number of them. They like-

<sup>1</sup> As the Bœotians had done, sect. 18.

<sup>2</sup> That the Athenian soldiers were enrolled according to their tribes, and that those tribes were kept distinct in the field, has been shown both by Sigonius and Morus, as well from this passage as from Thucyd. vi. 98. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Τῇ Ἀγγορείᾳ.] On this custom see Xen. de Rep. Laced. c. 13; Ælian V. H. ii. 25; Valck. ad Herod. p. 489. *Schneider*. The derivation is from ἀγρᾶ, præda.

wise intercepted the Corinthians in their retreat, and encountered, too, some of the Thebans returning from the pursuit, and cut off several of them. 23. Such being the result of the contest, the vanquished at first retreated towards the walls, but, as the Corinthians shut them out, they took up their quarters again in their former camp. The Lacedæmonians, on the other side, returned to the place where they had first engaged the enemy, and erected a trophy. Such was the way in which this battle was fought.

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### CHAPTER III.

News of this battle is brought to Agesilaus on his march. He is harassed in Thessaly by the allies of the Bœotians, but at length repels the Thesalian cavalry with his own. He receives intelligence of an unfortunate battle by sea, but conceals his knowledge of it from his troops, who are soon afterwards victorious in a skirmish. The battle of Coroneia, and the merits of Agesilaus in it. He dedicates a tenth of the spoil to Apollo.

1. AGESILAUS was still hastening from Asia to the aid of his country; but when he was at Amphipolis, Dercylidas<sup>1</sup> met him with the news that "the Lacedæmonians had gained a victory, and that only eight<sup>2</sup> of their number had been killed, but a great many of the enemy;" he informed him also that "no small number of the confederates had fallen." 2. As Agesilaus then asked him, "Would it not be well, Dercylidas, if the cities who have sent their troops along with me, should be informed of this victory as soon as possible?" Dercylidas replied, "It is probable at least that, on hearing of it, they would feel greater confidence." "Would not you yourself, then," said Agesilaus, "give them the best account of it, as you were present on the occasion?" Dercylidas was pleased to hear him ask that question, for he had always been fond of going abroad, and replied, "If you command me." "I do command you, then," said Agesilaus, "and desire you besides to tell them that if affairs succeed well here, we shall return to them again as we promised." 3. Dercylidas, accord-

<sup>1</sup> He had been sent by Agesilaus to Tissaphernes, b. iii. c. 4, and seems afterwards to have returned into Europe. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> The author artfully gives the number of the Spartans that were killed, but conceals, as he often does, that of the allies. *Schneider*

ingly, proceeded at once<sup>1</sup> towards the Hellespont; and Agesilaus, passing through Macedonia, arrived in Thessaly. Here the Larissæans, Crannonians, Scotussæans, and Pharsalians, who were in alliance with the Bœotians, and all the Thessalians indeed, except such as were then in exile, pursued and harassed his rear. 4. For a time he led his army in an oblong body, with half his cavalry in the van, and the other half in the rear; but when the Thessalians, by continually assailing the hindmost, retarded his march, he sent off all the cavalry from the front, except those about his own person, to strengthen the rear. 5. But when they stood face to face with each other, the Thessalians, thinking it unadvisable to fight with cavalry only against heavy-armed infantry, wheeled about, and retreated at a slow pace, and those of Agesilaus leisurely followed them. 6. Agesilaus, observing that both were acting injudiciously, despatched the horsemen that he had about him, a very efficient body of men, with orders to the others to pursue with their utmost speed, and to join in the pursuit themselves, and not to allow the enemy again an opportunity of facing about. 7. When the Thessalians saw them thus unexpectedly advancing, some of them did not even turn round, and others, endeavouring to do so, but having the enemy on their flanks, were made prisoners. 8. Polycharmus, however, the commander of the Pharsalian horse, faced round upon his pursuers, and was killed with those about him. As soon as this had happened, a disastrous flight ensued among the Thessalians, so that some of them were killed, and others taken prisoners; and they did not stop till they reached the mountain Nanthacium. 9. Agesilaus then erected a trophy between Pras and Nanthacium, and halted there, greatly delighted with his exploit, in having defeated, with cavalry which he himself had formed, a people who prided themselves on their equestrian skill. Next day, having crossed the Achæan mountains<sup>2</sup> at Phthia, he proceeded, during the rest of his march, through the country of friends, until he reached the frontiers of Bœotia.

<sup>1</sup> Ἠδῆ.] Some manuscripts have *πρῶτον*. "I hesitate," says Schneider, "which to choose." Dindorf prefers *πρῶτον*, but I have on this occasion deserted him.

<sup>2</sup> There was a district in Thessaly called Achaia, from which the Achæi are said to have originally come.

10. As he was going to enter the country, the sun was observed to appear crescent-shaped,<sup>1</sup> and news arrived that the Lacedæmonians had been worsted in a sea-fight, and their admiral, Peisander, killed. 11. It was also stated in what manner the battle had been fought; that the meeting of the fleets took place near Cnidus; that Pharnabazus, as admiral, was there with the Phœnician fleet;<sup>2</sup> and that Conon, with the Grecian fleet, drew up in front of him; 12. that when Peisander formed his line to attack the enemy, and his ships appeared far inferior in number<sup>3</sup> to the Greek vessels with Conon, the allies on his left wing immediately fled, but that he himself, rushing in among the enemy with his galley, which was armed with sharp points at the prow, was driven on shore; and that others, who were also driven on shore, abandoned their vessels, and escaped, as well as they could, to Cnidus, while Peisander himself, continuing the contest in his own ship, met his death. 13. On hearing this news, Agesilaus was at first extremely concerned; but as he reflected that the greater part of his troops were such as would willingly feel interested in favourable occurrences, and that, if he<sup>4</sup> became aware of anything adverse, it was not necessary to communicate it to them, he in consequence made some change in the account, and gave out that "Peisander was said to have lost his life, but had gained a victory by sea." 14. As he made this announcement, he offered a sacrifice of oxen as for having received good tidings, and sent portions of the victims

<sup>1</sup> This eclipse of the sun is referred by astronomical calculation to the 14th day of the month of August, in the year of the Julian period 4320, as is observed by Dodwell, who also observes that Lysias, p. 632, assigns this battle to the year in which Eubulus was Archon, or the 3rd year of the 96th Olympiad. Dodwell's computation, which places the eclipse on the 14th of August, in the astronomical year 393, or in the year of the chronologers 394, before the birth of Christ, is approved by Delambre, in Gail. p. 89—91. Schneider.

<sup>2</sup> Collected by Tissaphernes, iii. 4. 1, and given to Conon, at the request of Evagoras, with whom he had taken refuge after the battle at Ægospotami, ii. 1. 29. Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> πολλὸν ἑλαττόνων.] Diodorus Siculus, xiv. 83, gives eighty five as the number of the Lacedæmonian fleet; ninety as that of Pharnabazus and Conon's.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf reads ὁρῶν, with Schneider. The old reading, ὁρῶν, seems preferable.

to several of his friends. In consequence, in a skirmish that ensued with the enemy, the troops of Agesilaus got the advantage, on the strength of the report that the Lacedæmonians were victorious at sea.

15. Those who were now in the field against Agesilaus were the Bœotians, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Ænians, Eubœans, and both the Locrians. On the side of Agesilaus was one battalion of Spartans, which had crossed over to him from Corinth, and the half of a battalion from Orchomenus; there were also the newly-enfranchised citizens from Sparta, that had already served with him; and, besides these, the mercenary force which Herippidas commanded; there were the troops from the Greek cities in Asia, and those which he had taken from such of the cities in Europe as he had passed through; and there had joined him, from the immediate neighbourhood, some heavy-armed soldiers of the Orchomenians and Phocians. Of peltasts, the greater number was on the side of Agesilaus; the cavalry was nearly equal on both sides. 16. Such was the strength of the two parties; and I will now give a full account of the battle; for it was of such a character that no other of those in our time was similar to it.

The forces of Agesilaus, advancing from the Cephissus, and those of the Thebans from Mount Helicon, met in the plain near Coroneia. Agesilaus led the right wing of his own army, and the Orchomenians were posted at the extremity of his left; on the other side the Thebans themselves were on their right wing, and the Argives on their left. 17. As they approached one another, there was for some time deep silence on both sides; but when they were about a stadium apart, the Thebans raised a shout, and advanced to the charge at a running pace; and, when there was but half a stadium between them, the mercenary force that Herippidas led, and with them the Ionians, Æolians, and Hellespontines, ran forward from the main body of Agesilaus to engage them; all these rushed in a mass to the charge, and, attacking them at the point of the spear, put to flight all that were opposed to them. Nor did the Argives withstand the onset of Agesilaus and his troops, but fled towards Helicon. 18. Some of the auxiliaries were now going to crown Agesilaus as conqueror, but some one, at the moment, brought him word that the Thebans had cut a passage through the Orchomenians, and

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were among the baggage, when he immediately drew out his main body in line, and marched against them. The Thebans, however, on their side, when they saw that their allies had fled towards Helicon, were desirous to make a way through the enemy to join them, and, collecting themselves into a body, marched forward with great spirit. 19. On this occasion we may say, without dispute, that Agesilaus proved himself a brave man; but he did not choose the safest mode of proceeding; for, when he might have let the Thebans, who were seeking to escape, pass by him, and then have pursued and harassed their rear, he did not adopt that course, but closed with them full in front, and both parties, clashing their shields together, alternately gave way and resisted, slew and were slain. At length part of the Thebans made their escape to Mount Helicon, but a great number of them were cut off in attempting to retreat. 20. When the victory was fairly won by Agesilaus, but he himself was brought in wounded to the main body, some of his cavalry rode up, and told him that a party of the enemy, about eighty in number, were in arms under shelter of the temple,<sup>1</sup> and asked him how they should act towards them. Agesilaus, though suffering from several wounds, was not unmindful of the obligations of religion, but gave orders to let them depart whither they pleased, and to do them no injury. The troops then took their supper, for it was now late, and went to rest.

21. In the morning he directed Gylis, one of the chief officers, to draw up the army, and erect a trophy; giving orders, at the same time, that all the men should crown themselves in honour of the god,<sup>2</sup> and that all the flute-players should play on their instruments. The Thebans then sent heralds, requesting leave, under favour of a truce, to bury their dead; a truce was accordingly made, and Agesilaus, going to Delphi, offered the tenth of the spoil to the god, to the amount of not less than a hundred talents.

22. Gylis, meanwhile, taking the command of the army, marched into Phocis, and thence made an incursion into Locris, where, during the early part of the next day, the soldiers employed themselves in carrying off moveables and provisions from the villages, but, when it was near evening, as they were

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Minerva Itonia. Plutarch, Agesil. c. 19; Polyænus, ii. 1. 5. *Schneider.*

<sup>2</sup> Apollo.



drawing off with the Lacedæmonians in the rear, the Locrians pursued them, hurling stones and javelins at them, but as the Lacedæmonians, facing about, attacked and killed some of them, they ceased at once from following them behind, and hurled down stones upon them from the higher grounds. 23. The Lacedæmonians tried to charge them up the steep, but as darkness came on, and they had to retreat, some of them lost their lives through the ruggedness of the ground, others from inability to see what was before them, and others by the weapons of the enemy. Here Gylis the general was killed, and several<sup>1</sup> of his body-guard, with about eighteen in all of the other soldiers, some struck down with stones, and others pierced with darts; and had not the rest of the army, who were at supper, come to their relief, the whole party would have been in danger of perishing.

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## CHAPTER IV.

At Corinth the party favourable to peace are massacred by their adversaries, who conspire against them. The whole state appearing likely to fall under the power of Argos, Pasimelus and Alcimenea, two Corinthians, form a communication with the Lacedæmonians at Sicyon, whom they admit within the walls, and who are victorious in a battle that ensues, after which they pull down a portion of the walls, and capture Sidus, Crommyon, and Epieicia. The war is then carried on with hired soldiers on both sides. Iphicrates attacks Phlius, the people of which send for the Lacedæmonians and deliver up their city to them. The Athenians rebuild that part of the walls of Corinth which the Lacedæmonians had pulled down, but it is again demolished by Agesilaus.

1. THE rest of the army was now dismissed to their several cities; and Agesilaus went home by sea. Afterwards the Athenians, Bœotians, Argives, and their allies, prosecuted the war by making excursions from Corinth, and the Lacedæmonians and their allies by expeditions from Sicyon. But as the Corinthians saw that their lands were laid waste, and their people cut off, because they were in the immediate neighbourhood of the enemy, while their confederates were at peace, and their lands in a state of cultivation, the greater number of

<sup>1</sup> I read πολλοὶ with Schneider, instead of Πελλῆς, which Weiske and Dindorf retain in their texts, but about which no editor has been able to satisfy himself.

them, and the better class, grew desirous of peace, and combined to bring others to the same opinion. 2. The Argives, Athenians, and Bœotians, however, and such of the Corinthians as had shared the king's money, and had been the chief promoters of the war, seeing that unless they could rid themselves of those who were inclined to peace, the city of Corinth would be likely to return to the side of the Spartans, resolved, in consequence, to proceed to a massacre of the people; and, in the first place, they contrived the most impious of all possible schemes; for other people, even if a man be doomed to die by law, do not put him to death at the time of a festival; but these men fixed upon the last day of the Eucleia,<sup>1</sup> because they thought that they should then find the largest number in the forum to massacre. 3. When it was signified to those to whom the commission was given, what persons they were to kill, they drew their swords, and stabbed one man standing in a circle of his friends,<sup>2</sup> another seated, another in the theatre, and one or two sitting as judges of the games.<sup>3</sup> As soon as the matter was understood, the principal citizens immediately fled for refuge, some to the statues of the gods in the forum, some to the altars, where those most impious men, utterly regardless of everything sacred, (as well those who directed as those who executed,) slaughtered them even at the very shrines of the deities; so that some of those who were unharmed, and retained a due respect for religion, were appalled at the sight of such impiety. 4. Thus perished many of the elder citizens, for they happened to be in greater numbers in the forum; the younger men, as Pasimelus<sup>4</sup> suspected

<sup>1</sup> Hesychius has Εὔκλος, Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Μεγάροις καὶ Κορίνθῳ, where the critics would read ἱερεὺς: hence Valesius derives Εὔκλεια, the festival of the Corinthians. The commentators on Pausanias, Bœot. ix. p. 743, and Plutarch, Aristid. c. 20, speak of a Diana Εὔκλεια, whose statue was placed in the market-places in the towns of the Bœotians and Locrians, and to whom people about to be married used to sacrifice. On the time at which this festival took place I find nothing said. *Schneider.*

<sup>2</sup> [Ἐν κύκλῳ.] *Cum aliis consistentem* [in circulis, concliliabulis. *Schneider.*

<sup>3</sup> [Κρίτην καθήμενον.] *Schneider* justly supposes that sitting in judgment at the games is meant, for it may be assumed that there was a *justitium* at the festival. *Weiske.*

<sup>4</sup> The reader might suppose that he had been mentioned before; but such is not the case. See, however, sect. 7.

what was going to happen, kept themselves quiet in the Craneium.<sup>1</sup> But when they heard the noise, and some came flying from the scene to take refuge with them, they then ran up by the citadel of Corinth, and repulsed the Argives and others who were making an assault upon it; 5. but while they were deliberating what they should do next, the capital fell from one of the pillars, without the intervention of any earthquake or blast of wind. When they sacrificed with reference to that occurrence, the omens from the victims were of such a nature that the augurs said it would be better for them to go down from their position. At first, therefore, they withdrew from it with the intention of fleeing out of the territory of Corinth; but as their friends, mothers, and brothers came and entreated them, and some of those who were in authority promised, with an oath, that they should suffer no harm, several of them in consequence returned to their homes. 6. When they saw, however, the tyrants that were over them, and perceived that their city would be put out of knowledge, as their land-marks would be taken away, and their country called Argos instead of Corinth; and as they would be necessitated, too, to share citizenship with the people of Argos, for which they had no liking, and would have less influence in their own city than mere sojourners, some of them thought such a life intolerable, but that, should they try to establish their country Corinth as it was at first, and to exhibit it free and purified from shedders of blood, and in the enjoyment of its excellent laws, it would be worthy of them, if they could accomplish these objects, to become saviours of their country, and, if they could not, to die a glorious death in aiming at the most honourable and noble ends. 7. Accordingly, two of their number, Pasimelus and Alcimenes, undertook, by making their way along the bed of a torrent, to communicate with Praxitas, the Lacedæmonian general, who was in garrison with his battalion at Sicyon, and told him that they could secure him an entrance within the walls that reach down towards Lechæum. Praxitas, who was previously assured that the men were trustworthy, put confidence in them, and having settled that his battalion, which was going to leave Sicyon,

<sup>1</sup> This was a grove of cypress trees before the city, with a gymnasium, not far from the temple of Jupiter, as appears from Theophrastus, c. pl. 5. 20. *Schneider.*

should remain there, arranged with them the mode of entrance. 8. When the two men, therefore, whether by chance or by contrivance, came on guard at the gates where the trophy was erected, Praxitas then advanced with his battalion, the Sicyonians, and as many of the Corinthians as were then exiles. After he had come up to the gates, but was apprehensive of entering, he expressed a desire to send in a person, one of those in whom he had confidence, to ascertain the state of things within. The two men accordingly conducted him in, and showed him everything so ingenuously, that he reported that "all was safe as they had stated." 9. Praxitas in consequence went in himself; and as his men, from the walls being a considerable distance apart, appeared to themselves, when drawn up, to be but few, they formed a palisading and a trench, such as they could, in front of them, to defend themselves until their confederates could come to their support. Behind them, at the harbour, was a garrison of Bœotians.

The day following the night in which they entered, they passed without fighting; but the next day the Argives, advancing upon them with all their force, and finding the Lacedæmonians drawn up on their right, the Sicyonians next to them, and the Corinthian fugitives, to the number of about a hundred and fifty, close to the eastern wall, their mercenaries, under Iphicrates, drew themselves up also close to the same wall, and the Argives nearest to them, while the Corinthians from the city took post in their left wing. 10. As they despised the enemy, from being superior in number, they instantly charged them, defeated the Sicyonians, and breaking through the palisading, pursued them to the sea, where they killed a great number of them. Pasimachus the equestrian prefect, however, who had but a small body of cavalry, gave orders, when he saw the Sicyonians repulsed, for the horses to be tied to the trees, and, snatching their shields from the fugitives, advanced, with such as were willing to follow him, to

<sup>1</sup> Τῶ δ' ἐξίει *ἱαυρῶν*.] Weiske thinks that *ἱαυρῶν* may mean the Lacedæmonians; but Schneider justly pronounces that it can refer only to the Argives. "The faint notion which we have of the situation of the places," he adds, "prevents us from clearly understanding the position of the several forces; and a figure, with which Weiske endeavours to assist us, leaves the difficulties still unsolved."

encounter the Argives ; who, when they saw the S upon their shields, were under no apprehensions from them, believing them to be Sicyonians. Pasimachus is said to have exclaimed, "By the twin gods, ye Argives, this S will deceive you," and to have closed with them ; and thus, fighting with a handful of men against numbers, he was killed, and some of those about him. 11. The fugitive Corinthians, meanwhile, having defeated the party opposed to them, made their way upwards, and were now near the wall<sup>1</sup> that encircled the city ; and the Lacedæmonians, on the other wing, when they saw the Sicyonians defeated, came out<sup>2</sup> to their succour, keeping the palisading on their left. The Argives, when they heard that the Lacedæmonians were behind them, turned back in great haste, and threw themselves over the palisading ;<sup>3</sup> and those of them who were farthest to the right, being assailed on their defenceless parts by the Lacedæmonians, were cut off ; but those nearest to the wall, collecting in a body, retreated with great difficulty towards the city, but as they encountered the Corinthian fugitives, and discovered that they were enemies, they again fell back. Here some of them, going up the scaling ladders,<sup>4</sup> leaped from the wall and perished ; others, being assailed and wounded on the ladders, lost their lives in that way ; and some were trampled down and suffocated by one another. 12. The Lacedæmonians were at no loss for men to kill ; for the gods gave them such occupation as they would not have even sought by prayer ; for how can it be thought otherwise than an appointment of the gods, that a multitude of enemies thus terror-stricken, astounded, exposing their unarmed sides, no one turning to resist, but all contributing in every way to their own destruction, should have been delivered into their hands ? Assuredly such numbers fell in a short time, that people who had only been used to see heaps of corn, or wood, or stones, saw on that occasion heaps

<sup>1</sup> Τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κύκλου.] *Fossam vallumque ab obsidentibus ducta dicit.* Dindorf: following Weiske and Schneider.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξελθόντες.] Coming out from behind the palisading, apparently.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος ἐξέπιπτον.] They threw themselves out of the palisading ; they seem to have got into it in pursuing the Sicyonians.

<sup>4</sup> The ladders by which they had come out, as it appears, and which had been left attached to the walls.

of corpses. The garrison of Boeotians at the harbour were also put to death, some of them on the walls, and others mounted on the roofs of the sheds under which the ships were built.

13. Soon after the Corinthians and Argives removed their dead under favour of a truce; and the allies of the Lacedæmonians came to their succour. When they were assembled, Praxitas first resolved to make a breach in the wall as wide as would afford a sufficient passage for an army; then, drawing off his troops, he led them towards Megara, and took by assault first Sidus, and afterwards Crommyon.<sup>1</sup> After placing garrisons in these fortresses, he returned, and, fortifying Epieicia,<sup>2</sup> as a bulwark to cover the territories of the confederates,<sup>3</sup> he disbanded his army, and went off himself towards Lacedæmon.

14. After this occurrence, large armies on both sides were discontinued for a time; but the different cities sending garrisons, some to Corinth, and others to Sicyon, kept those fortresses secure. Both parties however had mercenaries, and kept up hostilities vigorously by their means.

15. It was at this time that Iphicrates invaded the territory of Phlius, and located his light troops there; when, as he carried off booty with small parties, and people from the city came out to repulse him too incautiously, he killed such numbers, that the Phliasians, who had previously refused to admit the Lacedæmonians within their walls, lest they should restore those who alleged that they had been exiled for Laconism, were now so much in dread of the people from Corinth, that they sent for the Lacedæmonians, and put their city and citadel under their protection. The Lacedæmonians, however, though kindly disposed towards the exiles, made, as long as they held the city, no mention of their return, but, as soon as the city appeared to have recovered its spirit, quitted it, restoring to the citizens their town and their institutions just as they had received them.

<sup>1</sup> Sidus was a village, and Crommyon a town, in the territory of Corinth. *Weiske*. Athenæus, vii. 82; Pliny H. N. iv. 11; Thucyd. iv. 42, *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See ch. 4, sect. 14.

<sup>3</sup> "ἵνα προύριον εἴη πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις." "That it might be a fortress to the allies in front of (their) friendly territory."

16. The party of Iphicrates, too, made incursions into many parts of Arcadia, carried off booty, and attacked the fortified places; for the Arcadian heavy-armed troops never ventured out against them; so much afraid were they of his peltasts; though those very peltasts were so much in dread of the Lacedæmonians that they would not come within a javelin's throw of their heavy-armed men; since some of the younger Lacedæmonians had sometimes ventured to pursue them even from that distance, and had overtaken and killed some of them.

17. But, however the Lacedæmonians despised these peltasts, they despised their own allies still more; for when the Mantineans came to their aid on one occasion, and sallied out upon the peltasts from the wall extending towards Lechæum, they gave way as soon as they were assailed with darts, and some of them were killed as they fled; so that the Lacedæmonians ventured to jest upon them, saying that "their allies dreaded the peltasts as much as children dreaded bugbears."

The Lacedæmonians themselves, with a battalion of their own, and the Corinthian fugitives, encamped<sup>1</sup> round the city of Corinth; 18. while the Athenians, on their part, dreading the force of the Lacedæmonians, lest, as the long walls of the Corinthians were broken through, they should make an assault upon them, thought it best to rebuild that portion of the wall which had been demolished by Praxitas; and, coming to the spot in full force,<sup>2</sup> with masons and carpenters, they in a few days rebuilt, in excellent style, the part towards Sicyon and the west; the part towards the east they repaired more at their leisure.

19. But the Lacedæmonians now reflecting that the Argives were enjoying themselves at home, and exulting at the war, proceeded to invade their territories. Agesilaus commanded in the expedition, and, after devastating all their country, immediately passed over by Tenea<sup>3</sup> towards Corinth, and took

<sup>1</sup> All the texts have *ιστρατεύοντο*, but Schneider's conjecture, *ιστρατοπεδεύοντο*, is approved by Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> What brevity of narration is here! The walls are those of the Corinthians; yet the Athenians are represented as coming with as much ease and readiness as if they were going to rebuild those of the Piræus; nor is it said whether they came with the consent of the Corinthians or against it; nor on what conditions, &c.; for abundance of questions might be asked about the matter. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> "Tenea," says Stephanus Byzantinus, "is a village of Corinth,

the walls which had been rebuilt by the Athenians ; while his brother Teleutias, with about twelve galleys, supported him at the same time by sea, so that their mother was thought a happy woman, because, in the same day, one of her sons took the walls of the enemy on land, and the other captured their ships and dockyards at sea. Having achieved these exploits, Agesilaus dismissed the troops of the confederates, and conducted those of his own country home.

## CHAPTER V.

The Corinthians make a stand at their harbour of the Peiræum ; they are assailed by Agesilaus, who gets possession of the place by a stratagem. He obliges another party at Heræum to surrender. His joy at these successes is damped by the news that a battalion of the Amyclæans had been cut off by Iphierates. Agesilaus returns home, leaving a battalion to garrison Lechæum.

1. SOON after, the Lacedæmonians, having learned from the fugitives that the Corinthians in the city were keeping and securing all their cattle in the Peiræum,<sup>1</sup> and that numbers of people were maintained there, made another expedition against Corinth, Agesilaus being leader also on this occasion. In the first place he proceeded to the Isthmus ; for it was the month<sup>2</sup> in which the Isthmian games are celebrated, and the Argives

lying between Corinth and Mycenæ." There is an allusion to it in an epigram mentioned by Strabo, vol. i. p. 552, ed. Falconer.

<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, viii. 10, says that the Corinthian harbour called Πειραιός, as he writes it, was on the Saronic Gulf ; while Strabo places it, with Heræum and Œnoe, as well as Lechæum, on the Crissæan Gulf. Palmerius, therefore, Exercit. p. 72, in speaking of this passage of Xenophon, thinks that there were two harbours of the name, one on each gulf. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> The month is not specified by any of the ancient writers ; but Corsini, in his *Dissertatio de Agonistica*, has shown that the Isthmian games fell sometimes on the month Panemus, sometimes on that of Thargelion or Munychion. The games were celebrated every third year, and would fall on the first and third year of each successive Olympiad. Those which took place in the first year of an Olympiad, would fall on the Corinthian month Panemus, the Athenian Hecatombæon, or the Roman July ; those which happened in the third year of an Olympiad would probably fall either on Munychion (April) or Thargelion (May). *Schneider*.



were there at the time offering the sacrifice to Neptune, as if Argos and Corinth were one; but when they saw Agesilaus approaching, they abandoned their sacrifices and festive preparations, and, in very great alarm, retreated by the road to Cenchreiaë into the city. 2. Agesilaus, however, though he saw the way they took, did not pursue them, but, fixing his quarters in the temple, made offerings himself to the god, and remained there until the fugitives from Corinth had sacrificed to Neptune and brought the games to a conclusion. But the Argives, notwithstanding, when Agesilaus was gone, celebrated the Isthmian games over again; and thus in this year, in some of the contests, the same person was twice unsuccessful, while in others the same persons were twice proclaimed victors.

3. It was on the fourth day that Agesilaus led his army to the Peiræum, but seeing that it was guarded by a number of people, he marched off, after dinner, towards the city, as if he thought that it would be betrayed into his hands, so that the Corinthians, fearing that it had been actually betrayed by some of their people, sent for Iphicrates with the principal part of his peltasts; and Agesilaus, getting notice that they had arrived in the night, wheeled round as soon as it was day, and led his army back towards the Peiræum. He advanced himself by the hot springs, but sent up a battalion to the top of the heights; and he remained, during the night, encamped by the hot springs, while the battalion spent the night in occupation of the heights. 4. Here Agesilaus gained reputation by a little, but seasonable, contrivance; for though many people carried provisions to the battalion, no one brought them fire; and, as it was very cold, because they were upon extremely high ground, and rain and hail had fallen in the evening, (while they had gone up with only such light garments as they wear in summer,) they were now shivering in darkness, and without the least appetite for their supper, when Agesilaus sent up to them not less than ten men with fire in pots; and when they had reached the summits, some by one path and some by another, several large fires were kindled, as there was plenty of fuel at hand, and they all anointed themselves, and many took supper a second time. The same night the temple of Neptune was seen in flames; but by whom it was set on fire nobody knew.

5. When the people in the Peiræum saw that the heights were occupied by the enemy, they no longer thought of defending themselves, but fled, male and female, slaves and free-men, with the greatest part of the cattle, to Heræum,<sup>1</sup> whither Agesilaus proceeded with his army along the coast. The battalion, at the same time, coming down from the heights, took CEnoe, a walled fortress, and made prize of what was in it; and all the troops, indeed, on that day, secured abundance of provisions from the neighbouring parts. Those who had taken refuge in CEnoe came forth, leaving to Agesilaus to determine whatever he pleased concerning them. His decision was, that "they should give up all who had been concerned in the massacre to the fugitives, and that all the plunder should be sold." Much booty of all kinds was then brought out of Heræum. 6. Just at this time several deputations from various quarters waited upon him, and some ambassadors from the Bœotians came to ask him "what they should do to obtain peace." But Agesilaus, assuming a very lofty air, appeared not even to see them, (though Pharax, the proxenus<sup>2</sup> of the Bœotians, stood by their side to introduce them;) and, taking his seat at the round-house near the harbour, he surveyed the great quantity of spoil as it was brought out. Some of the Lacedæmonian troops, belonging to the heavy-armed, attended the prisoners, as guards, with their spears, and were much gazed at by all who were present; for the fortunate and victorious seem always to be thought worthy of admiration.

7. While Agesilaus, however, was still sitting there, appearing to be delighted with what was going on, a horseman rode up with his horse in a violent sweat, and, being asked by many of the people "what news he brought," he made no one any answer; but, when he drew near Agesilaus, he sprung from his horse, and, running up to him with a very sad countenance, gave him an account of the calamity of the battalion

<sup>1</sup> I have called it Heræum, not *the* Heræum. It was a promontory, about seven miles from Corinth, so called from a temple of Juno that stood upon it. See Livy, xxxii. 23; Plutarch, Cleom. 20, 26.

<sup>2</sup> The *πρόξενος*, in any state or city, was a person whose business it was to entertain and show civilities to people coming from some other state or city in a public capacity. The proxenus of the Bœotians at Lacedæmon was the person appointed to receive and attend to such Bœotians as visited Lacedæmon on affairs of state.

at Lechæum.<sup>1</sup> Agesilaus, on hearing it, immediately jumped from his seat, snatched up his spear, and ordered the herald to summon the generals, captains, and commanders of the auxiliaries. 8. When they had all hastily gathered round him, he told them to take what refreshment they could, (for they had not yet dined,) and to follow him as soon as possible, while he himself, with the attendants at the royal tent, started off before them without taking anything. His guards, with their heavy arms, followed him with all speed, he leading the way, and they keeping in his track. But when he had passed the hot springs, and had reached the open plain of Lechæum, three horsemen rode up and told him that "the dead bodies were recovered." As soon as he heard this, he ordered his followers to pile their arms, and, after resting a while, led them back again to Heræum. Next day the booty was sold.

9. The ambassadors from the Boeotians being now summoned, and asked for what purpose they had come, made no further mention of peace, but said that, "if there was nothing to prevent them, they wished to go into the city to their countrymen who were soldiers there." Agesilaus smiled, and said, "It is not the soldiers, I know, that you wish to see, but the success of your friends, and to ascertain what has been the extent of it; stay, therefore," he added, "and I will conduct you thither myself, and, being with me, you will learn better what it is that has taken place." 10. Nor did he deceive them; for the next day, after a sacrifice, he led his army towards the city. The trophy<sup>2</sup> he did not demolish; but whatever trees were left he cut down and burned, and showed the ambassadors that no one would venture out to attack him. Having done this, he encamped about Lechæum, and sent off the Theban ambassadors, not to the city, but by the sea to Creusis.<sup>3</sup> As such a calamity, however, was an unusual occurrence to the Lacedæmonians, there was great mourning throughout the army, except among those whose sons, or fathers, or brothers, had died at their posts; for these

<sup>1</sup> This is related afterwards, sect. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The enemy had, then, erected a trophy near Corinth. *Weiske*: The sanctity of trophies is shown from many examples by Brodæus, Misc. v. 29. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> A small town on the Corinthian Gulf. Pausan. ix. 32.

walked about as cheerful as men that had gained a victory, rejoicing at their own bereavements.

11. The disaster that befell the battalion occurred in the following manner. The Lacedæmonians of Amyclæ, whether they happen to be in the field, or abroad on any other business whatever, always go home to the Hyacinthia<sup>1</sup> to join in the pæan. On this occasion Agesilaus had left the Amyclæans, of all his army, at Lechæum; and the officer commanding the garrison there ordered the troops of the auxiliaries to guard the fortress, while he himself, with the battalion of heavy-armed foot, and the cavalry, escorted the Amyclæans past the city of Corinth. 12. When they were about twenty stadia distant from Sicyon, the officer, with his heavy-armed men, in number about six hundred, went back to Lechæum, and ordered the commander of the cavalry, when he had attended the Amyclæans as far as they thought necessary, to follow him. That there were many peltasts and heavy-armed troops in Corinth they were not unaware, but they held them in contempt, imagining that none would venture to attack Lacedæmonians on account of their late successes. 13. The soldiers of the Corinthians, however, and Callias, the son of Hipponicus, the commander of the Athenian heavy-armed men, and Iphicrates, the captain of the peltasts, observing that the Lacedæmonians were but few, and without either peltasts or cavalry, thought that they might safely attack them with their own body of peltasts; for, if they continued their march, they might suffer by being galled with missiles on their unarmed flanks; or, if they attempted to turn back and pursue, they themselves, with their nimble peltasts, would easily escape from heavy-armed men. 14. Having formed this opinion, they led out their force; and Callias posted his heavy-armed troops not far from the city, while Iphicrates, with his peltasts, attacked the battalion of Lacedæmonians; who, when they were assailed with missiles, and some were

<sup>1</sup> On this custom of the Amyclæans, see Valck. ad Herod. ix. 6. On the Hyacinthia much has been written by many, but the time of the year at which they were celebrated has not yet been decided. Dodwell says that it was in the summer; but Pontedera, in his *Antiq. Lat. and Gr. Ep.* 27, contends that it was in the winter. On the ceremonies of the festival, see Heyne, *Dissert. Antiquar.* i. p. 97. *Schneider.*

wounded, and two or three fell, ordered the shield-bearers<sup>1</sup> to take them up and carry them off to Lechæum; and these were in truth the only men of the battalion that escaped. The Lacedæmonian officer then ordered the younger men<sup>2</sup> to pursue the enemy; 15. but when they pursued, being heavy-armed men in chase of peltasts, they came within javelin's throw of none of them; and their officer had desired them to retreat before the heavy-armed men of the enemy could join their peltasts. As they retired straggling, having pursued each according to his speed, the peltasts of Iphicrates faced about, and those who were in front again hurled javelins at them, while others, running up to them on the flank, galled them on the unarmed parts of their bodies; and thus, at the very commencement of the pursuit, struck down with their javelins nine or ten men. Success thus attending them, they pressed upon the enemy with much greater confidence. 16. As the Lacedæmonians now suffered severely, their commander ordered the men between thirty and forty years of age to pursue; but of these, as they retreated, more were killed than of those who made the previous attempt. When their best men were in this manner cut off, the cavalry<sup>3</sup> came up to them, and, in conjunction with these, they made another effort at pursuit. But when the peltasts retired, the cavalry did not follow them judiciously; for they did not continue to ride after them till they had killed some of them, but kept abreast of their own pursuing infantry,<sup>4</sup> and pursued or retreated with them. Acting thus again and again, and always incurring a similar result, they themselves grew continually fewer and more dispirited, while their assailants became bolder and more numerous. 17. Being grievously distressed, they collected in a body on a small hill, distant about two stadia from the sea and sixteen or seventeen from Lechæum. Those at Lechæum,<sup>5</sup> learning what had happened, embarked in boats and sailed along the coast till they came opposite the hill. But the Lacedæmonians, being in utter despair, as they were

<sup>1</sup> The attendants who carried the shields. See also c. 8, sect. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβης.] See iii. 4. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Those who had been ordered to escort the Amyclæans. *Weiske*.

<sup>4</sup> The same that are called the men between thirty and forty, καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἡβης, at the beginning of the section. *Dindorf*.

<sup>5</sup> Those who were said to have been left at Lechæum in sect. 11. *Dindorf*.

harassed and cut off, and could do nothing in their own defence, and seeing, besides, the heavy-armed troops of the enemy advancing upon them, took to flight, when some of them were driven into the sea, and only a small number, with the cavalry, escaped to Lechæum. In the whole of the skirmishes, and in the flight, about two hundred and fifty of them lost their lives. Such was the termination of that affair.

18. Soon after, Agesilaus marched away, taking with him the battalion that had suffered so much, and leaving another at Lechæum. As he pursued his journey homeward, he took up his quarters in the several towns as late as possible in the evening, and resumed his march as early as possible in the morning. From Orchomenus, indeed, he set out so early that he passed by Mantinea before it was daylight; so angrily were the soldiers likely to look upon the Mantineans, who would rejoice<sup>1</sup> at their disaster.

19. After this Iphicrates had great success in other enterprises; for garrisons having been placed in Sidus and Crommyon by Praxitas, when he took those places, and another in Cenoë by Agesilaus when the Peiræum was taken, Iphicrates reduced them all. Lechæum, however, the Lacedæmonians and their allies still continued to hold. As for the fugitives from Corinth, they no longer went by land from Sicyon, in consequence of the calamity of the battalion, but sailing along the coast, and making incursions from it, they brought annoyance on themselves, and gave trouble to those in the city.

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## CHAPTER VI.

The people of Calydon, allies of the Achæans, are harassed by the Acarnanians, against whom the Achæans solicit aid from the Lacedæmonians. Agesilaus conducts a force to the support of the Achæans, in conjunction with whom he lays waste the lands of the Acarnanians and defeats their troops. But as he took none of their towns, the Achæans express dissatisfaction, and he promises to return to their aid in the following year.

1. SOON after these occurrences, the Achæans, who were in possession of Calydon, which formerly belonged to Ætolia,

<sup>1</sup> The cause of such rejoicing may be easily gathered from what is related in c. 4, sect. 17. *Morus.*

and who had made the people of Calydon their fellow-citizens, were obliged to put a garrison in the place; for the Acarnanians made attacks upon it, and some of the Athenians and Bœotians, from being in alliance with them, joined them. The Achæans, in consequence, being distressed by these enemies, sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, who, on their arrival, stated that they were not treated with justice by the Lacedæmonians; 2. "For we," said they, "have joined you in the field whenever you have directed us, and followed you whithersoever you have led; but when a city of ours is assailed by the Acarnanians, and by the Athenians and Bœotians their allies, you pay no regard to us. Under such a state of things, therefore, we should be unable to hold out; and we shall, accordingly, either give up the war in the Peloponnesus, and cross over<sup>1</sup> with our whole force to oppose the Acarnanians and their allies, or shall conclude such a peace as we may be able." 3. In saying this they conveyed a threat to the Lacedæmonians that they would relinquish their alliance with them, unless they sent them succour in return for their services. Such a statement being made, it was thought necessary by the ephori and assembly of the people to take the field with the Achæans against the Acarnanians; and they in consequence sent out Agesilaus with two battalions and the proper complements from the allies; and the Achæans prepared to join him with their whole force.

4. When Agesilaus had crossed the water, all the Acarnanians in the country fled for refuge to the towns; and all the cattle were removed to a distance, that they might not be taken by his army. Agesilaus, on his part, when he came to the frontiers of the enemy's territory, sent to Stratus,<sup>2</sup> to the common council of the Acarnanians, and said that "if they did not relinquish their connexion with the Bœotians and Athenians, and join the Lacedæmonians and their allies, he would devastate their whole country piece by piece, and leave no corner of it untouched." 5. As they paid no regard to his words, he did as he had said, and ravaged the lands without inter-

<sup>1</sup> Over the Corinthian Gulf.

<sup>2</sup> That Stratus was the chief town of Acarnania is understood from Thucyd. lib. ii. That the council of the people was held there is mentioned by Xenophon only. See Palmerius, Gr. Antiq. p. 385. *Schneider.*

mission, advancing not more than ten or twelve stadia a day. The Acarnanians, in consequence, brought down their cattle from the hills, and resumed their work in most of the fields, supposing it safe to do so on account of the slow march of the army. 6. But when they appeared to Agesilaus to have thrown off all fear, he sacrificed early in the morning, on the fifteenth or sixteenth day after he had entered the country, and completed, before evening, a march of a hundred and sixty stadia to the lake<sup>1</sup> round which almost all the cattle of the Acarnanians were collected, when he captured a great many herds of oxen, horses, and beasts of every other kind, and a number of slaves.

After making this capture, he remained there the following day and sold what he had taken. 7. Many peltasts of the Acarnanians, however, came up, and, as Agesilaus was encamped on the side of the mountain,<sup>2</sup> they threw down stones, and used their slings, from the summit of it, without suffering anything in return, and forced him to move his camp down to the plain, though it was about the time for preparing supper. At night the Acarnanians drew off, and the soldiers, having posted sentinels, reposed in quiet. The next day Agesilaus led off his army. The outlet from the meadow-land and plain about the lake was narrow, by reason of the mountains that surrounded it; and of these the Acarnanians took possession, and not only hurled down stones and javelins from the heights, but, coming down to the skirts of the mountains, hung upon the rear of the troops, and annoyed them so much, that they could no longer continue their march. 9. The heavy-armed men and the cavalry, therefore, issued from the main body in pursuit of the assailants, but did them no injury; for the Acarnanians, when they retreated, soon gained their strongholds. Agesilaus, in consequence, thinking it impracticable to march through a narrow pass under such annoyances, resolved on attacking those who were hanging on his left, and

<sup>1</sup> Τὴν λίμνην.] We wander here through unknown places, says Schneider, and therefore cannot tell whether by λίμνη we ought to understand a lake, or the proper name of a place, or whether we ought rather to read Λιμναία, from Thucyd. ii. 80; vi. 106, an un-walled village near Stratus.

<sup>2</sup> What mountain, we do not know. In the words immediately following Dindorf has, in his latest edition, adopted a very judicious transposition.



who were very numerous; for the hills were on that side easier of ascent for the heavy-armed troops and cavalry. 10. While he was offering sacrifice, the Acarnanians continued to harass him with stones and javelins, and, as they drew nearer, wounded several of his men. But when he gave the signal, the men between thirty and thirty-five years of age hastened to pursue, the cavalry rode along with them, and Agesilaus followed with the rest; 11. when such of the Acarnanians as had descended the hills, and were using their missiles, at once fled, and were killed as they tried to escape up the steep. On the summit were posted the heavy-armed troops of the Acarnanians, and the greater part of their peltasts, where they stood their ground, and, besides throwing other weapons, hurled also spears, with which they wounded the horsemen and killed some of the horses. But when they were nearly at close quarters with the Lacedæmonian heavy-armed men, they gave way, and there were killed of them on that day about three hundred.

12. The affair being ended, Agesilaus erected a trophy; and then, marching about the country, devastated and burned it. He also made attacks on some of the towns, in compliance with the urgent requests of the Achæans, but did not take one. When autumn was just coming on, he quitted the country.

13. The Achæans thought that he had done nothing, as he had taken no town either by voluntary surrender or by force, and entreated him, if he would do nothing more, to stay at least so long in the country as to hinder the Acarnanians from sowing their corn. But he replied that they were asking what was contrary to their interest, "for I shall march hither again," said he, "next summer, and the more they sow, the more desirous of peace will they be." 14. After giving them this answer, he marched off through Ætolia, by roads which neither a large nor small army could have passed without the consent of the Ætolians, who, however, allowed him to pass in the hope that he would afterwards assist them in recovering Naupactus. When he reached Rhium, he crossed there, and proceeded homewards. The passage from Calydon to the Peloponnesus the Athenians had stopped with their galleys, in which they made excursions from Ceneadæ.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A town of Acarnania at the mouth of the Achelous.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Acarnanians, rather than continue at war with the Lacedæmonians, become their allies, and make peace with the Achæans. The Lacedæmonians determine upon attacking the Argives; Agesipolis invades their territories, approaches close to the walls of Argos, and strikes great terror into the people.

.. WHEN the winter was past, Agesilaus, in conformity with his promise to the Achæans, gave notice, in the very beginning of spring, of an expedition against the Acarnanians, who, gaining intelligence of it, and thinking that, as their towns lay in the heart of their country, they would be as much besieged by those who destroyed their corn as if they were invested by an army in form, sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, and made peace with the Achæans, and an alliance with the Lacedæmonians. The transactions with the Acarnanians were thus brought to a termination.

2. After this the Lacedæmonians thought it unsafe to undertake an expedition against the Athenians or Bœotians, and leave the hostile and powerful state of the Argives, lying close on Laconia, behind their back, and accordingly gave notice of an expedition against Argos. Agesipolis, when he found that he was to command the force, and the sacrifices proved favourable to him for crossing the borders, went to Olympia, and applying to the oracle, inquired of the god "whether it would be just for him not to admit the truce alleged by the Argives," because they pleaded the sacred months,<sup>1</sup> not when the time fell, but when the Lacedæmonians were about to invade their country. The god intimated that "it would be just for him not to admit a truce unjustly alleged." From thence he immediately proceeded to Delphi, and inquired of Apollo "whether he thought the same with

<sup>1</sup> Ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆνας.] The Argives alleged some sacred months, in which they and the Lacedæmonians had mutually agreed that there should be a cessation from hostilities. So far all is clear; but what months they were is a question. *Schneider*. *Dodwell* thinks that the time during which the Isthmian games were celebrated is meant; and *Schneider*, who has a long note on the passage, is inclined to agree with him. *Weiske* supposes that the Argives pretended sometimes that one month, sometimes that another, was sacred.

regard to the truce as his father." Apollo gave an answer exactly to the same purpose. 3. Agesipolis, accordingly, led off the army from Phlius, where it had assembled while he was gone to the oracles, and entered Argolis by Nemea.<sup>1</sup> The Argives, as soon as they found that they would be unable to stop him, despatched, as they were accustomed, two heralds with garlands on their heads, alleging that the truce was still in force. But Agesipolis replied that "they were not considered by the gods to make such an allegation with justice," and refused to admit the existence of the truce, but continued his march, and spread great perplexity and alarm over the country, and in the city. 4. As he was at supper the first evening, however, in the territory of Argos, and while the libation was being made after supper, the god<sup>2</sup> shook the earth; when all the Lacedæmonians, those at the royal tent commencing, sang the pæan to Neptune; but the rest of the army thought that they ought to return, because Agis once,<sup>3</sup> on an earthquake taking place, had withdrawn his forces out of Elis. Agesipolis replied, that "if the earthquake had taken place when he was about to invade the country, he should have thought that the god meant to prohibit him, but as it had happened after he had invaded it, he considered that the god wished to encourage him." 5. Having accordingly sacrificed next day to Neptune, he advanced, though not far, into the country. But as Agesilaus had lately conducted an expedition against Argos, Agesipolis asked the soldiers "how near to the walls Agesilaus had led them, and to what extent he had ravaged the country;" and then, like a champion contending for every prize, endeavoured to go beyond him in all respects. 6. On one occasion, being struck with missiles from the towers, he recrossed the trenches that surrounded the walls; and at another time, when most of the Argives were gone into Laconia,<sup>4</sup> he approached so near to the gates that

<sup>1</sup> This was the way the Lacedæmonians usually went, as appears from Thucyd. v. 58. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Neptune, the earth-shaker.

<sup>3</sup> iii. 2. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Οἰχομένων—εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν.*] Had a party of the Argives gone into Laconia to plunder, in hopes of obliging Agesipolis to withdraw from their country to protect his own? But the verb *οἰχεσθαι* is too weak and vague to denote a hostile invasion. *Schneider*. The passage is obscure, and perhaps *Λακωνικὴν* is corrupt.

\* \* \* What follows leads to the suspicion that Xenophon must

the Argives who were at them shut out some Bœotian horsemen that wanted to enter, through fear that the Lacedæmonians would rush in with them; and the horsemen were compelled to cling to the walls under the parapets like bats. Had not the Cretans,<sup>1</sup> by chance, been gone on an excursion down to Nauplia, many men and horses would then have been shot.

7. Soon after, as he lay encamped about the walls,<sup>2</sup> a thunderbolt fell in his camp; and some of his men were struck with lightning, and others lost their senses, and died. Wishing afterwards to fortify a castle at the pass near Celusa,<sup>3</sup> he sacrificed with reference to that object, and the victims appeared without lobes to their livers. Such being the case, he drew off his army and disbanded it, having done great harm to the Argives by an invasion so little expected.

have said something to this effect, "that the Argives had gone to drive off some of the Lacedæmonians from Nauplia." *Weiske*.

<sup>1</sup> From the army of the Lacedæmonians. See c. 2, sect. 16. *Dindorf*.

<sup>2</sup> *Τὰς εἰκράς*.] *Morus* interprets this word by *muros*. \* \* But, unless some particular part of the city had that name, I should rather understand *the fortifications, the trenches and rampart*, with which the city was surrounded. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> A mountain near Argos, according to *Strabo*, viii. p. 382.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Pharnabazus and Conon, meanwhile, expel the Lacedæmonian harmosts from the Greek cities in Asia, and attach many to their interest. Dercylidas secures Abydos and Sestus. Pharnabazus and Conon lay waste parts of the coast of the Peloponnesus. Pharnabazus takes possession of Cythera, and goes to the Isthmus of Corinth to encourage his allies, and supply them with money. Conon then has the sole charge of the fleet, with which he proceeds to Athens, and rebuilds a great portion of the Long Walls, and those of the Piræus. The Lacedæmonians send Antalcidas to the satrap Tiribazus, to inform him what Conon was doing, and to offer to make peace with the king; Antalcidas proposes to leave all the islands and the Greek cities of Asia free. The Athenians and other states send ambassadors thither at the same time, who disapprove of that proposal. The negotiation being suspended, Tiribazus secretly supplies the Lacedæmonians with money, makes Conon a prisoner, and then goes to the king to tell him what he has done. The king sends Struthes to take the charge of affairs on the coast in Asia Minor, who favours the Athenians. The Lacedæmonians send Thibron to oppose Struthes, but with little success. They then send out an expedition to Rhodes under Ecdicus to restore the exiles and re-establish the democracy, and despatch, at the same time, Diphridas to act against Struthes. Afterwards they direct Teleutias to join Struthes; and the Athenians send out Thrasybulus to oppose both of them. Thrasybulus, instead of going to Rhodes, sails to Thrace, where he reconciles two princes that were at variance. He then recovers Byzantium and Chalcedon, sails to Lesbos, confirms the Mitylenæans in their fidelity to the Athenians, and defeats the Lacedæmonians at Methymne. Thrasybulus is killed at Aspendus, and the Athenians send out Agyrrius in his place, despatching also Iphicrates to the Hellespont, where the Lacedæmonians make great efforts under Anaxibius. Iphicrates, lying in ambush for Anaxibius, kills him and a great number of his troops.

1. SUCH was the mode in which the war was pursued by land. But I shall now relate what happened, during the time that all these events occurred, on the sea and at the cities on the coast. The most memorable of the transactions I shall write at length, but such as are undeserving of notice I shall omit.

In the first place, then, Pharnabazus and Conon, when they had defeated the Lacedæmonians in the sea-fight,<sup>1</sup> sailed round to the islands and maritime cities, expelled the Lacedæmonian harmosts, and comforted the people by assuring them that they would build no citadels in their towns, but would leave them free and independent. 2. On hearing these assurances, they were delighted, extolled Pharnabazus, and eagerly sent

<sup>1</sup> See c. 3, sect. 10.

him presents. Conon, indeed, had impressed upon Pharnabazus, that "if he acted thus, all the cities would be well disposed towards him," but told him, that "if he showed open intentions of enslaving them, each individual city could give him much trouble," and that "there would be danger lest the Greeks, if they heard of such conduct on his part, should combine against him." 3. On these suggestions Pharnabazus accordingly acted. Going on shore at Ephesus, he committed forty galleys to the charge of Conon, with directions to meet him at Sestus; and he himself, in the mean time, proceeded by land to his own province.

Dereylidas, who was his enemy of old, happened, when the sea-fight took place, to be at Abydos, and did not, like the other harmosts, abandon the place, but continued to hold it, and kept it attached to the Lacedæmonians; for, having called the people of Abydos together, he addressed them thus: 4. "It is in your power, men of Abydos, as you have previously been friends to our state, to prove yourselves at the present time its actual benefactors; for that men should show themselves faithful to others in prosperity is nothing wonderful; but when they prove true to their friends in adversity, their conduct is always held in remembrance. Our condition indeed is not such, that, since we are beaten at sea, we are reduced to nothing; for even in past times, when the Athenians were sovereigns of the sea, our state was well able to do good to her friends and harm to her enemies. But the more other cities desert us with fortune, the more remarkable will your fidelity appear to us. And if any one of you fears that we may be besieged here by land and sea, let him consider that there is no Grecian fleet yet at sea, and that, if the Barbarians attempt to make themselves masters of the sea, the Greeks will never suffer them to effect their object; and consequently, while she supports herself, she will be a supporter to you."

5. The people of Abydos, on hearing this exhortation, complied with it, not reluctantly, but with the greatest cheerfulness. Such of the harmosts as came<sup>1</sup> to them they received as friends, and such of them as did not come they invited.

<sup>1</sup> ἰόντας.] *Venientes*, as in c. 4, sect. 5, and v. 4, 29. They came after being sent out of the cities which had shaken off the yoke of the Lacedæmonians. *Dindorf*.

After a large number of efficient men were thus collected within the city, Dercylidas crossed over to Sestus, which lies opposite Abydos, and is not more than eight stadia distant from it. Here he assembled such persons as held land in the Chersonesus under favour of the Lacedæmonians, and such of the harmosts as had been ejected from the cities in Europe, receiving them kindly, and telling them that "they ought not to be dispirited any more than the people of Abydos, but to reflect that even in Asia, which from the first belonged to the king, there were Temnus, not indeed a large city, and Ægæ,<sup>1</sup> and several other places, in which they might settle without becoming the king's subjects. Although," added he, "what place can you find stronger than Sestus, or more difficult to be reduced by siege, for, if it were to be blockaded, it would require both a navy and land forces for the purpose." By addressing them thus, he prevented them from being overcome with fear.

6. When Pharnabazus found that Abydos and Sestus were in this condition, he sent word to them, that "if they did not eject the Lacedæmonians, he would make war upon them." As they paid no regard to his words, he directed Conon to prevent them from taking to the sea; and then proceeded, himself, to lay waste the lands of Abydos. But as his efforts were ineffectual to bring the people to a surrender, he went home, desiring Conon to manage the towns on the Hellespont in such a manner that as large a fleet as possible might be collected from them by the spring; for, being enraged with the Lacedæmonians for what he had suffered from them, he was eager, above all things, to sail to their country, and to take vengeance on them as far as he could.

7. The winter, accordingly, they spent in making preparations; and, as soon as spring came, Pharnabazus, having manned a number of vessels, and hired a body of mercenaries, sailed away, and Conon with him, through the islands<sup>2</sup> to Melos, from whence they proceeded towards Lacedæmon. But first making a descent on Pheræ,<sup>3</sup> he ravaged the country

<sup>1</sup> Both towns of Æolia.

<sup>2</sup> He says "through the islands," because the voyage was made, not through the open part of the Ægean, but through the midst of the Cyclades. *Dindorf*.

<sup>3</sup> In Messenia, as Bos ad Corn. Nep. Conon, c. 1, has remarked. *Schneider*.

there; and afterwards, disembarking at other points on the coast, he spread as much devastation as he could. Fearing, however, the want of harbours in those parts, the readiness of the people to assist one another, and the scarcity of provisions, he soon drew back, and, sailing off, came to an anchor at Phœnicus<sup>1</sup> in Cythera. 8. But as the Cytherians who held the town abandoned their defences, from fear of being made prisoners by assault, he sent them, according to a treaty which he made with them, into Laconia, while he himself, after strengthening the fortifications of the Cytherians, left a garrison there with Nicophemus an Athenian in the character of governor. Having completed these affairs, he stood away to the Isthmus of Corinth; and, exhorting the allies to prosecute the war with alacrity, and to prove themselves faithful adherents to the king, he left them whatever money he had with him, and sailed off home.

9. But as Conon represented to him that "if he would allow him to have the fleet, he would supply it with provisions from the islands, and would make an expedition to his country, and rebuild the Long Walls of the Athenians and the wall round the Piræus, than which exploit," he said, "he knew nothing would be more grievous to the Lacedæmonians;" "and by that means," he continued, "you yourself will both gratify the Athenians and take revenge on the Lacedæmonians, since you will render that ineffectual on which they have exhausted their greatest efforts." Pharnabazus, on receiving this proposal, gladly despatched him to Athens, and supplied him with money for the rebuilding of the walls. 10. Conon, in consequence, proceeding to Athens, erected a large portion of the wall, employing his own crews in the work, supplying wages for carpenters and masons, and defraying whatever other expense was required. There was some part of the wall, however, which the Athenians themselves, the Boeotians, and other people, joined in building of their own accord.

The Corinthians, in the mean time, having manned a number of vessels with the money that Pharnabazus had left them, and having appointed Agathinus to the command of them, made themselves masters by sea in the gulf round

<sup>1</sup> A harbour not mentioned by any other writer. *Weiske*.



Achaia and Lechæum. 11. The Lacedæmonians, also, fitted out a fleet to oppose them, of which Podanemus had the command; but as he was killed in an encounter, and Pollis, the second in command, was wounded and went home, Herippidas took the charge of that fleet. Proænus, a Corinthian, who succeeded Agathinus in command of the Corinthian fleet, abandoned Rhium, and the Lacedæmonians took possession of it. After this Teleutias came out to take the command of the Lacedæmonian fleet from Herippidas, and he, in his turn, became master of the gulf.

12. The Lacedæmonians, when they heard that Conon was rebuilding the walls of Athens with the king's money, maintaining his fleet by the same means, and inducing the islands and cities on the coast to join the Athenians, began to think that if they could apprise Tiribazus, the king's general,<sup>1</sup> of those particulars, they would either attach him to their own interest, or at least prevent him<sup>2</sup> from maintaining Conon's fleet. With these views, they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus, instructing him to convey this information, and to endeavour to make peace between their government and the king. 13. The Athenians, at the same time, getting notice of their intention, sent, on their part, an embassy under the escort of Conon, consisting of Hermogenes, Dion, Callisthenes, and Callimedon; they invited also ambassadors to join them from their allies, and some came from the Bœotians, and from Corinth and Argos. 14. When they had all reached their place of destination, Antalcidas told Tiribazus that "he was come to solicit for his country a peace with the king; a peace such as the king already desired; for the Lacedæmonians would not claim from the king the possession of the Greek cities in Asia, but would be content if the islands and other cities were left free." "And when we," he proceeded, "feel thus disposed, for what reason should<sup>3</sup> the king either continue at war with us, or be at such expense? for it will neither be possible for the Athe-

<sup>1</sup> He was not subject to Pharnabazus, and does not seem to have been a satrap at this time. He is called *satrap of Cyprus* by Polyænus, vii. 19, where it is said that he was treacherously killed by Orontes. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> As it was Pharnabazus that furnished pay for the fleet, Morus would insert his name in the text.

<sup>3</sup> The words of ἑλλήνες, which Morus and Schneider would eject from the text, I have not translated.

nians to maintain a war with the king, when we no longer take the lead, nor will it be possible for us to do so, when the cities are left independent." 15. These representations of Antalcidas pleased Tiribazus, as he listened to them, extremely; but to the opposite party they were mere words; for the Athenians were afraid to consent that the cities and islands should be free, lest they should lose Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; the Thebans were afraid, lest they should be obliged to set free the cities of Bœotia; and the Argives did not think that, if such a treaty and conditions were made, they should be able, as they desired, to retain Corinth as one with Argos.<sup>1</sup> Thus this attempt at peace was ineffectual, and the ambassadors departed to their several homes.

16. Tiribazus thought it inconsistent with his personal safety openly to take the side of the Lacedæmonians without the consent of the king. Secretly, however, he gave a sum of money to Antalcidas, in order that a fleet might be maintained by the Lacedæmonians, and the Athenians and their allies be thus made more desirous of peace. Conon, as one who had injured the king, and against whom the Lacedæmonians brought just accusations, he kept in confinement. After these proceedings he went up to the king, to state what the Lacedæmonians had proposed, to tell him that he had confined Conon as a mischievous character, and to ask how he should act with regard to all these matters. 17. But the king, as soon as Tiribazus arrived, sent down Struthes to take the command of the provinces on the coast.

Struthes, for his part, showed strong attachment to the cause of the Athenians and their allies, remembering what damage the king's dominions had suffered from Agesilaus; and the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they discovered that Struthes was hostile to them, and friendly to the Athenians, sent out Thibron to make war upon him, who, crossing the sea, and fixing his head quarters at Ephesus, and the towns in the plain of the Mæander, Priene, Leucophrys, and Achilleium, ravaged and plundered the king's territories. 18. But after some time, Struthes having observed that Thibron supported his plundering parties, on every occasion, without observing any order, or showing any fear of an enemy, despatched a troop of cavalry into the plains, ordering them to

<sup>1</sup> See c. 4, sect. 5 and 6

gallop down, and to surround and drive off whatever they could. Thibron happened then to be passing the time after dinner in the tent of Thersander the musician. (Thersander was not only a good musician, but, as having been trained like a Spartan, had claims to distinction in bodily exercises.) 19. Struthes, seeing that the enemy came to the rescue in disorder, and that the foremost party were but few, showed himself at the head of a numerous and compact body of horse. Thibron and Thersander were the first that they slew, and, when these had fallen, they put the rest of the army to flight, and pursued and killed a great number of them. Some escaped in safety to the towns that were friendly to them. A greater number, because they heard the call to the rescue too late,<sup>1</sup> \* \* \* \*; for Thibron, on many other occasions, as well as on the present, started forth to support some of his men without giving due notice to the rest. Such was the way in which this affair terminated.

20. Certain of the Rhodians, who had been ejected<sup>2</sup> by the popular party, having gone to Lacedæmon, represented that it would be wrong in the Lacedæmonians to allow the Athenians to subdue Rhodes, and gain so much additional power. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, well knowing that if the people were masters, all Rhodes would be in the power of the Athenians, but that, if the rich prevailed, it would be their own, manned eight vessels to support the aristocracy, and appointed Ecdicus to take the command of them. 21. With him, too, in this fleet, they sent Diphridas, whom they directed to cross over into Asia, to secure the cities that had received Thibron, to take the command of the troops that had saved themselves, and, collecting others from whatever quarter he could, to make war upon Struthes. Diphridas executed his orders, succeeded in some other matters, and captured Tigranes, who had married Struthes' daughter, as he was going to Sardes with his wife, and did not set them at liberty

<sup>1</sup> Leunclavius thinks that ἀπελείποντο ought to be inserted in the text. Morus, something in the sense of *ne adfuerant quidem conflictui*.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xiv. 79, relates that while Agesilaus was in Asia, the Rhodians attached themselves to Conon, and expelled the garrison of the Lacedæmonians, banishing at the same time, as it appears, such of their own people as favoured the Lacedæmonians.

without receiving a vast sum of money, by means of which he was at once enabled to pay his troops. 22. Diphridas became not less popular than Thibron had been, and, as a general, was far more observant of discipline, and more enterprising; for bodily pleasures held no control over him, but, in whatever work he engaged, he prosecuted it with the utmost diligence.

Ecdicus, having sailed to Cnidus, and found that the popular party, having gained entire ascendancy at Rhodes, were masters both by land and water, and could put to sea with twice as many galleys as he himself had, remained quiet at Cnidus; 23. while the Lacedæmonians, on their part, finding that he had too small a force to give any effectual support to their friends, directed Teleutias, with the twelve ships which he commanded in the bay about Achaia and Lechæum, to sail round to Ecdicus and send him home, and to take upon himself, at the same time, the protection of such as desired to be their friends, and do whatever damage he could to the enemy. Teleutias, accordingly, having gone to Samos, and taken some vessels from thence, sailed to Cnidus, and Ecdicus returned home.

24. Having now seven and twenty ships under his command, Teleutias set sail for Rhodes, and, on his voyage, fell in with Philocrates the son of Ephialtus, who was proceeding with ten galleys from Athens to Cyprus, to assist Evagoras. The whole of these vessels he captured. But both parties, in this affair, acted in direct opposition to their own interests; for the Athenians, who had the king of Persia for their friend, were sending aid to Evagoras, who was at war with him; and Teleutias, while the Lacedæmonians were at war with the king of Persia, intercepted those who were going to further the war with him. Teleutias returned to Cnidus, and, after disposing of what he had taken, set off again to Rhodes to support the friends of the Lacedæmonians.

25. The Athenians, apprehending that the Lacedæmonians might now re-establish their power at sea, sent out Thrasybulus of Styria, with forty ships, to oppose them. Thrasybulus, after he had set sail, resolved not to go to the aid of his countrymen at Rhodes, imagining, on the one hand, that he would not easily retaliate on the friends of the Lacedæmoni-

ans, as they occupied a fortified place,<sup>1</sup> and Teleutias was ready with a fleet to support them, and, on the other, that his own friends were not likely to fall into the hands of their enemies, as they were in possession of cities, were far more numerous, and had had the advantage in a battle.<sup>2</sup> 26. Sailing off, therefore, to the Hellespont, and no enemy appearing to oppose him, he thought that he might accomplish something that would be of service to his country. Having learned, accordingly, that Medocus, the king of the Odrysæ, and Seuthes, the governor of the sea-coast, were at variance, he reconciled them, and made them friends and allies to the Athenians, expecting that, when these were united, the Greek cities lying on the borders of Thrace would more readily pay regard to the Athenians. 27. These affairs, then, being satisfactorily arranged, and the cities in Asia being favourable to the Athenians, because the king was their friend, he steered to Byzantium, where he sold to the tax-gatherers the tenth exacted from people sailing out of the Pontus, and changed the government of Byzantium from an oligarchy into a democracy; so that the people of Byzantium saw without concern the great number of Athenians present in the city. 28. Having effected these objects, and made the people of Chalcedon his friends, he set sail for the Hellespont.

In the island of Lesbos he found that all the towns had declared for the Lacedæmonians except Mitylene; but he took no measures against any of them until he had united in a body, at Mitylene, the four hundred heavy-armed men from his own vessels, and such of the exiles from the other cities as had fled to Mitylene, joining with them the most efficient of the Mitylenæans themselves, and holding out hopes to the Mitylenæans that if he should take the other cities, they themselves would be sovereigns of all Lesbos; to the exiles, that if they supported him in attacking all the cities severally, they would be able, each of them, to secure a return to his country; and to those who embarked with him as volunteers, that if they rendered Lesbos friendly to Mitylene, they would acquire a great abundance of wealth. After giving them such

<sup>1</sup> Τείχος.] Does he mean the city of Rhodes? or some other strong place? For he does not say τὸ τεῖχος. *Weiske.*

<sup>2</sup> This victory of the Athenian party is not mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. *Weiske.*

encouragements, he drew them up in a body and led them against Methymne. 29. Therimachus, who was the Lacedæmonian harmost there, when he heard of the approach of Thrasybulus, took the soldiers from on board his vessels, the Methymnæans themselves, and whatever exiles from Mitylene chanced to be there, and proceeded to meet him upon the borders. A battle ensuing, Therimachus was killed on the field, and many of his party were slaughtered as they fled. 30. After this event, Thrasybulus brought over some of the towns, plundered the lands of such as refused to submit, and, having thus furnished pay to his soldiers, hastened to set out for Rhodes. But that he might be able to embody an efficient force there also, he proceeded to collect money, not only from other cities, but went also to Aspendus, and anchored near the river Eurymedon; and he had already received a contribution from the Aspendians, when, as some of his men committed depredations on their lands, the people were enraged, and, falling upon him in the night, killed him in his tent.

31. Thus died Thrasybulus, a man who was regarded as possessed of great ability. The Athenians chose Agyrrhius in his place, and sent him out to take the command of the fleet.

The Lacedæmonians, having heard that the tenth exacted from the ships sailing out of the Pontus had been sold at Byzantium by the Athenians, and that the other cities on the Hellespont, from Pharnabazus being friendly to them, were in a favourable condition for the Athenians, who occupied Chalcedon,<sup>1</sup> saw that they must pay attention to matters in that quarter. 32. Of Dercylidas they had no reason to complain; yet Anaxibius, as the ephori were inclined to favour him, contrived that he himself should be sent out as harmost to Abydos; and engaged, if he should be intrusted with a sum of money and some vessels, to prosecute the war with the Athenians in such a manner that their prosperity on the Hellespont should be brought to an end. 33. The Lacedæmonians accordingly gave him three triremes, and pay sufficient for a thousand mercenaries, and despatched him. When he arrived at the parts to which he was sent, he collected a

<sup>1</sup> Καλχηδόνα ἔχουσι—εὖ ἔχουσιν.] "Were in a prosperous condition for them, (the Athenians,) holding Chalcedon."

mercenary force by land, and detached some of the Æolian cities from Pharnabazus; while, whatever cities sent troops to attack Abydos, he took the field against them, and invaded and laid waste their territories. Having manned, too, three vessels at Abydos, in addition to those which he had, he brought into the harbour whatever vessels of the Athenians or their allies he was able to capture.

34. The Athenians, receiving intelligence of these proceedings, and fearing that what Thrasybulus had done on the Hellespont would be lost to them, sent out Iphicrates with eight ships and about twelve hundred peltasts, of whom the greater part were those that he had commanded at Corinth, for after the Argives had made Argos and Corinth one, they said that they had no further need of them. Iphicrates, indeed, had cut off some of those that favoured the Argives, and in consequence had retired to Athens and remained at home. 35. After Iphicrates arrived at the Chersonesus, Anaxibius and he at first sent out bands of pirates, and carried on the war with one another in that way; but, after some time had passed, Iphicrates, having learned that Anaxibius was gone to Antandros with his mercenaries, such Lacedæmonian troops as he had, and two hundred heavy-armed soldiers from Abydos, and having subsequently heard that he had attached Antandros to him, he suspected that, after settling a garrison there, he would return, and bring the Abydenians home again, and accordingly crossed over by night at the least frequented part of the territory of Abydos, where he retired up into the mountains and placed an ambuscade. The vessels which brought him over he ordered to cruise, as soon as it was day, along the upper part of the Chersonesus, that he might be thought to have gone, as he had been accustomed, to collect money. 36. Having made these dispositions, he was not disappointed in his expectations; for Anaxibius was now on his return, though the victims that day, it was said, had not been favourable to him; a warning, however, of which he thought little, because he was to go through a friendly country and to a friendly city; and, as he heard from persons who met him that Iphicrates had sailed towards Præconnesus, he proceeded with still less concern. 37. Iphicrates, as long as the troops of Anaxibius were all on the same level, did not rise from his hiding-place; but when the men of Abydos, who led the way, had reached

the plain near Cremastes, where they have their gold mines, and the rest of the force was following on the slope of the hill, and Anaxibius was just going to descend with his Lacedæmonians, Iphicrates started from his ambush, and rushed at full speed upon him. 38. Anaxibius, conscious that there was no hope of escape, as he saw his troops extended forwards in a long narrow road, and knew that those who had gone before could certainly not come to his aid up the steep, and perceiving, too, that they were all struck with a panic as soon as they saw the ambuscade, said to those who were near him, "Friends, it becomes me to die here; but do you, before you meet the charge of the enemy, hasten to consult your safety." 39. As he said this, he snatched his shield from the man that carried it, and fell fighting on the spot. A favourite boy stood by him to the last; and about twelve of the Lacedæmonian har-  
mosts, who had joined him from the neighbouring cities, fought and died with him. The rest fled and were slaughtered, for the enemy pursued them to the city. Of the other troops about two hundred were killed; of the heavy-armed men of Abydos about fifty. Having achieved this exploit, Iphicrates returned to the Chersonesus.



## BOOK V.

## CHAPTER I.

The Athenians attack the Æginetans, to put a stop to their depredations on the coast of Attica. Teleutias, the Lacedæmonian, puts to flight the Athenian fleet. Honours paid to Teleutias by his soldiers. He is succeeded by Hierax, and Hierax by Antalcidas, who sends Nicolochus to Abydos. Gorgopas, a Lacedæmonian, pursues some vessels of the Athenians under Eunomus near Ægina, and captures four of them. Chabrias lies in ambush for Gorgopas in Ægina, and kills him and many of his supporters. Teleutias is again sent out, to the great joy of the troops, and makes a successful attack on the vessels in the Piræus. The Athenians unsuccessfully pursue Antalcidas, who captures Thrasybulus of Colytus, and, with an accession of force, becomes master of the whole sea. The Athenians, Lacedæmonians, and Argives become all desirous of peace. Tiribazus brings conditions of peace from the king, the principal of them being, that the Greek cities and islands should be left free. This proposal is well received by all except the Thebans, who are unwilling to leave any of the Boeotian towns in freedom, but are obliged by Agesilaus to submit, as well as the Corinthians and Argives.

1. SUCH was the state of affairs, with regard to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the Hellespont.

In Ægina, meanwhile, the people of which had formerly maintained an intercourse with the Athenians, Eteonicus being there again,<sup>1</sup> permitted them, as the war was openly carried on by sea, and as the ephori gave their consent, to carry off plunder from Attica at pleasure. 2. The Athenians, in consequence, being annoyed by the Æginetans, despatched to Ægina a body of heavy-armed troops, under the conduct of Pamphilus, and erected forts there to command the country, blockading the place not only by land, but with ten galleys by

<sup>1</sup> Xenophon has nowhere else said that Eteonicus was in Ægina before, but being here, as in many other parts of this history, somewhat too studious of brevity, merely intimates by the word "again" that he had been there before. In the rest of the section, also, there is much obscurity. *Schneider*. The Athenians had at one time had the Æginetans under their power, to which period we must, as *Schneider* observes, refer the expression "formerly," τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον, in the text. Lysander afterwards set them free; and hence, says *Weiske*, a hatred of the Athenians had been produced in the Æginetans, so that Eteonicus had no need to order, but had only to "permit" them, to plunder Attica.

sea. Teleutias, however, who happened to be going to some of the islands to collect money, heard of the erection of the forts, and went to the support of the Æginetans; when he forced the fleet to retire, but of the fortresses Pamphilus kept possession.

3. Soon afterwards, Hierax was sent out by the Lacedæmonians as admiral, and took the command of the fleet. Teleutias then set sail for Sparta, and with feelings of the highest gratification; for when he went down, as he was starting, to the water-side, there was not a man among the soldiers there that did not take his hand; while one crowned him with garlands, and another adorned him with fillets;<sup>1</sup> and those even who were too late, nevertheless threw their garlands into the sea, and prayed for innumerable blessings on his head. 4. I know that in relating such particulars, I give no remarkable instance of munificence, defiance of danger, or able contrivance; yet it appears to me, unquestionably, worthy of any man's consideration, by what sort of conduct Teleutias thus wrought on the affections of those under his command; for a man's success in that way deserves far higher commendation than any lavishing of wealth or conquest of danger.

5. Hierax left twelve ships at Ægina, with Gorgopas, his second in command, as harmost, and took the rest of the fleet again<sup>2</sup> to Rhodes. The Athenians in the line of forts at Ægina were now more closely besieged by Gorgopas than their enemies in the city by themselves; so that the Athenians at home, by an express decree, manned several vessels, and brought off their men from the fortresses in the island in the fifth month afterwards. When this, however, was done, the Athenians were again infested both by the plunderers from Ægina and by Gorgopas. They therefore fitted out thirteen vessels to oppose them, and chose Eunomus to take the command.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐραυνίωσεν.] A great mark of honour; for it was in general only the statues of the gods, the dead, conquerors in the games, and eminent benefactors to their country and mankind, that were so distinguished. *Weiske.*

<sup>2</sup> Πάλιν.] This word seems not to refer to the man, but to the matter; not to indicate that Hierax had been at Rhodes before, but that there had been an affair with the Rhodians, and that in consequence of it the fleet was obliged to go thither again. *Weiske.* Schneider refers to iv. 8. 25.

6. While Hierax was at Rhodes, the Lacedæmonians sent out Antalcidas as their admiral, thinking that by doing so they would highly gratify Tiribazus. Antalcidas, when he arrived at Ægina, took with him the ships under Gorgopas, and sailed to Ephesus, whence he sent Gorgopas back again with his twelve ships to Ægina, and appointed Nicolochus, his second in command, over the rest. Nicolochus sailed off to give the people of Abydos support, but, turning aside to Tenedos, laid waste the country there, and, after securing some money, stood off again towards Abydos. 7. The Athenian commanders, however, assembling from Samothrace, Thasos, and the places in that quarter, came to the assistance of the people of Tenedos; and when they found that Nicolochus had already steered off for Abydos, they put to sea from the Chersonesus, and blocked him up there with two-and-thirty vessels of their own, he having only twenty-five. In the mean time Gorgopas, as he was sailing from Ephesus, fell in with Eunomus, and for the present betook himself to Ægina, a little before sunset, where he landed his men, and ordered them immediately to take their suppers. 8. Eunomus also, having stayed here a short time, pursued his voyage, and when night came on, led the way with a light, as is usual, that the ships behind may not miss their way; when Gorgopas, having re-embarked his men, immediately followed him by the aid of the light, keeping at some distance behind, that he might not be perceived or afford any indication of his approach, the *celeustæ*<sup>1</sup> using the sound of stones, instead of their voice, to give their time-signals, and oblique strokes of their oars.<sup>2</sup> 9. But as soon as the vessels of Eunomus had got to land near Zoster in Attica, he ordered an attack with sound of trumpet. The men from some of the ships of Eunomus had then

<sup>1</sup> The men whose office it was by voice or signals to give time to the rowers.

<sup>2</sup> Παραγωγῇ τῶν κωπῶν.] Liddell and Scott interpret this term in nearly the same manner as Sturz and Brodæus, "a sliding motion of the oars, so that they made no dash in going in and out of the water." Schneider and Weiske suppose that flat strokes of the oars on the water are meant, to make more noise than usual, as signals in combination with the dropping of the stones. But in this supposition they must surely be deceived. Dindorf says that we must understand the expression *de reductis remis*, by which the reader is not much assisted.

gone on shore; others were anchoring, and others drawing to land. A battle taking place by moonlight, Gorgopas captured four of the enemy's ships, and went off with them in tow to Ægina; but the rest of the Athenian vessels took shelter in the Piræus.

10. After these occurrences, Chabrias was sailing out<sup>1</sup> to Cyprus to the aid of Euagoras, with eight hundred peltasts and ten galleys; but taking with him from Athens some other vessels, and a party of heavy-armed men, he landed by night on the island of Ægina, and placed himself in ambush, with his peltasts in a hollow some distance beyond the temple of Hercules. As soon as it was day, the heavy-armed Athenians, as had been agreed, came to join him under the command of Demænetus, and went up about sixteen stadia beyond the temple of Hercules, where the place called the Three Towers<sup>2</sup> is. 11. Gorgopas, receiving intelligence of these proceedings, came out with a body of Æginetans, the soldiers from the fleet, and eight Spartans who happened to be there, to oppose the enemy. He issued orders, too, that all the free-men in the crews of the vessels should come to his support; so that many of these also gave him aid, each bringing whatever weapon he could find. 12. But as soon as those in front had passed the ambuscade, Chabrias and his party started up, and hurled javelins and stones at them; when the heavy-armed men, who had landed from the ships, advanced to the charge; and the first party, for they were not in a compact body, were soon cut off; among them were Gorgopas and the Lacedæmonians; and when these were killed, the rest took to flight. Of the Æginetans there perished about a hundred and fifty; and of the foreigners, sojourners, and mariners, who had run down to give assistance, not less than two hundred. 13. After this the Athenians ranged the sea as quietly as in the midst of peace; for the sailors refused to move an oar<sup>3</sup> for

<sup>1</sup> Was he going from Athens? If so, why does Xenophon afterwards say, "taking with him from Athens," &c.? We must therefore suppose that he brought ships and peltasts from some other place; and were these the peltasts and ships which he had previously used in the war with Corinth, when he succeeded Iphicrates? *Schneider.*

<sup>2</sup> Τριπύργια.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐμβάλλειν.] *Schneider* aptly interprets this word *impellere remos*, confirming this interpretation from *Aristoph. Eq. 603*; *Ran. 205.* *Weiske.*

Eteonicus, how much soever he tried to compel them, since he had no money for their pay.

Soon after, the Lacedæmonians sent out Teleutias to take the command of the ships in those parts; and the sailors, when they saw him arrive, were in the highest degree delighted. He called them together, and addressed them thus: 14. "I am come, my fellow-combatants, without any money; but if the gods please, and you heartily support me, I will endeavour to supply you with the greatest possible abundance of provisions; and be assured that, as long as I command you, I pray that you may have subsistence not less plentifully than myself. You would perhaps wonder if I should say that I wish you to have plenty rather than myself; but, by the gods, I would sooner submit to fast for two days than that you should fast for one. My door used to be open in past times, for any one that wanted anything of me to enter, and it shall be open also now; so that, whenever you have abundance of provisions, you will then see my table, likewise, more plentifully supplied. 15. And when you behold me enduring cold, and heat, and want of sleep, consider that you yourselves, too, ought to bear<sup>1</sup> the same inconveniences; for I do not require you to submit to hardships merely that you may suffer pain, but that you may gain some advantage from them. 16. Our own state, my fellow-soldiers, which is seen to be prosperous, acquired its blessings and honours, be assured, not by being slothful, but by being willing to submit to toils and dangers whenever it might be necessary. You were formerly, as I myself know, brave men; and it now behoves you to be still more brave, that we may labour together with content, and enjoy success together with pleasure. 17. What greater pleasure can there be, indeed, than to have to flatter no man, either Greek or Barbarian, for pay, but to be able to procure subsistence for ourselves, and to procure it by the most honourable means? For abundance of spoil, taken from the enemy in war, brings with it, you may be certain, not merely subsistence, but fame among all mankind."

18. Thus he spoke; and they all cried out that he might order them to do whatever he thought necessary, as they were ready to obey. He had already performed the custom-

<sup>1</sup> Οἶσεθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν.] Dindorf refers to ὦντο ἀπέναι, iv. 7. 4.

any sacrifices, and now said to them, "Go, then, soldiers, and take your suppers as you were about to do; and then furnish yourselves, in accordance with my wishes,<sup>1</sup> with one day's provisions. When you have done so, repair at once to your vessels, that we may sail whither heaven directs us, and arrive at a fortunate time." 19. As soon as they were come, he made them go on board, and sailed off by night towards the harbour of Athens, sometimes slackening his course, and bidding the men take some rest, and sometimes speeding onward with the aid of oars.

If any one thinks that he acted rashly, in going with only twelve galleys against a people possessed of so numerous a navy, let him consider what course of reasoning he adopted. 20. He thought that the Athenians, since Gorgopas was killed, took less precaution to guard their ships in the harbour; he believed that even if vessels of war were anchored there, it would be safer for him to attack twenty of them at Athens than ten of them elsewhere, for, in ships that were abroad, he knew that the seamen lay constantly on board, but at Athens he felt sure that the captains would sleep at home, and that the sailors would go to lodge in various places. It was with these considerations that he engaged in the enterprise.

21. When he was about five or six stadia from the harbour, he remained quiet, and made his men rest themselves. But as soon as day appeared, he led onward with his ship, and the rest followed. He did not allow his crews to sink or damage any trading vessels, but, wherever they saw a war-galley, he bade them try to disable her for sailing. He told them also to fasten all the trading vessels, and such as had cargoes on board, to their own, and tow them out to sea; and to board the larger ships, wherever they could, and carry off the people that they found in them. Some of his men even leaped into the market-place on the quay,<sup>2</sup> and, seizing some traders and masters of vessels, carried them prisoners on board their own ships. 22. Such was the success of Teleutias. Of the Athenians, meanwhile, such as were within the city, and

<sup>1</sup> Προπαράσχεσθε δὲ μοι.] Dativus pleonasticè positus. Vult nempe milites unius diei cibum secum ferre. *Weiske*.

<sup>2</sup> Τὸ Δεῖγμα.] A place at the Piræus where merchants and tradesmen exhibited specimens, *δείγματα*, of articles which they had for sale. Harpocrat. sub voce; Schol. Aristoph. ad Eq. 975.

heard the noise, ran out to see what it was; while, of such as were out of doors, some ran into their houses for their arms, and others hastened to the city to tell the news. All the troops from Athens, both infantry and cavalry, then marched down with succour, just as if the Piræus had been taken. 23. But Teleutias sent off the vessels which he had captured to Ægina, and ordered his men to take three or four galleys with them; while he himself, with the rest of his vessels, directing his course along the coast of Attica, surprised, as he was apparently sailing quietly out of the harbour, several fishing and ferry boats, full of people, coming in from the islands. Proceeding also to Sunium, he took a number of transport vessels, some laden with corn and some with merchandise. 24. After these successes he sailed back to Ægina, and, selling his spoils, gave his soldiers a month's pay in advance. Continuing his cruise afterwards, also, he captured whatever he could, and, by this means, kept his ships well manned, and disposed his men to serve him with cheerfulness and activity.

25. Antalcidas now returned with Tiribazus, having obtained the king's consent to support the Lacedæmonians, if the Athenians and their allies refused to acquiesce in the peace which he had proposed. Hearing, however, that Nicolochus, with his vessels, was blocked up at Abydos by Iphicrates and Diotimus, he proceeded to that city by land; where he resumed the command of the fleet, and put out to sea<sup>1</sup> by night, spreading a report that the Chalcædonians had sent for him. At the harbour of Percote he anchored, and then remained quiet. 26. Demœnetus, Dionysius, Leontichus, and Phantias, perceiving his departure, went in pursuit of him towards Prœconnesus; and he, when they had sailed past him, turned and went back to Abydos; for he had heard that Polyxenus was coming with the twenty ships<sup>2</sup> from Syracuse and Italy, and he purposed to unite them to his own.

Soon after, Thrasybulus the Colyttian<sup>3</sup> set sail with eight ships from Thrace, wishing to form a junction with the rest

<sup>1</sup> Ἀνήμερο.] It is not explained how, when Nicolochus was blocked up (πολιορκεῖσθαι) with the ships, Antalcidas could sail out.

<sup>2</sup> Zeune refers to i. 1. 18.

<sup>3</sup> So called from the *demos* Colyttus, in which he was born. The more eminent Thrasybulus was of the *demos* Steiria.

of the Athenian fleet. 27. Antalcidas, when his scouts gave him notice that the eight ships were coming up, sent men on board twelve of his best sailing vessels, ordering them to make up the crews, if any vessel was deficient, from the other ships, and lay on the watch as much out of sight as possible. As soon as they had passed him, he started in pursuit of them; and they, seeing him, fled. With his best sailing vessels, he soon overtook those of the Athenians that sailed most slowly, but, as he had ordered such of his ships as should outstrip the rest, not to attack the hindmost of the enemy, he continued in pursuit of the foremost; and when he had taken these, the last, seeing their vessels in front captured, became a prey, through being dispirited, to the slower vessels<sup>1</sup> of Antalcidas; and thus the whole were captured.

28. When there joined him, besides, the twenty ships<sup>2</sup> from Syracuse, with those from that part of Ionia of which Tiribazus was master, (the complement being made up from the part under Ariobarzanes, for Tiribazus had long been his guest-friend, and Pharnabazus had gone up<sup>3</sup> by summons to the royal court, at the time when he married the king's daughter,) Antalcidas, with all these vessels, amounting to more than eighty, rode master of the sea, so that he prevented ships from Pontus<sup>4</sup> from sailing to Athens, and carried them off as prizes to his own allies. 29. The Athenians, therefore, seeing that the enemy's fleet had become thus numerous, and fearing that, as the king had become an ally to the Lacedæmonians, they should be subdued as they had been before, and being harassed, at the same time, by pirates<sup>5</sup> from Ægina grew, on all these accounts, extremely desirous of peace.

The Lacedæmonians too, on their part, who had a battalion in garrison at Lechæum, and another at Orchomenus, who had to watch the citics, which they trusted, lest they should be taken from them, and those which they distrusted, lest they should revolt, and who were still suffering and struggling

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν βραδυτέρων ἡλίσκοντο.] Before these words Stephens and Leunclavius very properly insert ἀπό. *Schneider.*

<sup>2</sup> See sect. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Being absent, therefore, he could make no opposition to Antalcidas. *Weiske.*

<sup>4</sup> Which were chiefly employed in bringing corn to Athens. *Weiske.*

<sup>5</sup> v. l. 1, 5.



about Corinth, were becoming discontented at the protraction of the war.

The Argives also, who knew that another expedition was decreed against them, and were sensible that their allegation of the months<sup>1</sup> would no longer avail them, were most eager for peace.

30. In consequence, when Tiribazus gave notice that such as desired to hear<sup>2</sup> the terms of the peace which the king had sent down, should attend him, they all very soon presented themselves. When they were assembled, Tiribazus, having showed them the king's seal, read what was written to them. It was as follows:

31. "Artaxerxes the king thinks it right that the cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ<sup>3</sup> and Cyprus, should belong to himself, and that he should leave the other Grecian cities, small and great, free, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; and that these, as formerly, should belong to the Athenians. Whichsoever of the two parties<sup>4</sup> does not assent to those terms of peace, I myself, in conjunction with those who receive them, will make war upon that party both by land and sea, both with ships and money."

32. The deputies from the several states, having listened to these terms, reported them severally to their own people. All the rest swore for themselves that they would observe them, but the Thebans demanded to swear in the name of all the Boeotians. Agesilaus, however, refused to admit their oath, unless they swore, as the king's letter expressed it, that "every city, small and great, should be free." The deputies of the Thebans said that power to do so had not been granted them. "Go then," said Agesilaus, "and consult your people; and tell them also that if they do not comply, they shall be excluded from the peace." 33. The deputies accordingly went away. But Agesilaus, from his hostility to the Thebans, did

<sup>1</sup> iv. 7. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ὑπακούσαι.] We should rather read ἐπακούσαι. Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> Palmerius, in allusion to this passage, shows, from Pausanias, vii. p. 529, that the town of Clazomenæ was originally built on the continent, but that the inhabitants, from fear of the Persians, removed to the adjacent island; and that Alexander afterwards joined the island to the town by a mole, which was still in existence in the time of Chandler, who saw it, and describes it in his *Travels*. Schneider.

<sup>4</sup> Athenian or Lacedæmonian.

not hesitate how to act, for, having brought the ephori over to his opinion, he at once offered sacrifice, and as the omens were favourable for crossing the frontiers, he proceeded to Tegea, and sent some of his horsemen to the neighbouring people<sup>1</sup> to summon their troops; he despatched also the captains of the auxiliaries to their own towns.<sup>2</sup> But before he set out from Tegea, the Thebans came to him, saying that they would leave the cities free. The Lacedæmonians consequently returned home, and the Thebans were obliged to include themselves in the peace, leaving the Bœotian cities in freedom.

34. Yet the Corinthians, on their part, would not send away the garrison of Argives. But Agesilaus gave notice to them both, to the Corinthians, if they did not send away the Argives, and to the Argives, if they did not quit Corinth, that he would make war upon them. As both were alarmed at this denunciation, the Argives marched out, and the city of Corinth became again its own mistress; when the authors of the massacre,<sup>3</sup> and those who were privy to it, withdrew of their own accord<sup>4</sup> from the city; and the other citizens readily readmitted such as had formerly been banished.

35. When these matters were arranged, and the states had sworn to adhere to the terms of peace which the king had sent, the land forces and naval forces were at the same time disbanded. Thus this first peace was made between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and the allies of each, after the war between them subsequent to the demolition of the walls of Athens. 36. The Lacedæmonians, who had turned the scale in their favour during the war, became still more distinguished in consequence of the peace, as it was called, of Antalcidas. For making themselves executors of the peace sent down by the king, and insisting on the freedom of the cities, they gained Corinth as an ally; they set the cities of Bœotia, as they had long desired, free from the Thebans; and they caused the Argives to desist from appropriating Corinth, by declaring war against them unless they should quit the place.

<sup>1</sup> The people in the neighbourhood of Tegea, subject to that city. *Weiske.*

<sup>2</sup> The towns at some distance, independent of Tegea. *Weiske.*

<sup>3</sup> iv. 4. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Αἰροὶ γνόμῃς.*] i. e. *ipsorum decreto, sponte.* *Weiske.*

## CHAPTER II.

The Lacedæmonians manifest their displeasure towards their refractory and suspected allies, and overthrow the city of Mantinea. Exiles from Phlius apply for aid to the Lacedæmonians, by whose means they are reinstated in their country. Ambassadors from Acanthus and Apollonia are sent to Lacedæmon to complain of the increasing power of the Olynthians, and represent the dangers likely to arise from it. The Lacedæmonians, in consequence, send out Eudamidas to Olynthus with such forces as they could readily assemble, and appoint his brother Phœbidas to follow with a reinforcement. Phœbidas, having reached Thebes, which was then divided into two factions, is put in possession of the citadel by Leontiades, leader of one of the factions, who causes Ismenias, leader of the other, to be brought to trial as an enemy to his country. Ismenias is tried and condemned by commissioners from Sparta, and put to death. The Lacedæmonians, who are pleased with the conduct of Phœbidas, in having taken possession of the citadel, are assisted, by the influence of Leontiades, with a large number of troops from Thebes for the Olynthian war. Telementias is appointed harmost. His successes.

1. THESE matters having succeeded as they wished, they determined to punish such of their allies as had been troublesome to them during the war, and had shown more favour to the enemy than to themselves; and to deal with them in such a manner that they might not be disobedient to them in future. In the first place, accordingly, they sent to the Mantineans, commanding them to pull down their walls, as they could not otherwise trust that they would not join their enemies; 2. "for they had heard," they said, "that they had sent corn to the Argives when they were at war with Argos; that at times they had refused to take the field with them, on pretext of the existence of a truce; and that, when they did go with them, they acted with no spirit." They stated also, that "they knew they were envious of them if any success attended them, and pleased if any calamity befell them." The truce, too, which had been made with the Mantineans for thirty years<sup>1</sup> after the battle at Mantinea, was said to have

<sup>1</sup> On this passage Dodwell remarks to this effect: "Since the battle of which Thucydides speaks, v. 66, seqq., and the truce, c. 79, not thirty, but at least two and thirty years had elapsed; and a treaty of peace had been made for fifty years; there must therefore have been another treaty, which the Mantineans had made against their will." These observations of Dodwell are not very satisfactory to me, but no critic, as far as I know, has suggested anything better. *Weiske.*

expired this year. 3. But as the Mantineans refused to pull down their walls, the Lacedæmonians gave notice of an expedition against them.

Agésilas begged his countrymen to excuse him from leading the army on the occasion, representing to them that the people of Mantinea had frequently been of service to his father<sup>1</sup> in the wars with Messene. Agesipolis, therefore, took the command of the expedition, although his father, Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> had been very friendly with the leaders of the people at Mantinea. 4. When he had crossed the borders, he proceeded first to lay waste the country; but as they would not even then pull down their walls, he dug a trench quite round the city, half of his men sitting by with the arms of those who were digging, while the other half carried on the work. After the trench was finished, he next constructed, without molestation, a wall around the city. Hearing, however, that there was abundance of corn in the place, as there had been a plentiful harvest the preceding year, and thinking that it would be a great hardship if he should be obliged to wear out both his own people and the allies with military operations, he dammed up the river,<sup>3</sup> though it was very large, that runs through the city. 5. The course of the stream being thus stopped, the water rose above the foundations of the houses and above those of the city walls. The lower bricks<sup>4</sup> being in consequence soaked through, and failing to support those above, the walls first began to crack, and then to give way. For a time the people propped them with pieces of timber, and contrived to prevent the tower<sup>5</sup> from falling; but when they found themselves overpowered by the water, and were afraid that if any part of the wall fell, they should be taken by assault, they consented to demolish their walls. The Lacedæmonians, however, refused now to assent to their proposal, unless they would also distribute themselves into separate villages. The Mantineans, thinking that necessity

<sup>1</sup> Archidamus, in the war carried on for ten years from the first year of the 79th Olympiad. *Dindorf*.

<sup>2</sup> In exile at Tegea: see iii. 5 25. *Dindorf*.

<sup>3</sup> The name of which was Ophis, according to Pausanias, viii. 8. *Schneider*.

<sup>4</sup> They were unburnt bricks, as Schneider observes from Pausanias, viii. 8. *Weiske*.

<sup>5</sup> What particular tower is meant, I know not. *Schneider*.

obliged them, agreed to this condition likewise. 6. As those who had favoured the Argives,<sup>1</sup> and those who had been leaders in the democracy, were afraid that they should be put to death, Pausanias, the father of Agesipolis, obtained his consent that their lives should be granted them if they would depart from the city; the number of them being about sixty. The Lacedæmonians accordingly ranged themselves, with their spears in their hands, on both sides of the road, beginning from the very gates, to take a view of such as left the place; and, though they hated them, they yet refrained from offering violence more easily than did the oligarchic party of the Mantineans. Let this be recorded as a signal proof of their obedience to command. 7. The wall was then demolished, and the city was divided into four villages, just as the people had dwelt originally. At first they were very much discontented at having to pull down their present houses, and build others; but when those who had property found themselves located nearer their estates, which lay round the villages, and when they had experience of an aristocracy, and were rid of their turbulent demagogues, they were delighted at the result.<sup>2</sup> The Lacedæmonians sent them, not one captain only,<sup>3</sup> but one for each village; and they joined them in the field from the villages much more cheerfully than they had done when they were under a democracy. Affairs respecting the Mantineans were thus brought to a conclusion, mankind being taught by their fate not to let a river run through their walls.

8. At this time, those who had been banished from Phlius, observing that the Lacedæmonians were now examining how each of their allies had behaved to them during the war, thought it a fit season to state their own case, and, going to

<sup>1</sup> That the Mantineans had always taken the side of the Argives appears from what is said above, and from Thucyd. v. 29. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> The reader may observe how favourably Xenophon speaks of the treatment of the Mantineans, when other writers accuse the Lacedæmonians of great cruelty in the affair. It is not at all wonderful, therefore, that the Athenians, knowing the feelings and judgment of Xenophon as to a democracy, banished him as a dangerous citizen. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐ καθ' ἑνα.] The sense is, as Weiske and Dindorf observe, much the same as οὐχ' ἑνα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τέτταρας, the κατὰ being distributive. They did not send, as they might have done, one ξυναγὼς only, but one for each village.

Lacedæmon, represented that as long as they themselves had remained at home, the people had received the Lacedæmonians within their walls, and had followed them in the field wherever they led ; but that, after the city ejected them, they had not only not followed them anywhere, but refused the Lacedæmonians alone, of all men living, admittance within their gates. 9. The ephori, having listened to this representation, thought it well deserving of attention, and, sending to the city of Phlius, intimated that "the exiles were friends to the Lacedæmonian people, and had been banished without having done anything wrong;" and added that "they wished to obtain their restoration, not by compulsion, but with the voluntary consent of the people." The Phliasians, on receiving this message, began to suspect that if the Lacedæmonians should march against them, some of their own people would let them into the city, as there were many relations of the exiles within the walls, who were well inclined to their cause on other accounts, and who, or at least some of them, from desire of a change in affairs, (as often happens under most governments,) were willing to effect their restoration. 10. Entertaining such apprehensions, they passed a decree that they would re-admit the exiles; that they would restore them the property that evidently belonged to them; that whoever had bought anything of theirs should receive an equivalent for it from the public treasury; and that, if any dispute arose among the parties, it should be settled by an equitable decision. Such were the arrangements made with regard to the Phliasian exiles on this occasion.

11. Ambassadors from Acanthus and Apollonia, also, the largest cities in the neighbourhood of Olynthus, arrived at this time at Lacedæmon. The ephori, having learned with what object they came, brought them before the assembly of the people and the allies; when Cleigenes of Acanthus spoke to the following effect:

12. "We are of opinion, citizens and allies of Lacedæmon, that a power which is now rising up in Greece has escaped your observation. That Olynthus, however, is the largest of the cities on the borders of Thrace, you are almost all aware. The people of that city have attached some other cities to them, on the understanding that they are to use the same laws and be under the same government; and these have since

brought some of the larger cities into union with them. They have in consequence attempted to set free the cities of Macedonia from their subjection to Amyntas, king of the Macedonians; 13. and, as those nearest them yielded to their solicitations, they soon proceeded to make attempts on the more distant and more important; so that, when we left those parts, they were in possession, not only of several others, but also of Pella, the greatest of all the cities in Macedonia; and we heard that Amyntas was withdrawing from his cities, and had been driven from almost the whole of Macedonia.

“The Olynthians have also sent to us, and to the people of Apollonia, and signified that unless we prepare to act in the field with them, they will make war upon us. 14. But we, O men of Lacedæmon, desire to adhere to the laws of our country, and to remain an independent government. Yet, unless some other power supports us, we must of necessity unite ourselves with them. They have already not less than eight hundred heavy-armed troops, and of peltasts a much larger number; and their cavalry, if we should have to join them, will be more than a thousand. 15. We left also ambassadors from the Athenians and Bœotians there; and we heard that it had been resolved by the Olynthians themselves to send back ambassadors with them to those states to concert an alliance. If, then, so great a power shall be added to the present strength of the Athenians and Thebans, take care lest they be in future difficult to be controlled by you.

“Since they are in possession, too, of Potidæa, lying on the isthmus of Pallene, be sure that the towns within that isthmus must submit to them; and let this be a proof to you of the extreme alarm which those towns feel, that, though they sincerely hate the Olynthians, they did not dare to send ambassadors with us to join in these representations to you.

16. “Reflect, also, how it can be reasonable for you to take measures that Bœotia may not be united, and to disregard the combination of a far greater power; a power which is growing strong, not only by land, but also by sea; for what can hinder its progress, when there is timber in the country for ship-building, tribute from many ports and trading towns, and a numerous population maintained by the fertility of the soil? 17. The Thracians, moreover, who have no king, are neighbours to the Olynthians, and are already paying court to them,

and, if they should submit to their authority, this would also be a vast accession of power to them. Besides, should the Thracians join them, the gold mines at Pangæum will at once stretch out a hand to them.

18. "In speaking thus, we say only what has been said ten thousand times among the people of Olynthus; and the ambition which they feel, who shall express? for the deity has perhaps ordained that the ambition of men must increase with their power.

"We, then, O citizens and allies of Lacedæmon, make known to you the state of things in that quarter; and it is for you to consider whether they seem deserving of attention. You ought, however, to feel assured, that the power which we have represented as great, is not yet irresistible; for such towns as have joined the community of the Olynthians against their inclination, will, if they see any opposition, quickly revolt from them. 19. But if they shall become more closely connected with them by marriages and profitable intercourse, on which they have decided, and shall find that it is advantageous to join with the powerful, (as the Arcadians, when they take the field with you, preserve what is their own, and seize what belongs to others,) perhaps they will not be so easy to be detached."

20. When this speech was concluded, the Lacedæmonians conferred with their allies, and requested them to recommend whatever they might respectively think best for the Peloponnesus and those in league with it. In consequence, a large number of them, and especially such as wished to please the Lacedæmonians, advised that they should assemble an army; and it was accordingly resolved that each city should furnish its complement to make up a force of ten thousand men. 21. Suggestions were also offered that any of the cities that wished might be allowed to furnish money instead of men, three oboli of Ægina a day for each man; that if any furnished cavalry, the pay for each horse-soldier should be equivalent to that of four heavy-armed foot; 22. and that if any one of the cities failed in its part towards the army, the Lacedæmonians should be empowered to fine it a stater a day for each man that was wanting. 23. When these proposals were approved, the Acanthians again rose up and said that "these were very excellent resolutions, but could not be soon executed;" and "it would be better therefore," they added, "that, while this force



was being collected, some person should at once go out as commander, and as large a force as could readily be sent with him from Lacedæmon and the other cities; for, if this should be done, the towns which had not yet joined the Olynthians would stand as they were, and those which had been forced into union with them would yield them less support." 24. As these suggestions were also well received, the Lacedæmonians sent out Eudamidas, and with him a body of the newly-enfranchised citizens, and some of the *periœci*<sup>1</sup> and Sciritæ, to the number of about two thousand in all. Eudamidas, however, at his departure, requested of the ephori that his brother Phœbidas might collect the rest of the troops appointed to join him, and follow him with them. He himself, as soon as he arrived on the coasts of Thrace, sent garrisons to such of the cities as desired them, and brought over Potidæa, which had already joined the Olynthians, with its own free consent. From thence he afterwards made excursions, and conducted the war as became a general with a small force.

25. Phœbidas, as soon as the troops left by Eudamidas were ready for him, put himself at their head and set forward. When they reached Thebes, they encamped without the city near the gymnasium. The Thebans were at this time divided into parties, and Ismenias and Leontiades were generals-in-chief, who were at variance with one another, and each at the head of separate factions. Ismenias, from dislike to the Lacedæmonians, did not even visit Phœbidas, but Leontiades paid him attention in various ways, and, when he had grown familiar with him, spoke to him to this effect: 26. "It is in your power, Phœbidas, to do, on this very day, the greatest service to your country; for if you will but follow me with your heavy-armed men, I will conduct you into the citadel; and, when your establishment there is secured, you may be convinced that Thebes will be entirely in the power of the Lacedæmonians, and of our party who are your friends. 27. A proclamation, as you know, has just been made,<sup>2</sup> that none of the Thebans shall go into the field with you against the

<sup>1</sup> The name *periœci* signifies those who dwelt around Sparta; a class of the population of Laconia between the Spartans and the helots. On the Sciritæ, or people of Sciros, see note on *Cyrop.* iv. 2. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This is not mentioned before.

Olynthians; but if you only do what I propose, in concert with us, we will immediately send with you a numerous body of heavy-armed foot and another of horse; so that you will support your brother with a powerful force, and, while he is meditating the reduction of Olynthus, you will already have become master of Thebes, a city far greater than Olynthus."

28. Phœbidas, on hearing these suggestions, was highly elated; for he was far more desirous of achieving something great than even of life itself, but does not appear to have been a man of great reasoning or depth of thought.<sup>1</sup> As he agreed to the proposal, Leontiades told him to put his troops in motion, as if he had packed up his baggage to take his departure; "and when the proper time is come," added he, "I will join you, and will conduct you myself." 29. Whilst, therefore, the senate was sitting in the portico in the forum, because the women were celebrating the festival of Ceres in the citadel;<sup>2</sup> and whilst, as it was summer and noon-day, there were very few persons in the streets, Leontiades rode up to Phœbidas, made him turn back, and conducted him without delay to the citadel.

After having thus put Phœbidas and his party in possession of the place, given him the key of the gates, and charged him to let no one into the citadel but such as he himself sanctioned, he hastened away to the senate, and, having entered,

<sup>1</sup> By this remark on the character of Phœbidas, Xenophon endeavours to remove all participation in this most treacherous deed from the public councils of the Lacedæmonians. Diodorus Siculus, on the other hand, (xv. 20,) says that the Spartans, dreading the increasing power of the Thebans, and presaging as it were their rising eminence, gave secret instructions to their generals that they should embrace any opportunity that offered of seizing on the citadel of Thebes. Plutarch unhesitatingly attributes the seizure of it to the inveterate hatred of Agesilaus towards the Thebans; \* \* \* and Agesilaus manifestly showed his feeling in the saying which Xenophon attributes to him in sect. 32. See Plutarch, Agesil. c. 23. Morus has also remarked that Diodorus imputes to the Lacedæmonians as a body that which he ought to have attributed to Agesilaus alone. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon intimates that the senate would otherwise have been sitting in the citadel. This festival was celebrated in the beginning of November, with which time the expression in the text, "it was summer," is at variance, unless, as *Schneider* suggests, there were two festivals of the kind, one in spring, and the other in autumn. *Weiske*.

said, 30. "Be not concerned, senators, because the Lacedæmonians are in possession of the citadel; for they declare that they come as enemies to no man who is not desirous of war. For my part, I, by the law that permits a general-in-chief to apprehend any one that appears to have been guilty of a capital crime, apprehend Ismenias here, as a contriver of war. You, officers of the army, and you who are commissioned to act with them, arise, take him, and conduct him to the place which has been appointed." 31. Those who were privy to the matter, accordingly, stood forward, obeyed the directions of Leontiades, and secured Ismenias; while, of those who were strangers to the plot, and opposed to the faction of Leontiades, some fled at once out of the city, for fear of being put to death; others retired at first to their homes, but when they heard that Ismenias was a prisoner in the citadel, all who were of the same party with Androcleides<sup>1</sup> and Ismenias, to the number of about four hundred, went off to Athens.

32. When this affair was concluded, they chose another<sup>2</sup> general-in-chief in the room of Ismenias, and Leontiades immediately afterwards set out to Lacedæmon, where he found the ephori, and the body of the people, highly incensed with Phœbidas, for having engaged in such an affair without orders from the government. Agesilaus however observed, that "if what he had done was to the hurt of Lacedæmon, he deserved to be punished; but that if it was for its benefit, it was an old rule that a man might do such a thing of his own accord. This is the point, therefore," he added, "which we have to consider, whether good or evil has been done." 33. Just at this time Leontiades came before the council,<sup>3</sup> and addressed them thus: "How hostile the Thebans were to you, men of Lacedæmon, before the present affair took place, you yourselves used to confess; for you saw that they were always well disposed towards your enemies, and ill disposed towards your friends. Did they not refuse to march with you against the popular party at the Piræus,<sup>4</sup> who were most inimical to you? and did they not make war on the Phocians<sup>5</sup> because they knew that they were friendly towards you? 34. When they saw, too, that you were going to war with the Olyn-

<sup>1</sup> See iii. 5. 1. -

<sup>2</sup> Archias. See c. 4, sect. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Τοὺς ἐκκλητούς.] The same as ἡ ἐκκλησία. *Dindorf* ad ii. 4. 30.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 4. 30.

<sup>5</sup> ii. 5. 3.

thians, they immediately made an alliance with them; and you were then always expecting the hour when you should hear that they had brought all Bœotia under their sway. But now, since our enterprise has succeeded, you have no longer any reason to fear the Thebans; for a small scytale<sup>1</sup> will be sufficient to cause everything that you desire there to be done, if you but pay as much regard to us as we show to you.”

35. The Lacedæmonians, on hearing these representations, resolved “to keep the citadel, as it had been seized; and to hold a court on the conduct of Ismenias.” They accordingly sent commissioners for the purpose, three from Lacedæmon, and one from every city, small and great, in alliance with Lacedæmon. When the court was assembled, it was laid to the charge of Ismenias, that “he was a friend to the Barbarians; that he had become a guest-friend to the Persian for no good to Greece; that he had received a share of the money sent from the king; and that he and Androcleides were the chief authors of all the disturbances in Greece.”

36. He defended himself against every one of these charges, but could not convince his judges that he had not been an ambitious<sup>2</sup> and mischievous character. He was accordingly condemned and put to death; and the party of Leontiades continued to hold Thebes, and endeavoured to serve the Lacedæmonians even further than was required of them.

37. When these affairs were settled, the Lacedæmonians hastened off the army against Olynthus with still more alacrity than before. They sent out Teleutias as harmost; the people all contributed their complements to make up the ten thousand troops; and the government sent scytalæ<sup>3</sup> to the cities in alliance, ordering them to support Teleutias according to the decree of the confederacy. Others, therefore, served Teleutias with cheerfulness, (for he seemed not likely to be ungrateful to those who served him,) and the city<sup>4</sup> of Thebes, as he was the brother of Agesilaus, readily supplied him both

<sup>1</sup> See note on Corn. Nep. Paus. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων.] The former word signifies one who attempts great things; the latter, one who attempts them to his own hurt, and perhaps that of his country. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Sect. 34.

<sup>4</sup> That is, that faction in the city which had betrayed their country into the hands of the Lacedæmonians; for Agesilaus was hostile to the other faction. *Weiske*.

with heavy-armed foot and cavalry. 38. Teleutias, though eager to proceed, did not make a hasty march, but studied to advance in such a way as not to hurt the lands of the friendly states, and to attach to himself as large reinforcements as possible. He sent forward, also, messengers to Amyntas,<sup>1</sup> and requested him to send him a body of mercenaries, and, if he wished to recover his power, to distribute money among the neighbouring princes to induce them to become his allies. He sent also to Derdas, the prince of Elimia,<sup>2</sup> to admonish him that as the Olynthians had reduced the greater power of Macedonia, they would not refrain from humbling a lesser power, unless some force should put a stop to their presumption. 39. Acting in this manner, he arrived with a large army at the territories of his friends. When he reached Potidæa, he marshalled his forces, and proceeded into the enemy's country. As he approached towards Olynthus, he neither devastated the lands by fire, nor cut down the trees, judging that, if he committed such ravages, everything would be adverse to him both in his advance and retreat; but thinking that when he retired from the city, it would then be well for him to cut down the trees and throw them in the way of the enemy, if any of them should pursue him.

40. When he was somewhat less than ten stadia from the city, he ordered his troops to halt under arms, occupying the left wing himself, (and thus it happened that he advanced up to the gate at which the enemy had gone out,) while the other part of the allied forces extended away towards the right. Of the cavalry, he posted the Lacedæmonians, Thebans, and as many of the Macedonians as he had, on the right; Derdas and his cavalry, amounting to about four hundred, he retained near himself, both because he admired that body of horse, and because he wished to pay attention to Derdas, that he might support him with alacrity. 41. When the enemy had come forth, and ranged themselves under the wall, their cavalry, forming in a close body, charged down upon the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians. Polycharmus, the commander of the Lacedæmonian cavalry, they threw from his horse, and

<sup>1</sup> King of Macedonia. See sect. 12.

<sup>2</sup> In Macedonia; called both Elymæa and Elimia, as appears from the writers cited by Palmerius, Gr. Antiq. p. 165, 168. *Schneider.*

gave him several wounds as he was lying on the ground; others they killed; and at length put to flight the whole of the cavalry on the left wing. As soon as the cavalry fled, that part of the infantry which was nearest to them gave way, and the whole army would have been in danger of being routed, had not Derdas with his body of horse ridden up straight to the gates of Olynthus. Teleutias and his own men followed him in order. 42. But when the Olynthian cavalry perceived these movements, they were afraid lest they should be shut out of the city, and, wheeling round, retreated with great speed. Here Derdas killed a vast number of their men as they were riding past him; and the infantry of the Olynthians then retired into the city, very few of them being killed, as they were close to the wall. 43. After a trophy was erected, and the victory was fairly secured by Teleutias, he proceeded to cut down the trees as he retreated. And as he had spent the summer in this campaign, he dismissed the Macedonian troops and those of Derdas. But the Olynthians continued to make frequent excursions against the towns in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, carrying off plunder, and killing many of the inhabitants.

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### CHAPTER III.

Reverses of Teleutias; he is killed at Olynthus. Agesipolis is sent out in his place by the Lacedæmonians, with a still greater force. The restored exiles at Phlius being ill-treated by the government, make complaints to the Lacedæmonians; Agesilaus besieges Phlius; his mode of incorporating the exiles and their friends with his forces. Agesipolis harasses Olynthus; his death. Obstinate resistance of Delphion at Phlius; the place is compelled to surrender by famine. Humanity of Agesilaus, to whom the Lacedæmonians leave the decision as to the treatment of Phlius. Olynthus is received into alliance with Lacedæmon.

1. At the very beginning of the next spring, the Olynthian cavalry, which were about six hundred in number, had made an excursion, one day about noon, against Apollonia, and dispersing themselves through the country, began to plunder it. But it chanced that Derdas, on the same day, had gone to Apollonia with his cavalry, and was stopping there for refresh-

ment. When he saw the advance of the enemy, he kept himself quiet, with his horses in readiness for action, and the riders under arms; and as the Olynthians rode up fearlessly into the suburbs and to the very gates, he sallied forth with his men in order of battle. The enemy no sooner saw him than they took to flight. 2. Derdas, when he had once made them turn their backs, did not cease from pursuing and slaughtering them the distance of ninety stadia, until he drove them to the very walls of Olynthus. Derdas was said to have killed on this occasion not less than eighty horsemen. From this time the enemy kept themselves more within their walls, and cultivated but a very small portion of their lands.

3. Some time after, when Teleutias was leading his force towards the city of Olynthus, in order to cut down whatever trees were left standing, and to lay waste whatever land had been cultivated by the enemy, the Olynthian cavalry, having come out of the place, marched quietly forward and crossed the river that runs by the city, and then advanced silently towards the adverse army. Teleutias observing them, and being provoked at their audacity, immediately ordered Tlemonides, the captain of his peltasts, to rush down upon them at full speed; 4. and the Olynthians, when they saw the peltasts advancing upon them, wheeled round, retreated at a quiet pace, and re-crossed the river. The peltasts followed them with great intrepidity, and, supposing that they were in flight, crossed the river to pursue<sup>1</sup> them. But the Olynthian cavalry, when those who had crossed seemed to be in their power, faced about and attacked them, and killed Tlemonides himself, and more than a hundred of his men. 5. Teleutias, seeing what had happened, was fired with rage, and, seizing his arms, led forward the heavy-armed men at a quick pace, ordering the peltasts and the cavalry to follow, and to put forth their utmost speed. A great portion of the other troops, having continued the pursuit too close to the walls,<sup>2</sup> had found great difficulty in retreating; and this latter party, being harassed with missiles from the towers, were compelled to retire in

<sup>1</sup> The text has *διώξαντες*, but Schneider recommends that we should read *διώκοντες*, which Leunclavius gives in his margin.

<sup>2</sup> *Τοῦ καιροῦ ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τείχους.*] That is, nearer the wall *quàm* *par erat*; *justo propius*. Compare Xen. Symp. ii. 19; Anab. iv. 4. 21. Schneider.

confusion, and to keep on their guard against the weapons hurled against them. 6. In this state of things the Olynthians sent out their cavalry, whom their peltasts supported; the heavy-armed men sallied out at length, and all fell upon the disordered troops of the enemy. Here Telentias was killed fighting, and, as soon as he fell, all about him gave way; no one any longer made a stand, but the whole army fled, some towards Spartolus, some to Acanthus, some to Apollonia, but the greater number to Potidæa; and, as they thus fled in different directions, the enemy pursued them in as many different ways, and cut off a vast number of men, and indeed all the efficient portion of the army.

7. By such calamities I consider that men are taught that they ought not to inflict vengeance, even on their own domestics, in anger; for masters, when angry, have often suffered more harm than they have done; but to attack an enemy in anger, and not with cool judgment, is an inexcusable fault; since anger is thoughtless of consequences, but judgment has no less care to avoid injury than to inflict it on an enemy.

8. The Lacedæmonians, when they heard of this disaster, judged, on deliberation, that they must send out a considerable force to Olynthus, so that the spirits of the victors might be repressed, and that what they had done might not prove useless. Having come to this resolution, they despatched Agesipolis the king, as general-in-chief, with a council of thirty Spartans, the same number that had gone with Agesilaus into Asia; 9. and many of the *periœci*, men of honour and respectability, followed him as volunteers, as well as many strangers, of those called *trophimi*,<sup>1</sup> and illegitimate children of the Spartans, persons of excellent appearance, and not unacquainted with the honourable discipline of the state. Volunteers also from the allied cities joined the army, as well as cavalry from Thessaly, who wished to recommend themselves to the notice of Agesipolis; and Amyntas and Derdas came with more alacrity than before. Agesipolis, attending to all that

<sup>1</sup> They are the same, says Schneider, as the *μόθακες* or *μόθωνες*; persons (children chiefly, as it seems, of Helots) that were bred up, as foster-brothers, with the young Spartans. See Athenæus, vi. p. 271, where Lysander is said to have been one of them. They were allowed to be instructed in the same exercises as the young Spartans; hence Xenophon says that they were "not unacquainted," &c.



concerned the expedition,<sup>1</sup> pursued his march towards Olynthus.

10. The citizens of Phlius,<sup>2</sup> who had been commended by Agesipolis for having furnished large and prompt contributions to his army, but who thought that, as Agesipolis was abroad, Agesilaus would not be likely to attack them, (since it was hardly probable that both kings would absent themselves from Sparta at the same time,) haughtily refused justice to the exiles that had lately returned. The exiles entreated that disputed points might be settled by an impartial tribunal; but their opponents compelled them to submit to such decisions as should be given in the city.<sup>3</sup> When those who had returned asked "what justice could be expected when the persons that had injured them were judges," the others paid no attention to them. 11. The restored exiles, in consequence, went to Lacedæmon to lay an accusation against their city; and other people from Phlius went with them, and stated that "the exiles were thought by many of the citizens to be treated unjustly." The people of Phlius, being incensed at these proceedings, imposed a fine on all those who had gone to Lacedæmon without being commissioned by the government. 12. Those who were fined were therefore afraid to return home, and, remaining at Sparta, represented that "the same persons who were the authors of this violence, were also those who had driven themselves into exile, and shut the gates<sup>4</sup> against the Lacedæmonians; that the same persons had bought their property, and sought by violent means to exempt themselves from restoring it; and that the same persons had procured a fine to be laid upon them for going to Lacedæmon, in order that no one, in future, might venture to go thither to report what was done at Phlius." 13. As the Phliasians, therefore, appeared certainly to have been guilty of insolent oppression, the ephori gave notice of an expedition against them. This proceeding was not at all displeasing to Agesilaus; for Podanemus and his adherents, who were among the exiles that had then returned, had been guest-friends of his father;

<sup>1</sup> Ταῦτα παράρων.] *Apparans ita expeditionem.* Morus.

<sup>2</sup> See c. 2, sect. 10.

<sup>3</sup> That is, in the city of Phlius. They wished their causes, says Schneider, to be tried by a tribunal of Lacedæmonians.

<sup>4</sup> c. 2, sect. 8.

and Procles, the son of Hipponicus, and his party, were guest-friends of his own. 14. As he made no delay, therefore, (the sacrifices for crossing the borders being propitious,) but commenced his march at once, several embassies met him and offered him money not to enter their country. He replied that "he was not in the field to do injustice, but to vindicate those who had been wronged." 15. At last they said that they would submit to whatever he imposed on them, and entreated him not to invade their territories. His answer was, that "he could not trust to their words, as they had already acted deceitfully, but that he must have some positive pledge of faith." Being asked what would be a sufficient pledge, he replied, "that which you gave before, and were not at all injured by us." This was, to deliver up their citadel. 16. But as they refused to do so, he marched into their country, and soon formed a line of circumvallation, and laid siege to their city. Many of the Lacedæmonians remarking, however, that, "for the sake of a few, they were engaging in hostilities with a city of more than five thousand men," (for, that this might be certainly believed, the Phliasians openly proclaimed it to those without the walls,) Agesilaus devised a plan to obviate the charge. 17. Whenever any persons came out of the city to him, as being friends or relatives of the exiles, he instructed them to prepare their own tables, and to furnish whatever was sufficient for the maintenance of as many as wished to practise military exercises; he enjoined them also to provide arms for them all, and not to hesitate at borrowing money for these objects.<sup>1</sup> They, complying with his wishes in these respects, supplied him with more than a thousand men in excellent condition of body, and well disciplined and armed; so that the Lacedæmonians at last acknowledged that it was well for them to have such fellow-soldiers. Such was the mode in which Agesilaus employed himself.

18. Agesipolis, in the mean time, advancing straight through Macedonia, brought up his forces before the walls of Olynthus. But as none of the people came out against him, he laid waste whatever in the Olynthian territory remained uninjured, and proceeding against the towns in alliance with Olynthus, de-

<sup>1</sup> These instructions I suppose to have been given by Agesilaus, not to the exiles only, but also to his own soldiers. Xenophon is too obscure in his account of this affair. *Schneider.*

stroyed their crops. Torone he attacked and took by storm. 19. But, while he was engaged in these occupations, in the middle of summer, a burning fever seized him; and, as he had recently seen the temple of Bacchus at Aphytis, a longing came over him for its shady bowers and limpid and cool streams. He was therefore carried thither still alive, but, on the seventh day after he fell sick, he expired without the verge of the temple. Being put in honey, and conveyed home, he was honoured with a royal interment.

20. Agesilans, on hearing of his death, was not rejoiced, as might have been expected, because a rival was removed, but shed tears, and mourned for the loss of his society. For the two kings, when they are at Sparta, reside in the same house; and Agesipolis was well qualified to converse with Agesilaus on topics such as young men talk of, or on hunting, or horsemanship, or subjects of amusement. He also paid him, in their intercourse, such respect as it became him to pay to his senior. The Lacedæmonians sent out Polybiades in his room as harmost to Olynthus.

21. Agesilaus had now spent more time before Phlius, than that for which it was said that there were provisions in the place. But such a difference does control of the appetite make, that the Phliasians, having determined to consume only half as much corn as before, and having adhered to their determination, had sustained the siege twice as long as had been expected. 22. So much does resolution, too, sometimes prevail over despondency, that a man named Delphion, who appears to have been a person of note, was able, by attaching to himself three hundred Phliasians, to repress such of the people as wanted to make peace, and was able also to keep in confinement such as he distrusted. He had influence enough, besides, to force the common people to mount guard, and, by going the rounds, to keep them steady at their posts. He frequently sallied out, too, with his party, and drove off the guards at different points along the lines of circumvallation. 23. But when this chosen body of men, after every possible search, were able to find no more corn in the city, they then sent to Agesilans, and begged him to make a truce with them for a deputation to go to Lacedæmon; for they said that "they had resolved to allow the government at Lacedæmon to do with their city whatever they pleased." 24. Agesilaus, being

offended that they thus treated him personally as of no consideration, sent to his friends at home, and effected, by their means, that the decision of affairs concerning Phlius should be committed to himself. For the deputation he granted a truce; and then kept a stricter guard round the place than before, that none of the people in it might escape. Delphion, however, and a branded slave with him, who stole many arms from the besiegers, effected their escape by night. 25. But when the messengers came from Lacedæmon, announcing that the state permitted Agesilaus to settle matters at Phlius as he pleased, he appointed that "fifty of the late exiles and fifty of those who had stayed in the city, should in the first place determine which of the people in the place deserved to live, and which to die; and should then draw up a body of laws, according to which they should conduct the government." Until they should settle these points, he left a garrison in the place and six months' pay for it. After making these arrangements, he dismissed the allies, and led his own troops home. The transactions at Phlius were thus brought to an end in a year and eight months.

26. Polybiades had now obliged the Olynthians, who were suffering grievously from famine, as they could neither get provisions from the country, nor import them by sea, to send deputies to Lacedæmon concerning peace. Deputies accordingly went with full powers, and entered into an engagement that "they would have the same enemies and friends as the Lacedæmonians; that they would follow wherever they led; and would be their allies." Having sworn to adhere to this engagement, they returned home.

27. Success having thus attended the Lacedæmonians, so that the Thebans and other Bœotians were entirely under their power; the Corinthians were become faithful adherents to them; the Argives were humbled, as their allegation of the months<sup>1</sup> no longer availed them; the Athenians were left unsupported; and their allies, who had been disaffected, were chastised; their dominion seemed to be fully established in honour and security.

<sup>1</sup> iv. 7. 2.

## CHAPTER IV.

The Thebans rescue their citadel from the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who put to death their harmost for resigning it. Cleombrotus leads an expedition against Thebes, but returns without attempting anything, leaving Sphodrias as harmost at Thespiæ. The Thebans, to involve the Athenians in the war, prevail on Sphodrias to make an incursion into Attica. Sphodrias is brought to trial for having acted in the matter without the consent of the Lacedæmonians, but is acquitted from regard to his past services, or rather on the intercession of Archidamus the son of Agesilaus. The Athenians are incited by the aggression of Sphodrias to give more efficient support to the Bœotians, whom the Lacedæmonians again attack under the leadership of Agesilaus. Agesilaus, after little success, leaves Phæbidas as harmost at Thespiæ, who lays waste the Theban territories, but is attacked by them and killed. Agesilaus commands another expedition against Thebes with great success, marching up to the very walls of the city. He quells discord at Thespiæ. Two Theban triremes, sent out to bring corn, are captured by Aletas, a Lacedæmonian, and carried to Oreus, but the crews contrive to escape with the vessels and freight. Death of Agesilaus. Ill success of Cleombrotus against the Thebans. The Lacedæmonians fit out a large fleet to cut off supplies of corn from Athens, but are foiled by the Athenians under Chabrias. The Athenians send out another fleet under Timotheus, who reduces Corcyra; he is opposed, but unsuccessfully, by Nicolochus, the admiral of the Lacedæmonians.

1. MANY other proofs a writer might produce, from the histories both of Greeks and Barbarians, that the gods do not disregard those who conduct themselves impiously, or are guilty of unjust actions; but I shall now speak only of the subjects before me. The Lacedæmonians, who had sworn to leave the cities independent, and who nevertheless took possession of the citadel of Thebes, were punished by that very people, and that alone, who had been wronged by them, though they had not previously been conquered<sup>1</sup> by any nation whatever; and as to those citizens of Thebes who conducted the Lacedæmonians into the citadel, and wished their city to be a slave to Sparta, in order that they themselves might become tyrants, seven of the exiles, and no more, were sufficient to overthrow their power. How this enterprise was achieved, I will relate.

2. There was a man named Phyllidas, who was secretary

<sup>1</sup> That is, as Morus observes, not so far conquered as to be brought under the power of any other nation; for in single battles, he adds, they had often been conquered.

to Archias and the other polemarchs,<sup>1</sup> and who had served them in other matters, as it appears, very satisfactorily. He having gone to Athens on some business, Melon, one of the Theban exiles that had fled to Athens, a person with whom he was previously acquainted, chanced to meet him, and, having questioned him about the power in the hands of Archias the polemarch and Philippus,<sup>2</sup> and perceived that he disliked the state of things at home still more than himself, he gave him pledges of faith, and received others from him, and arranged with him how matters ought to be conducted. 3. Melon, in consequence, taking with him six of the most efficient of the exiles, armed with daggers and no other weapon, proceeded, in the first place, to the neighbourhood of Thebes by night. Having passed the next day in some unfrequented place, they went up to the gates, like men returning from the fields, at the time when the latest of the labourers come in from their work. When they had thus effected an entrance into the city, they passed that night at the house of one Charon, with whom they also continued the following day. 4. Phyllidas was then preparing other matters for the polemarchs, as they were going to celebrate the festival of Venus<sup>3</sup> at the expiration of their office, and, having long promised to bring them some of the finest and fairest women in Thebes, gave them notice that he would bring them at that very time. The polemarchs, for such was their character, expected to pass the night with the greatest pleasure. 5. When they had supped, and, by the zealous attentions of Phyllidas, had soon become intoxicated, and called on him

<sup>1</sup> The same that are previously called Bœotarchs, iii. 4. 4, as the Thebans held the government over the towns in Bœotia. *Schneider*. See note on that passage.

<sup>2</sup> Philippus appears not to have been one of the polemarchs. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Whether this was a custom, does not appear. Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos make no mention of this festival in their narrations of the transaction. *Schneider*, with whom *Weiske* concurs, thinks that Xenophon speaks of a festival of Venus only metaphorically, signifying such a feast of rejoicing as men might make at the end of any troublesome office or business, or at the termination of a long voyage, and refers, in support of his notion, to Plutarch, *Op. Moral.* ii. p. 795, 1095. But surely the mode in which Phyllidas prepares for the celebration of the festival shows that a real feast of Venus was intended.

again and again to bring in the women, he went out and introduced Melon and his party, three of whom he had dressed as mistresses, and the others as servants. 6. He conducted them first into the steward's room attached to the polemarchs' hall, and then went in and told Archias and the others that "the women said they would not come in, if any of the attendants remained in the apartment." In consequence, they at once told all the attendants to go out, and Phyllidas, supplying them with wine, sent them away to drink it at one of their own houses. He then introduced the pretended women, and seated them each by a man, for the arrangement was, that as soon as they were seated, they should immediately unveil themselves and kill. Such is the mode in which some say the polemarchs were put to death; others relate that Melon and his party came in disguised as revellers, and so killed the polemarchs.

7. Phyllidas, taking three of the conspirators with him, went off to the house of Leontiades, and, knocking at the door, said that he wished to deliver a message from the polemarchs. Leontiades happened to be still resting in retirement after supper, and his wife was sitting by him spinning. Thinking Phyllidas a trustworthy person, he gave orders that he might be admitted; and the conspirators, when they had thus secured an entrance, put Leontiades to death, frightened his wife, and enjoined her to be silent. As they went out, they ordered that the door should be kept shut, threatening that, if they found it had been opened, they would kill every one in the house. 8. This part of the business being executed, Phyllidas took two of the men with him, and went to the public prison, where he told the gaoler that "he had brought him a man from the polemarchs whom he must keep in confinement." When he opened the door, they immediately despatched him, and set free the prisoners, whom they soon armed by taking weapons down from the portico, and, conducting them to the Ampheium,<sup>1</sup> told them to range them-

<sup>1</sup> The derivation of this word, says Dindorf, is unknown, but *Ἀμφεία*, the name of a town in Messenia, shows that it is Greek. Stephens, Morus, Schneider, and Weiske, read *Ἀμφειῖον*, supposing that it must have its name from Amphion, the builder of the walls of Thebes. But it is not to be confounded, as Dindorf adds, with the tomb of Amphion mentioned by Æschylus and Euripides, which was without the walls.

selves there under arms. 9. They then made proclamation that "all the Theban cavalry and infantry should come out, as the tyrants were dead." The people of the city, however, as long as night lasted, were distrustful, and made no stir; but when it was day, and what was done became known, both infantry and cavalry came forth in arms to give them aid. The exiles, too, who had returned, sent horsemen to their friends who were waiting on the frontiers of Attica, and to the two<sup>1</sup> Athenian leaders who were with them. They, knowing for what purpose they sent them,<sup>2</sup> \* \* \* \*

10. The Lacedæmonian harmost in the citadel, as soon as he knew of the proclamation made in the night, sent off at once to Platææ and Thespiæ for aid. But the Theban cavalry, observing that the Platæans were coming, met them on the way and killed more than twenty of them. As soon as they returned after this exploit, and the Athenians from the frontiers joined them, they made an assault upon the citadel.

11. As the garrison in the citadel were conscious of their weakness, and perceived the ardour of all their assailants, with the great offers of reward to such as should first scale the wall, they were greatly intimidated, and offered to quit the place, if they would grant them their lives, and allow them to march out under arms. This request they willingly granted, and having made a truce, and taken oaths to observe the conditions, they allowed them to come out. 12. When they were gone, they seized and put to death whomsoever they knew to be of the number of their enemies.<sup>3</sup> Some few, however, were concealed and saved by the Athenians who had come to the aid of the exiles from the frontiers. The Thebans took even the children of the dead, as many as had children, and put them to death.

13. When the Lacedæmonians heard of these occurrences, they put to death the harmost for quitting the citadel, when he should have waited in it for aid, and gave notice of an

<sup>1</sup> The two Athenian leaders of the exiles, who are said, sect. 19, to have been afterwards condemned by the people at Athens. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Some words are here wanting in the text; we might supply something like *δρόμῳ αὐτοῖς ἀπήντων*. *ᾠχοντο*, which Leunclavius suggests, is too tame. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> Those who had fled into the citadel after the slaughter of the polemarchs. *Schneider*.



expedition against Thebes. Agesilaus, however, represented that he was fifty-eight years old, and that "as it was not required of others of that age to serve out of their own country, so there was the same law for the kings;" and, by making this representation, exempted himself from the expedition. Yet it was not on account of his age that he stayed at home, but from knowing that if he took the command, his countrymen would say that "he gave trouble to the state with the object of supporting tyrants." He allowed the government, therefore, to make arrangements about the expedition just as they pleased. 14. The ephori, accordingly, having received information from those who had escaped after the massacre at Thebes, sent out Cleombrotus, who then commanded for the first time, in the very depth of winter. The road that led by Eleutheræ Chabrias was guarding, with a body of Athenian peltasts; and Cleombrotus in consequence went up by that which leads to Plataæ. His peltasts, who were in advance, fell in, upon the hill, with the men who had been freed from prison, and who were keeping guard there, in number about a hundred and fifty, all of whom, except one or two that may have escaped, they put to death. 15. Cleombrotus then marched down towards Plataæ, which was still friendly to the Lacedæmonians; but when he came to Thespiæ, he went off from thence to Cynoscephalæ,<sup>1</sup> which was in the interest of the Thebans, and encamped there. After continuing at that place about sixteen days, he went back again to Thespiæ, where he left Sphodrias as harmost, with a third part of each body of troops from the allies, giving him also whatever money he had brought from Sparta, and desiring him to hire a body of mercenaries. These directions Sphodrias executed.

16. Cleombrotus then led home the troops that remained with him by the road through Creusis, the men being very much in doubt whether there was war with the Thebans or peace; for he had led the army into the territory of Thebes, but was going back after doing them as little damage as possible. 17. As he was on his way, a prodigious storm of wind assailed him, which some thought an omen indicative of what

<sup>1</sup> Not, observes Schneider, the place of that name in Thessaly, as Morus and others supposed, but a place near Thebes, called by Steph. Byz. *Κυνοκέφαλοι*. Pindar is said by some to have been born there; by others, at Thebes.

was going to happen; for among many remarkable effects which it wrought, it hurled, as Cleombrotus with his troops was crossing the hills reaching from Creusis to the sea, several asses with their loads of baggage over the precipices, and blew a great many arms, snatched from the soldiers' grasp, into the deep; till at length numbers of the men, being unable to proceed with all their equipments, left their shields here and there upon the heights, turning them up and filling them with stones. 18. That night they snpped, as well as they could, at Ægosthena, in the territory of Megara, and the next day they returned and fetched off their arms. Soon after they went away to their several homes, for Cleombrotus disbanded them.

19. The Athenians, who saw how great the power of Lacedæmon was, and observed that there was no longer any war at Corinth, but that the Lacedæmonians, having passed by Attica, had made war upon Thebes, were so much alarmed that they brought to trial the two generals who had been privy to the insurrection of Melon against the party of Leontiades, one of whom they put to death; the other, as he did not wait to stand his trial, they declared an exile.

20. The Thebans, being also under apprehension, in case none but themselves should continue at war with the Lacedæmonians, contrived the following scheme: they prevailed on Sphodrias, the harmost at Thespiæ, by giving him, as was suspected, a sum of money, to make an incursion into Attica, in order to provoke the Athenians to take up arms against the Lacedæmonians. Sphodrias, complying with their solicitations, and pretending that he would seize the Piræus, as it was not yet secured by gates, led out his force from Thespiæ, after an early supper, and declared that he would make his way to the Piræus before day. 21. Day, however, came upon him at Thrium, and he then took no care even to conceal what he had meditated, but, when he had to retreat, carried off the cattle and plundered the houses. Some persons too, who had met him in the night, fled back to the city, and told the Athenians that a large army was approaching. Accordingly their cavalry and heavy-armed troops speedily equipped themselves, and formed into a body to guard the city. 22. Ambassadors from the Lacedæmonians also, Etymocles, Aristolochus, and Ocellus, happened then to be residing

at Athens, in the house of Callias the proxenus ;<sup>1</sup> whom the Athenians, as soon as the attempt of Sphodrias was made known, apprehended, and kept under guard, on suspicion that they were promoters of the plot. The ambassadors were exceedingly alarmed at the occurrence, and represented, in their defence, that "if they had been aware of a design to seize the Piræus, they would not have been so foolish as to put themselves in the power of the Athenians in the city, and especially in the house of the proxenus, where they might be found in a moment." 23. They gave assurance, besides, that "it should be made clear to the Athenians that the government of the Lacedæmonians had no knowledge of the matter;" for "they were certain," they added, "that the Athenians would hear of Sphodrias being put to death by his countrymen." They were accordingly considered to have had no concern in the affair, and were set at liberty.

24. The ephori recalled Sphodrias, and preferred a capital charge against him. Sphodrias, however, was afraid of the result, and would not appear. But, though he thus refused to stand a trial, he was nevertheless acquitted. This matter seemed to many to have been most iniquitously decided at Lacedæmon. But the cause of the decision was as follows.

25. Sphodrias had a son, named Cleonymus, of an age just beyond boyhood, the most handsome and estimable of all of the same years; and Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, had a fondness for him. The friends of Cleombrotus, who were also intimates of Sphodrias, were inclined to have him acquitted, but were afraid of Agesilaus and his friends, and indeed of all impartial persons; for he had doubtless committed an enormous offence. 26. But Sphodrias soon after said to Cleonymus, "It is in your power, my son, to save your father's life, by entreating Archidamus to render Agesilaus favourable to me on my trial." Cleonymus, on hearing this, ventured to go to Archidamus, and begged him to be the preserver of his father. 27. But Archidamus, though, when he saw Cleonymus in tears, he stood by his side and wept with him, yet, when he heard his request, replied, "Be assured, Cleonymus, that I am not even able to look my father in the face, but that, if I wish to effect any object in the city, I solicit anybody else much sooner than my father; nevertheless, as you make this request, be certain that I will use my

<sup>1</sup> See note on iv. 5. 6.

warmest efforts that your desire may be accomplished." 28. Returning home, then, from the common hall where they were, he went to rest; and, rising early the next morning, he was on the watch that his father might not go out unobserved by him. Yet when he saw him going out, he, in the first place, if any of the citizens were by, allowed them to talk with him, and then, if any strangers were there, he allowed them similar precedence; and afterwards, if any of the attendants wished to speak with him, he gave way to them. In fine, even when Agesilaus came back from the Eurotas,<sup>1</sup> and entered the house, he went away without approaching him. The next day he acted precisely in the same manner. 29. Agesilaus suspected why he came near him so often, yet asked him no questions, but let him alone. Archidamus was longing, as was natural, to see Cleonymus, but did not know how he could appear before him, when he had not spoken to his father about what he had requested of him. Sphodrias and his friends, meanwhile, not seeing Archidamus going to Cleonymus, though he used before to go to him frequently, felt fully persuaded that he had been chidden by Agesilaus. 30. At last, however, Archidamus summoned courage to go to Agesilaus, and to say, "Father, Cleonymus requests me to beg you to save his father, and I accordingly entreat you to do so, if it be in your power." Agesilaus replied, "I forgive you for making the request, but I do not see how I shall obtain forgiveness from my country if I do not condemn the man, as guilty, for what he has done to the detriment of my country."<sup>2</sup> 31. Archidamus, on that occasion, made no reply, but went away silenced by the justice of the remark; yet some time afterwards, either from his own thought or from being prompted by some one else, he came again to Agesilaus, and said, "That you would have acquitted Sphodrias, father, if he had done nothing wrong, I am certain; and now, though he has done something wrong, let him obtain

<sup>1</sup> The narrative is here too brief, and in consequence obscure. We are to understand that the son followed the steps of the father as he went out and as he returned, but, even when he entered the house, and was alone, did not venture to speak to him. *Weiske*.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀδικεῖν οἷς ἐχρηματίσατο, κ. τ. λ.] *Eum graviter deliquisse iis rebus quibus pecuniam lucratus est in detrimentum civitatis.* *Weiske*. But it is not absolutely necessary to refer ἐχρηματίσατο to dealings connected with money.

from you acquittal for my sake." Agesilaus answered, "It shall be so, if it can be done with honour." His son, on hearing this reply, went away in great despondency.

32. One of the friends of Sphodrias, however, conversing afterwards with Etymocles, observed, "All you, I suppose, who are friends of Agesilaus, will be inclined to put Sphodrias to death." "Then, by Jupiter," rejoined Etymocles, "we shall not act in the same way as Agesilaus;<sup>1</sup> for he says, invariably, to all with whom he converses on the matter, that it is impossible not to admit that Sphodrias has done wrong; but that to put to death a man who, both as a boy, and a youth, and a grown-up person, uniformly discharged his duties with honour, would be a grievous hardship, for Sparta has need of such soldiers." 33. Sphodrias' friend, on hearing this, went and told it to Cleonymus, who, in great joy, hastened to Archidamus, and said, "That you have a regard for us, we are already aware; and be well assured, Archidamus, that we will study to make it our care that you may never be ashamed of your regard for us." Nor did he fail to keep his word; but observed, as long as he lived, whatever is honourable at Sparta; and, as he was fighting at Leuctra before the king, in company with Deinon one of the polemarchs, he, after falling three times, met his death, first of all the Spartans, in the midst of the enemy. His death grieved Archidamus to the utmost, though, as he promised, he did not disgrace him, but was rather an honour to him. By such means was it that Sphodrias escaped condemnation.

34. Of the Athenians, however, such as favoured the Bœotians, represented to the people that the Lacedæmonians had not only not punished Sphodrias, but had even praised him, for having formed a design upon Athens. In consequence, the Athenians put gates to the Piræus, built ships, and prepared to aid the Bœotians with all possible ardour. 35. The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, called out their forces for another expedition against the Thebans, and, thinking that Agesilaus would conduct it for them with more prudence than Cleombrotus, begged him to take the command of the army. He replied that "he would object to nothing that was ap-

<sup>1</sup> All editors, except Dindorf, give this interrogatively, "Must we not act in the same way as Agesilaus?" The ejection of the note of interrogation seems to be an improvement.

proved by the state," and prepared to take the field. 36. But as he knew that unless a force should secure Cithæron, it would not be easy to penetrate to Thebes, and as he had heard that the Cleitorians were at war with the Orchomenians, and were maintaining a body of foreign troops, he made an arrangement with them that their foreign troops should join him, if he should need their services. 37. When the sacrifices for crossing the borders were favourable, therefore, he despatched a messenger, before he reached Tegea, to the captain of the foreign troops in the service of the Cleitorians, and, sending them a month's pay in advance, desired that they should occupy Cithæron. To the Orchomenians he gave notice, also, that "they should abstain from hostilities as long as his expedition lasted; and that if any state, while his force was abroad, should make war on any other state, he would march," he declared, "against the offending state first, according to the resolution passed by the allies." 38. As soon as he had passed over Cithæron, he advanced to Thespiæ, and, hastening from thence, entered the territory of the Thebans. But finding the plains, and the most valuable parts of the country, secured by a trench and palisading round them, he shifted his encampment from place to place, and, making excursions every day after breakfast, laid waste the ground on his side of the palisading and the trench; for the enemy, on whatever quarter Agesilaus showed himself, marched in that direction, keeping still within the palisading, and resolved to defend it. 39. But on one occasion, as he was retreating to his camp, the Theban cavalry, after keeping out of sight for a while, sallied suddenly forth through the outlets made in the palisading, and while the peltasts were going off to their suppers or getting them ready, and the cavalry were either dismounting or mounting again, galloped in among them, when they killed several of the peltasts, and, of the cavalry, Cleon and Epicydides, both Spartans, besides Eudicus, one of the pericæci, and some of the Theban exiles who had not yet mounted their horses. 40. But when Agesilaus faced about with his heavy-armed troops, and came to the rescue, and his cavalry rallied and rode up to meet the cavalry of the enemy, while the younger of the heavy-armed hurried forward with them, the cavalry of the Thebans became like men who had drunk a little too much in the heat of noon, for they made a stand, in-

deed, against their assailants, so far as to throw their spears, but produced no effect with them, and at last, wheeling about at that distance to retreat, twelve of them were slain. 41. But as Agesilaus observed that it was always after breakfast that the enemy showed themselves, he offered sacrifice one morning at day-break, and, leading out his troops as speedily as possible, entered the palisading by a part entirely unguarded; and then ravaged and burned the parts within up to the very walls of the city. After having done this, he went back again to Thespiæ, and fortified that city; and then, leaving Phœbidas harmost there, he passed over again to Megara,<sup>1</sup> dismissed the allies, and conducted the Spartan troops home.

42. Soon afterwards, Phœbidas, sending out plundering parties, ravaged and stripped the lands of the Thebans, and annoyed their whole neighbourhood with incursions. The Thebans, eager to have their revenge, marched with their whole force into the territory of the Thespians; but, while they were in it, Phœbidas, hovering about them with his peltasts, allowed none of them anywhere to straggle from the main body; so that the Thebans, greatly dissatisfied at the success of their incursions, prepared for a precipitate retreat, and the muleteers, throwing away the corn which they had collected, rode off homewards; so great a panic had seized on the army. 43. Phœbidas, at that time, pressed boldly upon them, keeping the peltasts about him, and ordering his heavy-armed men to follow in order. He was in hopes of putting the Thebans entirely to rout; for he led forward resolutely, and encouraged the rest of his men to grapple with the enemy, calling on the Thespian heavy-armed, at the same time, to follow closely behind. 44. But as the Theban cavalry in their retreat came to an impassable wood, they first collected in a close body, and then faced about from being at a loss where they should attempt a passage. The peltasts in advance, who were but few, felt alarmed, and took to flight; and the cavalry, when they saw them doing so, were encouraged by their retreat to attack them. 45. Here Phœbidas, and two or three with him, were killed fighting; and the mercenaries, in consequence, took flight to a man, and when, in their retreat, they encountered the heavy-armed Thespians, they also, though

<sup>1</sup> Briefly expressed for "crossing over Cithæron and coming to Megara." *Schneider*.

they had previously felt confident that they would never yield to the Thebans, gave way, but were not pursued far, for it was now late. Nor were many killed; but the Thespians did not stop till they were within their own walls.

46. After this occurrence the affairs of the Thebans assumed new spirit, and they made attacks on Thespiæ and the other neighbouring towns. The democratic parties, indeed, from those places, had betaken themselves to Thebes; for oligarchies, like that at Thebes, had been established in them all; so that the friends of the Lacedæmonians in them were greatly in need of succour. After the death of Phœbidas, the Lacedæmonians sent out one of the polemarchs, with a battalion, by sea, and garrisoned Thespiæ with that force.

47. When the next spring came on, the ephori again gave notice of an expedition against Thebes, and solicited Agesilaus, as before, to take the command of it. He, continuing of the same opinion with regard to the mode of invasion, sent off a messenger, before he offered sacrifices, to the commander at Thespiæ, and told him to secure the heights above the road by Mount Cithæron, and to keep guard there until he himself should come up. 48. When he had passed that mountain, and had arrived at Plataæ, he pretended at first to be going back again to Thespiæ, and, sending messengers thither, directed that the people should prepare provisions for sale, and that all deputations should wait for him there; so that the Thebans strongly guarded the access to their city on the side of Thespiæ; 49. but Agesilaus, sacrificing at day-break, directed his march along the road to Erythræ, and accomplishing, at the head of his forces, the march of two days in one, passed the line of palisading near Scolus, before the Thebans could come from their station at the place where he entered the previous year. Having met with this success, he laid waste the country to the eastward of Thebes as far as Tanagra, (for Hypatodorus<sup>1</sup> and his party, who were friends to the Lacedæmonians, still held Tanagra,) and then marched back, keeping the walls of Thebes on his left. 50. The Thebans however came out against him, and drew up in order of battle at Graosstethos, having the trench and palisading in their rear, and thinking it advisable to hazard an engagement there, for it was a rather narrow piece of ground, and difficult to be

<sup>1</sup> He is nowhere else mentioned.



crossed. But Agesilaus, seeing that such was the case, did not advance against them, but, turning aside, directed his course towards the city of Thebes. 51. The Thebans, fearing for the city, as it was defenceless, left the place where they were posted, and hurried off towards Thebes along the road by Potniæ, as being the safest. But it was thought to have been an excellent stratagem in Agesilaus, that, by drawing off to a distance from the enemy, he obliged them to quit their ground with precipitation. 52. Some of the officers of the Lacedæmonians, at the head of their companies, made an attack upon the Thebans as they were hurrying past them; but the Thebans hurled missiles upon them from some eminences, and Alypetus, one of the officers, was killed, being pierced through with a spear. The Thebans however were forced to flee from these eminences, and the Sciritæ<sup>1</sup> and some of the cavalry rode up, and harassed their rear as they were making off towards the city. 53. But the Thebans, when they drew near the walls, faced about; and the Sciritæ, observing their motions, retreated at a quick pace, and not a man of them was killed. Yet the Thebans erected a trophy, because their assailants had retreated. 54. Agesilaus, as it was now time, marched off and encamped in the place where he had found the enemy drawn up; and the next day led his forces back to Thespiæ. The peltasts in the pay of Thebes hung intrepidly on his rear, and called out to Chabrias to reproach him for not keeping up with them; when the Olynthian cavalry (for they were now, according to the treaty, in the field with the Lacedæmonians) wheeled round, and, in the course of pursuit, drove them to a hill, and killed a great many of them; for foot-soldiers, going up a slope that horses can ascend, are easily overtaken by cavalry.

55. When Agesilaus came back to Thespiæ, he found the people of that city divided into parties, and as those who professed attachment to the Lacedæmonians were for putting their adversaries, among whom was Melon, to death, he would not allow them to do so, but, having reconciled them, and obliged them to take an oath to continue at peace with each other, he went back over Cithæron to Megara; from whence he sent away the troops of the allies, and conducted the Spartan forces home.

<sup>1</sup> c. 2. sect. 24.

56. The Thebans, who were now suffering from want of corn, as they had had no produce from their land for the last two years, sent people in two galleys to buy corn at Pagasæ, giving them ten talents for the purpose. But Alcetas, a Lacedæmonian, who was in garrison at Oreus,<sup>1</sup> proceeded, while they were purchasing their corn, to man three galleys, taking care that what he was doing should not be made known; and when the corn was being taken off, he seized both it and the galleys, and made prisoners of the men on board, who were not less than three hundred. These he confined in the citadel at Oreus, where he himself had his quarters. 57. But as a certain youth, a son of one of the people of Oreus, and, as they reported, of a handsome and noble figure, used to follow Alcetas, he would go down from the citadel and converse with him; and the prisoners, observing this negligence of his, made themselves masters of the citadel, when the town revolted from the Lacedæmonians, and the Thebans brought off their corn.

58. When the spring came on, Agesilaus was confined to his bed; for when he was leading home the army from Thebes, and while he was at Megara, as he was going up from the temple of Venus to the town hall, a vein, whatever vein it was, burst in his body, and the blood flowed down from it into his sound leg. As the leg was in consequence excessively swollen, and the pain in it intolerable, a Syracusan surgeon opened the vein at the ankle; and when the blood once began to flow, it continued running a whole night and day, and, though they used every contrivance, they were unable to stop it till he fainted, and then it ceased. In this condition he was conveyed to Lacedæmon, and was ill the rest of the summer and throughout the winter.

59. The Lacedæmonians, however, as soon as spring appeared, called out their troops for an expedition, and desired Cleombrotus to take the command of it. He accordingly led out the troops, and when he drew near Mount Cithæron, his peltasts advanced before him to secure the heights above the pass; when a party of Thebans and Athenians, who had previously taken possession of the post, allowed them, for a while, to prosecute their ascent, but, as soon as they came close upon them, they started up, pursued, and killed about forty of them.

<sup>1</sup> A city of Eubœa, previously called Histiaæa. *Schneider.*

After this had happened, Cleombrotus, thinking it impracticable to pass over into the territory of the Thebans, led back the army and disbanded it.

60. The allies having met at Lacedæmon, remarks were made among them that "their strength would be wasted in the war for want of spirit; for that the Lacedæmonians might man a far greater number of ships than the Athenians, and reduce their city by famine; and that they might, in the same ships, carry over<sup>1</sup> troops to attack Thebes, landing them, if they thought proper, on the coast of Phocis, or, if they preferred, at Creusis." 61. Taking these remarks into consideration, they manned a fleet of sixty vessels, and Pollis was appointed admiral of it. Nor were those who recommended this course disappointed, for the Athenians were quite blocked up; their corn vessels had come as far as Geræstus,<sup>2</sup> but from thence they could not venture to sail, as the fleet of the Lacedæmonians was hovering about Ægina, Ceos, and Andros. But the people of Athens, feeling the necessity of doing something, went on board their ships themselves, and coming, under the leadership of Chabrias, to an engagement with Pollis, obtained a victory; and thus the corn was brought into Athens.

62. As the Lacedæmonians were preparing to carry over their forces to attack the Bœotians, the Thebans requested the Athenians to send an army round the Peloponnesus, thinking that, if this should be done, it would be impossible for the Lacedæmonians to guard their own coast, and the cities in alliance with them in the neighbourhood, and to send over the water, at the same time, a sufficient force to maintain the contest with Thebes. 63. The Athenians, accordingly, who were still full of resentment against the Lacedæmonians for the affair of Sphodrias, cheerfully fitted out sixty ships, and sent them round the Peloponnesus, making choice of Timotheus to have the command of them. But as the enemy had not invaded the territory of Thebes, either while Cleombrotus had the conduct of the army, or while Timotheus was sailing round the coast, the Thebans boldly assailed the neighbouring towns, and recovered them all. 64. Timotheus, during his

<sup>1</sup> Over the Corinthian Gulf.

<sup>2</sup> See iii. 4. 4. It was a promontory of Eubœa, an island friendly to the Athenians. *Schneider*.

cruise, reduced, in a very short time, the island of Corcyra, but did not make slaves of any of the people, or banish any, or make any change in the laws; on which account he found the towns in those parts the more favourable to him.

65. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, also sent out a fleet, with Nicolochus, a man of great bravery, as commander of it; who, when he caught sight of the fleet of Timotheus, made no delay, although six vessels from Ambracia had not yet joined him, but, with fifty-five ships of his own, came to battle with sixty on the side of Timotheus. On this occasion he was defeated, and Timotheus erected a trophy at Alyzia. 66. But while the ships of Timotheus were drawn on shore and under repair, Nicolochus, as the six ships from Ambracia had now come up, sailed to Alyzia, where Timotheus was, and as Timotheus did not come out against him, erected a trophy on the nearest islets. But Timotheus, after he had refitted the ships which he had, and had manned some others from Corcyra, became far superior in naval power, as his vessels were in all more than seventy. However, he had to send for money to Athens; for having a numerous fleet, he needed large supplies.

## BOOK VI.

### CHAPTER I.

The Spartans send aid to the Phocians, who are attacked by the Thebans. Polydamas of Pharsalus solicits support from the Lacedæmonians against Jason, a man of great power in Thessaly; and gives an account of the character and habits of Jason. The Lacedæmonians being unable to grant what he wishes, he arranges matters, on his return, with Jason, who is made supreme governor of Thessaly.

1. IN such affairs were the Athenians and Lacedæmonians engaged. The Thebans, after they had reduced the towns in Bœotia, made an incursion also into Phocis; and as the Phocians sent an embassy to Lacedæmon, representing that if the Lacedæmonians did not assist them, they would be necessitated

to submit to the Thebans, the Lacedæmonians, in consequence, sent over the sea into Phocis their king, Cleombrotus, with four battalions of their own forces, and the due complement of troops from the allies.<sup>1</sup>

2. Just at this time also Polydamas, a Pharsalian, came from Thessaly with some communications for the government of the Lacedæmonians; a man who was held in great esteem throughout Thessaly in general, and bore, in his own city of Pharsalus, so noble and honourable a character, that the Pharsalians, when divided into factions, committed their citadel to his custody, and allowed him to receive the revenues, and to expend on sacrifices, and other matters of public concern, whatever was appointed by the laws; 3. and he, with this money, guarded and preserved the citadel for them, managed other affairs, and gave an account of his proceedings every year. When he was in want of funds, he made up the deficiency from his own purse; and when he found a superfluity of income, he repaid himself. He was besides, after the fashion of Thessaly,<sup>2</sup> hospitable and munificent. This man, when he came to Lacedæmon, delivered the following statement:

4. "I, O men of Lacedæmon, having been your Proxenus<sup>3</sup> and Euergetes,<sup>4</sup> as well as some one of my family, as far back as we can remember,<sup>5</sup> think myself entitled, if I am in any difficulty, to apply to you, and, if anything prejudicial to you arises in Thessaly, to give you information of it. You have heard, I am sure, the name of Jason; for he is a man that has great power and is much celebrated. Jason, after making a treaty with our city, came to a conference with me, and ad-

<sup>1</sup> Τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.] Schneider, following F. A. Wolf, reads τὸ μέρος, "a certain portion." Dindorf has restored the old reading.

<sup>2</sup> The Thessalians were all notorious for luxury, and especially the Pharsalians, as appears from Athenæus, lib. xii. p. 527. *Schneider*. The fertile soil of Thessaly produced all the necessaries of life in abundance. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> See note on iv. 5. 6.

<sup>4</sup> A title of honour, which the Athenians were accustomed to give to foreigners that had served or obliged them. By a decree of the people they conferred on them the dignity of προξενία, εὐεργισία, and similar distinctions. *Schneider*.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐκ πάντων ὧν μεμνήμεθα προγόνων.] "Of all my ancestors whom we remember."

dressed me thus: 5. 'That I am able, Polydamas, to bring your city under my power, even against its will, you may judge from the following considerations: for I have,' he continued, 'most of the strongest cities of Thessaly in alliance with me; I subdued them, notwithstanding you took the field in their behalf against me; and I have mercenary troops, you are aware, to the number of six thousand, with whom, as I think, no single city would easily be able to contend. An equal number, indeed, might come against me from other quarters; but the troops from the cities contain men that are far advanced in age, and others not yet come to maturity; and very few in each city exercise themselves sufficiently; while no one receives pay from me who is not as able to sustain toil as I am.' 6. Jason himself, for I must tell you the truth,<sup>1</sup> is of a very strong frame, as well as extremely fond of exercise, and accordingly puts his men to the proof every day; for he leads them out, under arms, in the places of exercise, as well as on any warlike expedition; and such of his mercenaries as he finds unequal to the toil, he discharges, but such as he observes to be lovers of toil and danger in the field, he distinguishes with double, triple, or quadruple pay, and with other presents, as well as with attendance when they are sick, and honours at their funerals; so that all his mercenaries are well aware that valour in war will secure them a life of the greatest honour and plenty.

7. "He pointed out to me also, what I well knew, that the Maracians,<sup>2</sup> Dolopians, and Alcetas<sup>3</sup> who rules over Epirus, are already at his command. 'And what should I apprehend, therefore,' said he, 'to make me suppose that I could not easily reduce you Pharsalians? Perhaps somebody who does not know me may think with himself, And why then do you delay, and not march at once against the Pharsalians? Because, by Jupiter, it appears far better to me, in every way,

<sup>1</sup> For I ought not to be silent concerning his merits, since I have no intention to do him injustice, or bring odium upon him, and since you ought to have a full knowledge of him, so that you may fairly judge how you ought to act with regard to him. *Weiske.*

<sup>2</sup> *Μαρακοί.*] Fr. Portus, as Schneider remarks, has suggested that these are the same people whom Pliny, iv. 2, calls *Maraces*, and enumerates among the people of *Ætolia*. *Weiske.*

<sup>3</sup> Prince of the Molossians in Epirus. He is mentioned again c. 2, sect. 10. *Weiske.*

to attach you to me with your own consent, than against your will; for if you are brought under my power by compulsion, you will be meditating what harm you can do me, and I shall desire you to be in as weak a condition as possible; but if you come over to me on persuasion, we shall doubtless seek to strengthen one another to the utmost of our power.

8. "I am well aware, Polydamas," he continued, "that your native city looks up to you; and if you can induce it to be friendly to me, I promise that I will make you the greatest man in Greece next to myself. And of what power I offer you the second share, listen while I state to you, and believe nothing of what I say that does not appear credible to you on reflection. It is plain, then, to both of us, that if Pharsalus, and the towns dependent upon you, be united to me, I should easily be made Tagos<sup>1</sup> of all the people of Thessaly; and it is certain<sup>2</sup> that when Thessaly is under one Tagos, cavalry will be at his disposal to the number of six thousand, while heavy-armed troops may be raised to the number of more than ten thousand. 9. When I contemplate, too, the vigour and spirit that will be in them, if any one heads them judiciously, I think that there is no nation to which the Thessalians would willingly submit; and as Thessaly is a very extensive country, all the nations around must yield to it, when once a Tagos is established over it; and all the people in these parts are skilled in the use of the spear, so that our forces, it is likely, will be superior in the number of peltasts. 10. The Bœotians, moreover, and all the people of Greece that are hostile to the Lacedæmonians, are my allies,<sup>3</sup> and profess themselves, accordingly, quite ready to follow me, if I but free them from the yoke of the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians, I am certain, would do anything to become our allies; but I believe that I shall not form any friendship with them; for I think that I may gain power by sea still more

<sup>1</sup> The title by which the Thessalians distinguished their commander-in-chief, or generalissimo.

<sup>2</sup> On the words ὡς γε μὴν, which occur here, Schneider observes that Leunclavius and Morus would read οὕτως γε μὴν, but thinks, for his own part, that some such expression as φανερόν ἡμῖν ἐστι, has been lost out of the text.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, De Genio Socratis, p. 307, says that Jason had given money to Epaminondas some time before the recovery of the Cadmea. *Schneider*.

easily than power by land. 11. Whether I reason rightly on this point,' he continued, 'look to the following considerations: When we are in possession of Macedonia, from whence the Athenians bring their timber, we shall be able to build a much larger number of ships than they; and as to furnishing these ships with men, whether is it likely that the Athenians or ourselves will be better able to do so, when we have such a multitude of slaves? To maintain sailors, too, whether is it probable that we shall be in better condition, who, from our abundance, send out corn to other people, or the Athenians, who have not sufficient even for themselves, unless they buy it? 12. In regard to money, we must certainly have a larger supply, as we have not to look to little islands<sup>1</sup> for it, but can exact supplies from nations on a large continent; for all the surrounding people have to pay tribute, when the government of Thessaly is in the hands of a Tagos. The king of the Persians, you know, collects his tribute, not from islands, but from the continent, and is the richest of men; and I think it more easy to render that monarch submissive to me than Greece; for I know that all the people in his dominions, except one, are more inclined to slavery than to resistance; and I know by how small a force, such as that which went up with Cyrus, and that under Agesilaus, the king of Persia was placed in the greatest danger.'

13. "When, after he had made these observations, I replied that what he said as to other matters was reasonable enough, but that we, who are friends to the Lacedæmonians, should go over to their enemies, without having anything to lay to their charge, seemed to me impossible. He commended my plainness of speech, and, saying that he should now strive still more to attach me to him, since I was a man of such a character, gave me leave to come hither and acquaint you with the true state of things, and that he intends to make war on the Pharsalians, if we do not comply with his wishes. He told me also to ask assistance from you, 'and if they be will-

<sup>1</sup> *Νησίδρια*.] He speaks contemptuously of them as little islands from which much is not to be expected. Yet from these tributary islands a great revenue accrued to the Athenians, to support their public expenses; and even many private persons seem to have put their money out to use in the islands. See *De Rep. Athen.* 2. 16. *Weiske*.



ing to grant it,' said he, 'so that you can induce them to send you sufficient aid to make war with me, let us submit to whatever may be the result of war; but if they prove themselves unwilling to assist you sufficiently, you will not justly be free from blame in the opinion of your country, which now honours you, and in which you enjoy the greatest advantages.'

14. "It is about this affair that I come to you, and I give you an account of all that I have seen in those parts, and of all that I heard from Jason. The matter, as I think, stands thus: that if you, men of Lacedæmon, will send thither a force which may appear sufficient, not only to me, but to the other Thessalians, to maintain a war with Jason, the cities will detach themselves from him, for they all dread the extent to which the power of the man may advance; but if you think that a body of the newly-enfranchised citizens, and an ordinary commander,<sup>1</sup> will suffice, I advise you to remain quiet; 15. for be assured that it will be a struggle against a vast force, and against a man of such skill as a commander, that whatever he attempts, either by secret machinations, or in anticipation of the schemes of others, or by open force, he is by no means likely to fail. He is able to take advantage of the night as well as of the day; and, when he is hurried, can attend to business while he takes his dinner or supper. Rest he thinks he ought to take only when he has arrived at the place to which he was going, or has accomplished the object which he had in view; and he has accustomed all about him to act like himself. When his troops, by great exertion, have gained any important success, he knows how to gratify them, so that all who serve under him have learned that pleasures are the fruit of labour. 16. As to sensual gratifications, he is the most temperate of all men that I know; nor does he ever lose time, under their influence, so as not to be able to do whatever is necessary. Consider, therefore, of these matters, and tell me, as becomes you, what you will be able, and what you propose, to do."

17. Such was the statement of Polydamas. The Lacedæmonians deferred giving an answer on that day, and on the next, and the third day, they calculated how many battalions they had abroad, and how many galleys round Lacedæmon to

<sup>1</sup> Ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην.] *Ducem unum de multis.* Schneider.

oppose to those sent out from Athens, and to maintain the war with their neighbours, and replied that "for the present they were unable to send him competent aid," and advised him "to return, and to settle affairs, for himself and his city, in the best manner that he could." 18. After commending, therefore, the sincerity of the Lacedæmonians, he returned home.

He then entreated Jason not to oblige him to deliver up the citadel of Pharsalus, so that he might preserve it in safety for those who had intrusted it to him. He gave his own sons also to Jason as hostages, promising to make the city, by persuasion, a willing ally to him, and to aid in procuring his election as Tagos. When they had accordingly exchanged pledges with one another, the Pharsalians were at once in the enjoyment of peace, and Jason was soon appointed indisputably Tagos of Thessaly. 19. As soon as he was invested with this office, he settled what number of cavalry, and of heavy-armed infantry, each city should, according to its resources, furnish. Thus there were raised for him cavalry, including that of the allies, to the number of more than eight thousand; his heavy-armed foot were computed at not less than twenty thousand; and his peltasts were enough to oppose any people whatever; for it would be a labour even to number the towns that supplied them.

Such was the way in which this matter terminated. I shall now return to the point from which I digressed to speak of the affairs of Jason.

## CHAPTER II.

The Athenians, seeing the power of the Thebans increased, and their own diminished, make peace with the Lacedæmonians, and recall Timotheus, who, however, in his voyage homeward, re-establishes certain exiles at Zacynthus, and thus gives rise to a renewal of hostilities. The Lacedæmonians send out a large fleet under Mnasippus to wrest Corcyra from the Athenians, who despatch Iphicrates to its relief. Before his arrival, the Corcyreans make a sally on the Lacedæmonians, many of whom, with Mnasippus, are killed, and the rest seek refuge at Leucas. Praise of Iphicrates and his discipline. He captures ten vessels sent to Corcyra by Dionysius of Syracuse, and meditates an invasion of Laconia.

1. THE Lacedæmonians and their allies were now assembled to support the Phocians;<sup>1</sup> and the Thebans, returning to their own country, kept guard at the passes. The Athenians, meanwhile, seeing that the Thebans, though they had been strengthened by their means, contributed nothing to the support of their fleet,<sup>2</sup> while they themselves were exhausted by raising money, by piratical attacks from Ægina,<sup>3</sup> and by maintaining the defences of their own country, grew desirous of bringing the war to an end, and, sending ambassadors to Lacedæmon, concluded a peace for themselves.

2. Two of those ambassadors immediately sailed from Lacedæmon, according to the appointment of their countrymen, and told Timotheus to return home, as there was now peace. Timotheus, on his voyage, landed the exiles from Zacynthus<sup>4</sup> on the shores of their own island. 3. But as the people of Zacynthus sent to the Lacedæmonians, and acquainted them how they had been treated<sup>5</sup> by Timotheus, the Lacedæmonians

<sup>1</sup> See c. 1, sect. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the preceding Olympiad, the Athenians had sent deputations to the states subject to the Lacedæmonians, and exhorted them to detach themselves from the Spartan power, which was in its decay. In consequence the Chians, Byzantines, Rhodians, Mitylenæans, and some time afterwards the Thebans, went over to the side of the Athenians, who then constituted a common council at Athens, and a common treasury. See Diod. Sic. v. 4. 34. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> See v. 1. 1.

<sup>4</sup> They had been exiled by a faction in the Lacedæmonian interest. See Diod. Sic. xv. 45.

<sup>5</sup> How Timotheus had forcibly brought back those whom they had exiled.

immediately came to a resolution that "the Athenians had committed injustice, and, preparing again to send out a fleet, collected vessels to the number of sixty from Lacedæmon itself, from Corinth, Leucas, Ambracia, Elis, Zacynthus, Achaia, Epidaurus, Trœzen, Hermion, and the Halians.<sup>1</sup> 4. Appointing Mnasippus admiral, they instructed him to attend to affairs in that sea<sup>2</sup> in general, and to make an attempt upon Corcyra. They sent also to Dionysius,<sup>3</sup> representing that it was for his interest that Corcyra should not be in the power of the Athenians.

5. Mnasippus, when his fleet was collected, set sail for Corcyra. He had with him, in addition to the troops from Lacedæmon, a body of mercenaries to the amount of not less than fifteen hundred. 6. When he landed on the island, he at once became master of it, and laid waste the country, which was excellently cultivated and planted, and exhibited, throughout the fields, fine houses and well constructed wine-vaults;<sup>4</sup> so that the soldiers, they said, arrived at such a height of luxury, that they would drink no wine but such as was of a fragrant odour. Slaves and cattle in great numbers were carried off from the fields. 7. At length he encamped with his land forces on a hill, distant about five stadia from the city, and overlooking the country, so that if any of the Corcyræans should come out into the fields, he might cut off their retreat; his ships he stationed on the opposite side of the city, at a point where he thought that they would observe and stop whatever vessels might approach the coast. In addition to these arrangements, he anchored galleys, when foul weather did not prevent, in front of the harbour. Thus he kept the city in a state of blockade.

8. As the Corcyræans, in consequence, could get no supplies from their grounds, since they were overpowered by land, while nothing could be brought them by sea, because they were inferior in naval force, they suffered greatly from want of provisions, and, sending to the Athenians, entreated aid of

<sup>1</sup> The people of an obscure town on the coast of Laconia. *Weiske*. See Strabo, lib. viii. p. 373; Diod. Sic. xi. 78; Steph. Byz.

<sup>2</sup> The sea about Corcyra and Zacynthus.

<sup>3</sup> The elder Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. See vii. 4. 12. *Weiske*.

<sup>4</sup> *Οἰνωραῖς*.] *Cellæ vinariæ* is the interpretation given to this word in this passage of Xenophon by Pollux, vi. 15; ix. 49. *Morus*.

them, and represented that "they would lose a very valuable possession<sup>1</sup> if they should be deprived of Corcyra, and would greatly increase, at the same time, the strength of their enemies; for that from no state in Greece, except Athens, could more ships or money be raised;" they added, also, that "the island of Corcyra was favourably situated with regard to the Gulf of Corinth, and the cities lying upon it, and favourably, too, for ravaging the territory of Laconia, but most favourably of all with reference to the opposite continent, and the passage from Sicily to the Peloponnesus." 10. The Athenians, on hearing these representations, were of opinion that they must pay careful attention to the matter, and sent out Stesicles, as general, with six hundred peltasts, requesting Alcetas to assist in conveying<sup>2</sup> them over the water. 11. These troops were accordingly landed somewhere on the coast by night, and made their way into the city of Corcyra.

The Athenians also resolved to man sixty additional ships, and elected Timotheus as commander of them. 12. Timotheus, not being able to man these vessels at home, sailed about to the different islands, and endeavoured to complete his crews from thence; thinking it would be no light matter to sail round<sup>3</sup> without due preparation against ships so well disciplined as those of the enemy. 13. But the Athenians, imagining that he was wasting the whole of the season suitable for the expedition, had no patience with him, and, depriving him of his command, appointed Iphicrates in his room. 14. Iphicrates, as soon as he was made commander, manned his vessels with the utmost expedition, and obliged the trierarchs<sup>4</sup> to exert themselves. He took from the Athenians, also, whatever ships were on the coast of Attica, as well as the Paralus and Salaminian ships,<sup>5</sup> observing that "if affairs

<sup>1</sup> The same argument, observes Morus, is used in Thucydides, i. 36.

<sup>2</sup> From Epirus, of which Alcetas is called prince, c. 1, sect. 7, not, as some have thought, from Zacynthus, or Athens itself. *Dindorf*.

<sup>3</sup> Περιπλεῦσαι.] To sail round the Peloponnesus to Corcyra. So περιπλους in the following section.

<sup>4</sup> Those who were responsible for the fitting out and manning of the ships at Athens.

<sup>5</sup> Two ships at Athens reserved for state service.

at Corcyra were successful, he would send them back plenty of ships." His fleet amounted in all to about seventy.

15. During this time the people of Corcyra were so grievously oppressed with famine, that, in consequence of the number of deserters, Mnasippus made proclamation that "all deserters for the future should be sold as slaves." But when they continued to desert nevertheless, he at last scourged them, and sent them back. The people in the city, however, refused to receive any slaves into the town, and many, in consequence, perished without the walls. 16. Mnasippus, observing this, imagined that he was all but in possession of the city, and began to make new arrangements as to his mercenaries, some of whom he dismissed from his service, while to those who remained he continued in debt two months' pay, though not, as it was said, for want of money, for the greater number of the towns, in consequence of the expedition being over the sea, had sent him money instead of men. 17. But as the people in the city observed from their towers that the lines of the enemy were guarded with less strictness than before, and that the men were straggling over the country, they made a sally upon them, and took some of them prisoners and killed some. 18. Mnasippus, perceiving what had happened, armed himself, and hastened, with all the heavy-armed troops that he had, to the succour of his men, ordering also the captains and centurions to lead out the mercenaries. 19. Some of the captains observing that "it was not easy for those to have their men obedient who gave them no subsistence," he struck one of them with his staff, and another with the handle of his spear. Thus they all came out without spirit, and with feelings of hatred towards their general; a state of mind by no means favourable for fighting. 20. However, when he had drawn up his force, he put to flight those of the enemy that were near the gates of the city, and pressed forward in pursuit of them; but the pursued, when they were close to the wall, faced about, and hurled stones and darts at him from the tombs; while others, sallying forth from the other gates, fell, in a dense body, upon the extremity of his line. 21. Mnasippus's men there, being formed but eight deep, and thinking their wing too weak, endeavoured to wheel round, but when they began to withdraw from their position, the enemy rushed upon them as if they were going to flee, when they

themselves no longer attempted to turn, and those that were nearest to them took to flight. 22. Mnasippus, at the same time, was unable to support the party that were in difficulties, as the enemy were pressing upon him in front, and he was continually left with fewer and fewer men. At last the enemy, collecting in a body, made a general attack upon those remaining with Mnasippus, now reduced to a very small number indeed; while the people from the city, observing how things stood, sallied forth, and, after killing Mnasippus, joined in a general pursuit. 23. The pursuers would probably have taken the camp and entrenchment, had they not observed the crowd in the market, and that of the servants and slaves, and, imagining it an efficient body of defenders, retraced their steps. 24. The Corcyræans however erected a trophy, and restored the dead under a truce.

After this affair, the people in the city grew bolder, while those without were in extreme dejection; for it was said that Iphicrates was almost at hand; and the Corcyræans actually proceeded to fit out their vessels. 25. But Hypermenes, who had been second in command to Mnasippus, manned all the Lacedæmonian ships that were there, and, sailing round to the encampment, loaded them every one with slaves and other effects, and sent them off. 26. He himself, with the marines, and such of the other soldiers as survived, stayed to guard the entrenchment, but at last these also got on board, in the utmost disorder, and sailed away, leaving behind them a great quantity of corn and wine, and a number of slaves and sick persons; for they were extremely afraid that they would be surprised in the island by the Athenians. However, they arrived in safety at Leucas.

27. Iphicrates, as soon as he commenced his voyage, continued, while he pursued his way, to prepare everything necessary for an engagement. He left his large sails<sup>1</sup> at home at starting, as standing out for a battle, and of his other sails,<sup>1</sup> even if the wind was favourable, he made little use;

<sup>1</sup> Τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία—τοῖς ἀκατίοις.] How these two kinds of sails are to be distinguished, the commentators find it hopeless to discover. Schneider, referring to Hesychius and others, makes them identical, but it is plain that Xenophon, if the text be correct, opposes one to the other. Yet, as it is generally understood that ἀκατίον is a large sail, Weiske ingeniously conjectures that we should read τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἱστία.

but, making his passage with the oar, caused his men, by that means, to keep themselves in better condition, and his ships to pursue their course better.<sup>1</sup> 28. Frequently, too, wherever the crews were going to dine or sup, he would draw off one extremity of the fleet to a distance from the land over against the place, and, when he had turned about, and ranged his vessels in a line with their prows towards it, would start them, at a signal, to race against each other to the shore; when it was a great advantage for such as could first take their water, and whatever else they needed, and first finish their meal; while, to such as came last, it was a great punishment to have the disadvantage in all these respects, since they were all obliged to put out to sea again when he gave the signal; for it was the fortune of those that landed first to do everything at their leisure, but of those that were last, to do all with hurry. 29. If he landed to take a meal in the enemy's country, he not only posted sentinels, as was proper, on the shore, but also, raising the masts in his ships, kept a lookout from thence. The men stationed on the masts, indeed, saw much farther than those on the level ground, as they looked down from a higher position. Wherever he supped or slept, he kindled no fire in the camp at night, but kept a light burning in front of the encampment, that no one might approach undiscovered. Often, moreover, if the weather was calm, he would resume his voyage as soon as supper was over; and, if a breeze propelled the vessels, the men reposed as they ran on, but, if it was necessary to use the oar, he made them take rest by turns. 30. In his course by day, he would sometimes, at given signals, lead his ships in a line behind one another, and sometimes in a body side by side; so that, while they pursued their voyage, they practised and acquired whatever was necessary for naval warfare, and thus arrived at the sea which they believed to be occupied by the enemy. They dined and supped, for the most part, on the enemy's territory; but, as they did nothing more there than what was necessary, Iphicrates escaped all attacks by the suddenness with which he resumed his voyage, which he soon accomplished. 31. About the time of Mnasippus's death he was at

<sup>1</sup> "Αμεινον—πλεῖν.] In consequence of the rowers being well exercised. *Weiske.*



the Sphagiæ<sup>1</sup> in Laconia. Advancing thence to the coast of Elis, and sailing past the mouth of the Alpheiüs, he came to anchor at the promontory called Icthus. Next day he proceeded from thence to Cephallenia, with his fleet so arranged, and keeping his course in such a manner, that he could, if it should be requisite, get everything needful ready for battle, and engage at once; for as to the fate of Mnasippus, he had heard no account from any eye-witness, and suspected that it might be a report intended to deceive him, and accordingly kept upon his guard. But when he arrived at Cephallenia, he received a full statement of facts, and stopped there to refresh his men.

32. I am aware that whenever men expect to fight at sea, all such matters are practised and studied; but what I commend in Iphicrates is, that when he had to hasten to the parts where he thought that he should come to a battle, he contrived that his men should neither grow neglectful of preparation for battle by reason of the length of the voyage, nor pursue their course the more slowly by attending to such preparation.

33. Having reduced the towns in Cephallenia, he sailed off to Corcyra. Here the first intelligence he received was, that ten galleys were coming from Dionysius<sup>2</sup> to reinforce the Lacedæmonians; and going in person therefore along the coast, and considering from what points it was possible to descry those vessels approaching, and for people making signals to render them visible at the city, he posted sentinels in those places, arranging with them what signals they should give when the enemy sailed up and cast anchor. 34. He then selected twenty of his own captains, who were to be ready to follow him whenever he should send a messenger to them, and gave them notice, that, if any one of them should not follow him, he must not complain of any penalty imposed upon him. As soon as these ships, then, were signalled as approaching, and messengers were sent to the captains, their haste was deserving of admiration; for there was no one, of those that

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, H. N. iv. 12, 19, speaks of three Sphagiæ, islands lying before Pylos; they were therefore on the coast of Messenia, not on that of Laconia, unless Xenophon or his transcribers have made some mistake in the name. Weiske however thinks that Messenia was anciently included under the name of Laconia, referring to Thucyd. ii. 25, where Methone is said to be in Laconia. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> See sect. 4.

were going to sail, that did not embark with the utmost speed. 35. Standing away to the point where the ships of the enemy were, he found that the men from the rest of them were gone ashore, but that Melanippus, a Rhodian captain, was exhorting the other commanders not to stay there, and, embarking his own crew, was sailing off. Melanippus, in consequence, though he met with the ships of Iphicrates, nevertheless escaped, but all the ships from Syracuse<sup>1</sup> were captured, with their crews. 36. Iphicrates, cutting off the beaks of the vessels, brought them in tow into the harbour of Corcyra, and settled a fixed<sup>2</sup> sum for each of the prisoners to pay for his ransom, except Crinippus the chief captain, whom he kept under guard, as if he would exact a vast sum from him, or sell him as a slave. He however died, through grief, by his own hands. The other prisoners Iphicrates discharged, taking security from the Corcyræans for the payment of their ransom.

37. He maintained his sailors, chiefly, by employing them in agriculture in the service of the Corcyræans. With the peltasts, and the heavy-armed men from the fleet, he passed over to Acarnania, where he afforded aid to the friendly towns, if any required it, and made war upon the Thyreans, a people of great bravery, and occupying a strongly fortified place. 38. Afterwards, fetching the fleet from Corcyra, consisting now of about ninety ships, he proceeded first to Cephallenia and raised contributions there, as well from people that were willing to give them, as from those that were unwilling. He then prepared to commit depredations on the territories of the Lacedæmonians; and, of the cities in those parts attached to the enemy, to receive into alliance such as were willing to join him, and to make war on such as rejected his advances.

39. I praise this expedition as one of the greatest among the exploits of Iphicrates, and I commend him also for having procured Callistratus the popular orator, a man by no means his friend,<sup>3</sup> and Chabrias, who was esteemed an able general, to be joined with him in the command; for if he regarded them as sensible men, and wished to take them as counsellors, he appears to have done what was prudent; or, if he con-

<sup>1</sup> Melanippus's ship was therefore, apparently, from Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> Συνέβη.] *Pactus est.* Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> Οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα.] *Amicum, non idoneum.* Dindorf.

sidered them enemies, and was in that case confident<sup>1</sup> that he should appear in no respect indolent or negligent, such conduct seems to me to be that of a man having great confidence in himself. Such were the proceedings of Iphicrates.

### CHAPTER III.

The Athenians, though displeased with the Thebans, think it best to invite them to make peace with the Lacedæmonians. Deputies from the several states accordingly meet at Sparta. Speeches of Callias, Autocles, and Callistratus. Peace is settled on the understanding that the Lacedæmonians shall recall their harmosts, disband their troops, and give liberty to their dependent cities; and that if any state is wronged, any other state that will, may take its part. The several states swear to observe the conditions; except the Thebans, who wish to take the oath in the name of all the Bœotians, and concerning whom the matter is left doubtful.

1. THE Athenians, seeing the Plataeans,<sup>2</sup> their friends, driven from Bœotia, and seeking refuge at Athens, and the Thespians entreating them "not to allow them to be deprived of a home," could no longer approve the conduct of the Thebans; yet to go to war with them they were partly ashamed, and partly thought it inexpedient. But, when they saw them making war upon the Phocians, who were old friends to the city of Athens, and destroying cities that had been faithful in the war with the Barbarians, and well disposed to the Thebans themselves, they refused to have any further concern in what they were doing. 2. In consequence, the people of Athens, passing a resolution to make peace, sent, in the first place, ambassadors to Thebes, to call on the Thebans to send ambas-

<sup>1</sup> The text is in some way defective here, as Morus, Schneider, and Weiske observe. I translate according to the emendation of Jacobs, noticed by Schneider, *ὅπως ἰθάρσει μῆτε—φαίνεσθαι*.

<sup>2</sup> The Plataeans had sent for aid to Athens, and wished to deliver up their city to the Athenians, but the Thebans suddenly took possession of the city, while it was undefended, and razed it. The people, thus driven into exile, fled to Athens, where they were admitted as citizens. See Diod. Sic. xv. 46; Pausan. ix. p. 713; and the Plataic. Orat. of Isocrates. *Schneider*. Xenophon has neglected to give an account of this occurrence, as well as of the destruction of Thespiæ. See sect. 5. *Morus*. Thespiæ is said by Pausanias, ix. 14, to have been destroyed after the battle of Leuctra;

sadors after them to Lacedæmon, to arrange, if they wished, conditions of peace. They then sent off ambassadors to Lacedæmon themselves; among those chosen on the occasion were Callias the son of Hipponicus, Autocles the son of Strombichides, Demostratus the son of Aristophon, Aristocles, Cephisodotus, Melanopus, and Lycæthus. 3. When they appeared before the assembly of Lacedæmonians and allies, Callistratus the popular orator being present there, (for, having promised Iphicrates, that, if he would grant him his dismissal, he would either send him money for his fleet or effect a peace, he had been in consequence at Athens,<sup>1</sup> and endeavoured to settle about a peace,) when they appeared, I say, before the assembly of Lacedæmonians and allies, Callias, the torchbearer in the mysteries of Ceres,<sup>2</sup> was the first of them that spoke. He was a man that was not less pleased at being praised by himself than by others, and proceeded to speak, on this occasion, in some such manner as the following.

4. "The office of public host,<sup>3</sup> O men of Lacedæmon, by which I am connected with you, I am not the only one of my family that has held, for my father's father had it, and left it as hereditary to his family. I wish also to mention to you, how our country has always felt towards us; for, when there is war, it chooses us as commanders, and, when it desires quiet, sends us out as peace-makers. I have, indeed, been twice<sup>4</sup> before at Lacedæmon for the purpose of putting an end to war, and, in both my embassies, made peace between you and us; and I now come a third time, and think that I may far more justly than ever hope to effect a reconciliation; 5. for I see that you do not think one thing, and we another, but that you and we are alike indignant at the ruin of Plataeæ and Thespiæ. How can it be otherwise than fit, then, that men who entertain the same feelings should be friends rather than enemies to each other?

"It is indeed the part of wise men, even if little differences of opinion arise between them, not to have recourse to

<sup>1</sup> Αθήναιοι τε ἦν.] Morus thinks that we should read Αθήναιοι παρῆν, "had come from Athens."

<sup>2</sup> This was a very honourable office. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> Ἱποξενίαν.] See notes on ch. 1, sect. 4; and iv. 5. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Was he among those who are mentioned ii. 2. 12, 17, and ii. 4. 37? *Dindorf*.

war; and, if we entirely agree in opinion, would it not be one of the strangest of things, that we should not make peace? 6. It would be just, let me say, that we should never bear arms against each other, since Triptolemus, our ancestor, is said to have communicated the secret mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine to Hercules, your earliest chief, and to the Dioscouri your countrymen, first of all foreigners, and to have bestowed the seed of the fruits of Ceres on the Peloponnesus before any other country. How, therefore, is it just, either that you should ever come to lay waste the crops of those from whom you received seed, or that we should not wish as great an abundance of food as possible to arise to those to whom we gave seed? And if it is appointed by the gods that wars must be among mankind, it at least becomes us to commence hostilities with the utmost tardiness, and, when they are commenced, to bring them to an end as soon as we can."

7. After him, Autocles, who was regarded as a skilful orator, spoke to this effect:

"I am not ignorant, men of Lacedæmon, that what I am about to say will not be spoken to your gratification; but it appears to me, that those who wish the friendship which they form to have the longest possible duration, should impress upon one another the causes of previous wars. You are always saying that the cities ought to be independent; yet you yourselves are the greatest obstruction to their independence; for you make this the first condition with people received into alliance with you, that they follow wherever you lead them; and how is such a condition consistent with independence? 8. You make enemies without consulting your allies, and then lead your allies to make war upon your enemies; so that those who are said to be independent are often compelled to take the field against people who are their greatest friends.

"But what is the most adverse of all things to independence, you establish in some cities governments of Ten, and in others governments of Thirty; and you look to these governors, not that they may rule the cities with justice, but that they may secure them by force; so that you appear to find more pleasure in tyrannies than in republics. 9. When the king of Persia, too, desired that the cities should be independent, you appeared plainly of opinion that if the Thebans did not

allow each city to govern itself, and to use whatever laws it pleased, they would not act in accordance with the king's letter; but, when you got possession of the citadel of Thebes, you did not allow even the Thebans themselves to be independent. But it is not the part of those who would be friends, to be anxious to obtain justice from others, and to appear on their own part making as great encroachments as they can."

10. As he spoke thus, he not only produced silence in the whole assembly, but caused such as were unfavourable to the Lacedæmonians to feel delighted. When he had concluded, Callistratus said,

"That there have not been faults, O men of Lacedæmon, both on our side and on yours, I do not imagine that I can assert; yet I am not of opinion that we must have no further dealings with those who have done wrong; for I see no human being passing through life without error; and sometimes men who have done wrong appear to me to become more discreet,<sup>1</sup> especially if they have been punished by their errors as we have been. 11. To you yourselves, also, I see that many retaliations have at times occurred from imprudent actions; among which was the seizure of the citadel at Thebes; since now indeed,<sup>2</sup> zealous as you were that the cities should be independent, they have all, since the Thebans were wronged, put themselves again into their hands; so that I now hope that you, being taught how profitless encroachment is, will conduct yourselves with moderation in mutual friendship.

12. "As to what some, who wish to prevent peace, insinuate against us, intimating that we are come hither, not to seek your friendship, but from fear that Antalcidas may have come with money from the king, consider how foolishly they talk; for the king wrote that all the cities in Greece should be free, and why should we then, who conform in word and deed to the wishes of the king, apprehend anything from him? Or does any one think that the king desires, at a vast expense of money, to make others great, rather than that what he deems best should be effected for him without expense? 13. But why then are we come? That we do not come from distress, you

<sup>1</sup> Ἐυπορώτεροι.] Fr. Portus supposes this word to be equivalent to ἐμπειρότεροι. Weiske interprets it by *commodiores, faciliores*. Neither of these explanations satisfies me. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Νῦν γοῦν.] *Nunc certè*, "now at least." *Weiske*.

may know by looking, if you please, to the state of our affairs at sea, and also, if you please, to the state of our affairs by land, at the present time. What, therefore, is the cause of our coming?<sup>1</sup> It is plain that some of our allies are doing rather what is displeasing to us than what is pleasing to you;<sup>2</sup> and perhaps we may wish to communicate to you what we have clearly perceived, in return for your preservation of us.<sup>3</sup> 14. But that I may still confine myself to the mention of what is advantageous, there are, among all the cities, some favourable to your interests, and some to ours; in every city one party declares for the Lacedæmonians, and another for the Athenians. But if<sup>4</sup> we become friends, from whom can we fairly expect any effectual opposition? Who, when you are our friends, will be able to molest us by land? Or who, when we are your supporters, will be able to hurt you by sea?

15. "That wars arise from time to time, and are brought to an end, we all know; and we are conscious that we all shall at some time desire peace, even if we do not desire it now. Why then should we wait for that period when we shall be exhausted by a series of disasters, and not rather make peace at once, before any irremediable evil overtakes us?" 16. For my part, I can neither commend those persons, who, having become competitors in public games, and having gained reputation by several victories, are so fond of contention, that they will not cease from it until they are beaten and forced to relinquish their profession; nor can I praise those gamesters,

<sup>1</sup> *Τί μὴν ἔστιν;*] "This passage of the speech," says Weiske, "seems to me to be as defective as it is obscure; for it is not likely that Xenophon would have made an eminent Athenian orator indulge in such Spartan brevity as to leave his meaning doubtful. From the commencement of section 14 the reader may see that all is perspicuous and intelligible." Schneider is of the same opinion as to the defectiveness of the passage.

<sup>2</sup> *Οὐκ ἄρεστα πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἄρεστα.*] I translate these words in the sense given them by Morus, who understands *μᾶλλον* after *ἡμῖν*, and with whom Weiske appears to concur. Leunclavius's translation is, *ea designare aut quæ nobis grata non sint, aut quæ vobis placeant*; but he proposes the correction *ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ἄρεστα*. To what circumstances an allusion is intended, no commentator offers a conjecture.

<sup>3</sup> *Ὅν ἐνεκα περιεσώσατε ἡμᾶς.*] *Propterea quod et ipsi nos conservaveritis.* Leunclavius. So Morus.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἐι οὖν.*] A disjunctive conjunction seems to be wanting; and I have therefore inserted *but*, and disregarded the *οὖν*.

who, if they are lucky in one trial, play for double stakes ; for I see that the greater part of such adventurers sink into utter destitution. 17. Contemplating these examples, it is incumbent on us never to reduce ourselves to such a struggle, that we must either gain all or lose all, but to become, while we are yet strong and prosperous, friends to one another ; for thus we with your support, and you with ours, may prove still more powerful in Greece than has ever been the case in past times."

18. As these speakers appeared to say what was reasonable, the Lacedæmonians passed a resolution to agree to the peace, on the understanding that "they should withdraw their harmosts from the cities, that they should disband both their sea and land forces, and that they should leave the cities independent ; and that, if any one should act contrary to these arrangements, whoever was willing might take the part of such cities as were wronged ; but that on him who was not willing to take their part, it should not be considered as obligatory by his oath to do so." 19. On these conditions the Lacedæmonians swore to a treaty of peace for themselves and their allies ; and the Athenians and their allies in the name of their respective cities. The Thebans, however, having enrolled their name in the list of the cities that took the oath, their deputies came back the next day, and requested the council to alter the record, and say, instead of "the Thebans," that "the Bœotians" had sworn. Agesilaus replied, "that he would alter nothing of that which they had at first sworn, and to which they had set their name ;" but said that, "if they did not wish to be included in the treaty, he would erase their name altogether, should they desire it." 20. Thus the rest having made peace, and there being a controversy only with the Thebans, the Athenians thought it was to be expected that the Thebans, as the saying is, would be decimated;<sup>1</sup> and the Thebans themselves went off in very great dejection.

<sup>1</sup> Δεκατευθῆναι.] When Xerxes invaded Greece, many of the Grecian states joined him ; among them the Thebans and other Bœotians, except the Plataeans and Thespians ; see Herod. vii. 132. After Xerxes was defeated, the Greeks who had remained faithful to their country resolved to punish those who had deserted its cause, and to present the tenth of their property to Apollo. Schneider and Weiske.



## CHAPTER IV.

The Thebans refusing to set free the towns of Bœotia, Cleombretus is directed by the ephori to march out of Phocis. He surprises the town of Crensis, takes twelve ships, and pitches his camp at Leuctra. The Thebans encamp at no great distance from him. Battle of Leuctra and defeat of the Lacedæmonians. The ephori send Archidamus with a reinforcement to the defeated army. The Thebans endeavour to excite the Athenians to crush the Lacedæmonians, but, being unsuccessful, apply, with the same object, to Jason of Thessaly. Jason marches into Bœotia, and dissuades both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians from continuing the war. Returning home through Phocis, he demolishes the fortifications of Heraclea, that it may be no obstacle to his communication with Greece. He then prepares to celebrate the Pythian games, intending to preside at them, but is assassinated by seven young men. His successors, Polydorus, Polyphron, and Alexander. Death of Alexander, and succession of Tisiphonus.

1. IMMEDIATELY afterwards, the Athenians withdrew their garrisons from the several cities, and recalled Iphicrates and his fleet; desiring him to restore all the places that he had taken after the oaths were sworn to the treaty at Lacedæmon.

2. As for the Lacedæmonians, they withdrew the harmosts and garrisons from the cities in general, but when Cleombrotus,<sup>1</sup> who was at the head of the army in Phocis, sent to ask the authorities at home how he should act, Prothous said that "he thought they should disband the army according to the treaty, and send notice to the cities that each of them should contribute to the temple of Apollo<sup>2</sup> as much as it should think fit, and then, if any people should not leave the cities independent, they should summon the allies together again, as many of them at least as were willing to vindicate the general independence, and lead them against such as opposed it, for by such conduct," he added, "he thought the gods would be best rendered propitious, and the cities be least dissatisfied." 3. The assembly, on hearing these observations, were of opinion that he spoke foolishly, (for an evil spirit, as it seems, was now leading them on,) and the government sent

<sup>1</sup> This is a long sentence, which, as Weiske says, the author began with the intention of giving it a different conclusion from that which it now has. He commences with Κλεόμβροτον, as if he had meant to add, ἐκέλευσαν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοῦς Θεβαίους, but finishes with ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The temple in Delos, or that at Delphi? *Schneider*.

orders to Cleombrotus "not to disband his army, but to march at once against the Thebans unless they set the cities at liberty."<sup>1</sup> When therefore he perceived that they were not only not liberating the cities, but were even forbearing from disbanding their forces, in order that they might make head against him, he accordingly led his army into Bœotia. Where the Thebans expected that he would enter their country from Phocis, and where they were keeping guard at a narrow pass, he did not make his entrance, but marching through Thisbæ, by a mountainous and un contemplated route, arrived at Creusis, when he took the fortress, and possessed himself of twelve galleys belonging to the Thebans. 4. Having done this, and gone up from the sea, he encamped at Leuctra in the territory of Thespiæ. The Thebans encamped on the hill opposite to him, at no great distance, having no auxiliaries except Bœotians. 5. Some of the friends of Cleombrotus then went to him, and said, "If you allow the Thebans to go off without fighting, you will be in danger of suffering the greatest punishment from your countrymen; for they will call to mind respecting you the time when you went to Cynoscephalæ,<sup>2</sup> and did no damage to the Theban territory, and the subsequent occasion, when, after taking the field, you were prevented from entering their country, whereas Agesilaus had always entered it by the pass of Cithæron. If therefore you have any regard for yourself, or any desire to live in your own country, you must lead on your army against that of the enemy." In such a manner did his friends address him; while his enemies said, "He will now show whether he is really a friend to the Thebans, as he is said to be." 6. Cleombrotus, hearing these remarks, was incited to come to a battle.

The chief men of the Thebans, on the other hand, were arguing that if they did not fight, the surrounding cities would revolt from them, and they themselves would be besieged; and that, if the populace of Thebes should be in want of provisions, the government would be likely to turn against them, and, as many of them had already been exiles, they considered that it would be better to die on the field of battle

<sup>1</sup> Four lines, which are mere repetition, through the error, apparently, of some transcriber, and which Dindorf includes in brackets, are not translated.

<sup>2</sup> See v. 4. 15 and 59.

than to be banished a second time. 7. In addition to this, an oracle that was mentioned gave them some encouragement, importing that "the Lacedæmonians would be conquered<sup>1</sup> where the tomb of the virgins<sup>1</sup> stood," who were said to have killed themselves because they had suffered violence from some Lacedæmonians. This tomb the Thebans decorated before the battle. Intelligence was also brought them from Thebes that all the temples had opened of their own accord and that the priestesses declared that the gods predicted victory. From the temple of Hercules they said that the arms had disappeared, as if Hercules himself had gone forth to battle. Some however say that all these occurrences were mere artifices on the part of the leaders.<sup>2</sup>

8. For the battle everything was adverse on the side of the Lacedæmonians, while to the enemy everything was rendered favourable by fortune. It was after dinner that the last council of war was held by Cleombrotus; and, as the officers had drunk a little at noon, it was said that the wine in some degree inspired them. 9. And as, when both sides were fully armed, and it was now evident that a battle would take place, the people who had provisions for sale, with some of the baggage-carriers, and others who were unwilling to fight, were proceeding first of all to quit the camp of the Bœotians, the mercenaries under Hiero, the Phocian peltasts, and the Heraclæan and Phliasian cavalry, making a circuit, fell upon them as they were going off, turned them back, and pursued them to the Bœotian camp; so that they made the army of the Bœotians larger and more numerous<sup>3</sup> than before. 10. Besides, as there was a plain between the armies, the Lacedæmonians drew up their cavalry before their main body, and the Thebans drew up theirs over against them; but the cavalry of the Thebans had been exercised in wars with the Orchomenians and Thespians, while that of the Lacedæmo-

<sup>1</sup> They were the daughters of Leuctrus, from whom Leuctra had its name, and of Scedasus, according to Diod. Sic. xv. 54. Plutarch, who gives a long story respecting them, calls them the daughters of Scedasus only. See Pausan. ix. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Especially of Epaminondas, according to Diod. Sic. xv. 53; Polyæn. ii. 2. 8. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> More numerous certainly; but they were rather an obstacle to gaining a victory. Xenophon is too favourable to the Lacedæmonians. *Schneider*.

nians was at that time<sup>1</sup> in a very inefficient condition; 11. for the richest men maintained the horses, and, when notice of an expedition was given, the men appointed came to ride them, and each taking his horse, and whatever arms were given him, proceeded at once to the field; and thus the weakest and least spirited of all the men were mounted on horseback. 12. Such was the cavalry on either side. Of the foot, it was said that the Lacedæmonians advanced with each *enomotia*<sup>2</sup> drawn up three deep; this arrangement making them not more than twelve deep in all. The Theban infantry, in close array, were not less than fifty deep, considering that if they could defeat the body of the enemy posted around the king, the rest of the army would be an easy conquest.

13. As soon as Cleombrotus began to lead forward against the enemy, and even before the troops about him were aware that he was putting them in motion, the cavalry had already engaged, and those of the Lacedæmonians were at once defeated, who, as they fled, fell in among their own heavy-armed infantry, on which the troops of the Thebans were also pressing. But that the troops round Cleombrotus had at first the advantage in the contest, any one may be convinced by certain proof; for they would not have been able to take him and carry him off alive, unless those who fought in front of him had been at that time victorious. 14. When, however, Deimon the polemarch, Sphodrias, one of the attendants at the royal tent,<sup>3</sup> and Cleonymus his son, were killed, and the horse-guard,<sup>4</sup> those who are called supporters of the polemarch, and the rest, being overpowered by the mass of the enemy, were forced to fall back, the Lacedæmonians on the

<sup>1</sup> Was it ever otherwise? But cavalry from Heraclea and Phlius were in their army. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> A company of twenty-five men, the fourth part of a λόχος. But the captain of the *ἐνωμοτία* was not reckoned as one, so that the company, when drawn up three deep, had eight men in front; and when the four *enomotiae* of the λόχος were thus ranged one behind the other, the λόχος would be twelve deep; this is what Xenophon signifies in the text. <sup>3</sup> *Περί δαμοσίαν.*] See iv. 5. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Οἱ μὲν ἵπποι.*] Leunclavius and Stephanus alter this word to *ἵππεῖς*. Morus is content with explaining it by *ἵππεῖς*. But to me the text seems far from correct; for the commencement of the apodosis is not to be ascertained. *Schneider*. The passage is corrupt and obscure, and not at all cleared by a conjecture of Hemsterhusius given in *Anecd. vol. i. p. 226. Dindorf*.

left, seeing the right wing thus repulsed, also gave way, yet, though many were killed, and they were quite defeated, they were able, when they had repassed the trench which was in front of their camp, to form themselves under arms in the place from which they had set out. Their camp was nevertheless not on level ground, but rather somewhat on an acclivity.

Some of the Lacedæmonians, at the time, who thought their disaster an insupportable disgrace, exclaimed that they ought to prevent the enemy from erecting a trophy, and endeavour to recover the dead, not by making a truce, but by fighting another battle. 15. But the polemarchs, seeing that of the Lacedæmonians in all nearly a thousand had lost their lives; and that of the Spartans, who were in the field to the number of about seven hundred, about four hundred had fallen; and observing, also, that all the auxiliaries were too dispirited to renew the combat, and some of them not even concerned at what had happened, called a council of the chief officers, and deliberated what course they ought to pursue; and as all were of opinion that "they ought to fetch off the dead by truce," they accordingly despatched a herald to treat respecting a truce. The Thebans soon after erected a trophy, and gave up the dead under truce.

16. After these occurrences, the messenger who was sent with the news of the calamity to Lacedæmon, arrived there on the last day of the *Gymnopædiæ*,<sup>1</sup> after the chorus of men had made their entry. The ephori, when they heard of the calamity, were greatly concerned, as, I think, they naturally must have been; yet they did not order that chorus to withdraw, but allowed them to finish the entertainment. They then sent the names of the dead to their several relatives, and gave notice to the women to make no lamentation, but to bear their affliction in silence. The day after, a person might have seen those whose relatives had died, appearing in public with looks of cheerfulness and joy; but of those whose relatives were said to be alive, he would have seen but few, and those going about with gloomy and dejected countenances.

17. Soon after, the ephori called forth into service the remaining battalions, consisting of men up to fifty-eight years of age. With these they sent some from the battalions already

<sup>1</sup> A festival at Sparta in honour of Apollo, Diana, and Latona, which lasted for several days: youths were the chief performers.

abroad, up to the same age; for those up to fifty-three years of age had previously gone out against the Phocians. They required those also, who had been left at home to fill public offices, to follow them. 18. Agesilaus had not yet recovered from his illness; and the government, therefore, appointed his son Archidamus to take the command. The Tegeans readily joined him in the field; for the party of Stasippus,<sup>1</sup> who were favourable to the Lacedæmonians, and had the greatest influence in the city, were still in existence. The Mantineans also marched forth in great strength from their villages; for they were under an aristocratical government.<sup>2</sup> The Corinthians, Sicyonians, Phliasians, and Achæans followed with much cheerfulness; and other towns sent out troops. The Lacedæmonians too, and Corinthians, manned their vessels, and called on the Sicyonians to man theirs, in which the Lacedæmonians thought of transporting their troops. Archidamus next proceeded to sacrifice with a view to crossing the borders.

19. The Thebans, immediately after the battle, despatched a herald to Athens with a chaplet on his head, by whom they sent an account of the greatness of the victory, and a request, at the same time, for aid, saying that "it was now in the power of the Athenians to take vengeance on the Spartans for all that they had done to them." 20. The senate of the Athenians happened then to be sitting in the acropolis; and, when they heard what had occurred, it was evident to every one that they were greatly troubled; for they showed no hospitality to the herald, and gave no answer at all to the request for aid. The herald accordingly took his departure from Athens.

The Thebans also sent in haste to Jason, who was their ally, urging him to send them succour, and meditating what results the future would have. 21. Jason immediately manned his galleys, as if intending to support them by sea, and, collecting his mercenary force and the cavalry that he had with him, proceeded, though the Phocians were in implacable hostility with him, through their country into Bœotia, showing himself in many of the towns before it was made known whither he was marching. He had accordingly proceeded a long way in advance, before any force could be collected from the dif-

<sup>1</sup> See c. 5, sect. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> See v. 2. 7.

ferent parts of the country, showing that expedition frequently effects its objects more successfully than strength. 22. When he had entered Bœotia, and the Thebans said that the time was come for overwhelming the Lacedæmonians, proposing that Jason, with his mercenaries, should pour upon them from the hills,<sup>1</sup> while they themselves charged them in front, Jason dissuaded them, observing that, after so noble a victory, it did not become them to court any further peril, with the risk of either gaining greater success, or losing the fruits of what they had already attained. 23. "Do you not see," said he, "that you yourselves obtained a victory when you were under the necessity of fighting? It behoves you to reflect, therefore, that the Lacedæmonians, if they be forced to relinquish the hope of life, will fight with desperation; and the divine powers, as it seems, often take delight in making the little great, and the great little." 24. By such remarks he dissuaded the Thebans from incurring further hazard. The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, he reminded of the difference between a vanquished and a victorious army; "and if you desire," said he, "to extinguish the memory<sup>2</sup> of your late calamity, I advise you to breathe and rest awhile, and, when you are grown stronger, to come to battle with these unconquered Thebans. But at the present time," added he, "be assured that there are some of your allies who are treating about peace with your enemies; and therefore endeavour, by all means, to obtain a truce for yourselves. This object I have at heart, as I wish to save you, both because of the friendship which my father entertained for you, and because I am publicly connected with you by the laws of hospitality." 25. Such were the sentiments that he expressed, and his object perhaps was, that both these parties, then at variance with one another, might look to him for support. However this might be, the Lacedæ-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀνωθεν.] Weiske supposes that the hill or slope is meant on which the Lacedæmonians are said to have been encamped, sect. 14. Jason was to come down from the top of it upon their rear, while their attention was occupied by the Thebans in front.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπιλάθασθαι—τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος.] I take my translation of ἐπιλάθασθαι from Dr. Smith, believing it to be the right one. Or a pure middle signification may be given it: "to extinguish (in or among yourselves) the memory," that is, "to forget." Leunclavius gives *oblivisci*. The verb is but seldom found with the accusative. Sturz gives the strange interpretation of "*non ulcisci*."

monians listened to him, and desired him to treat for them respecting a truce; and, as soon as it was announced that a truce was arranged, the officers gave orders that all the men should collect their baggage after supper, in order to march off in the night, so that, by day-break, they might reach the ascent of Mount Cithæron. When the men had supped, therefore, and before they could take any rest, the officers gave the word "to follow," and led off, at the close of the evening, along the road through Creusis, trusting more to the secrecy of their movements than to the truce. 26. Advancing in great discomfort, as men retreating in the night under the influence of fear, and pursuing a very difficult road, they reached Ægosthena in the territory of Megara, where they joined the troops under the command of Archidamus; who, having halted there till all the allies arrived, conducted the whole army in a body as far as Corinth. Here he dismissed the allies, and led his own countrymen home.

27. Jason, as he retired through Phocis, took the suburbs of Hyampolis, laid waste the adjacent country, and put to death many of the inhabitants. The rest of Phocis he traversed without doing any injury. Arriving at Heraclea,<sup>1</sup> he threw down the walls of that city, not fearing lest, when that way was opened, any of his enemies should invade his dominions, but rather apprehending that some of them might seize Heraclea, which lay on a narrow pass, and stop him if he wished to march into any part of Greece. 28. When he returned to Thessaly, he was regarded as a great man, both because he was made Tagos of the Thessalians by law, and because he maintained about him a large body of mercenaries, both infantry and cavalry, all exercised in such a manner as to be in the best possible condition. He was considered as still greater, because many people had already become his allies, and others were desirous to be in the number of them. But he was greatest of all men of his time from being of such a character that he could be despised by no one.

29. When the Pythian games approached, he sent orders to each of the cities to prepare oxen, sheep, goats, and swine, as for the sacrifice; and it was said that though but a very moderate number was required from each city, the oxen amounted

<sup>1</sup> Heraclea Trachinia. Diod. Sic. xv. 57.



to not less than a thousand, and the other cattle to more than ten thousand. He made proclamation also that whichever of the cities should produce the finest ox, worthy of being first sacrificed to the god,<sup>1</sup> its reward should be a golden crown. 30. He gave orders to the Thessalians, too, to be ready to take the field at the time of the Pythian games; for he intended, as people said, to preside<sup>2</sup> in person at the sacred assembly and at the games in honour of the god. What design he had with regard to the sacred treasures, is still unknown; but it is said that when the people of Delphi inquired "how they should act if he appropriated any part of the treasures of the deity," the god answered that "he himself would attend to that matter."

31. But this man, possessed of such power, and meditating such vast and peculiar schemes, when, on a certain occasion, he was holding a review and examination of the cavalry of Phææ, and was sitting and answering applications, if any one came forward to make a petition to him, was stabbed and murdered by seven young men, who approached him on pretence of having a dispute among themselves. 32. As his guards who were at hand ran promptly to his defence, one of the assailants, while striking at Jason, was pierced with a lance and killed; another was seized as he was mounting his horse, and put to death after receiving several wounds; the rest sprung upon horses ready prepared for them, and made their escape; and to whatever cities of Greece they afterwards went, they were in most of them received with honour. Hence it is evident that the Greeks had a great dread of Jason, lest he should prove a tyrant over them.

33. After his death, Polydorus, his brother, and Polyphron,<sup>3</sup> were chosen Tagi. Polydorus, as they were both travelling to Larissa, died while he was asleep at night, by the hands, as

<sup>1</sup> Βοῦν ἡγεμόνα.] A Βοῦς ἡγεμών, in the opinion of Goldhagen, is as well one that leads the herd as one that is first sacrificed. Sturz.

<sup>2</sup> Διατιθέναι.] Moderari, præesse. Weiske. As Jason was apprehensive that if he ventured to preside at the games, he might be repelled by force, he wished to have his army with him, and to be in a condition to meet force with force. Morus.

<sup>3</sup> Since Polydorus and Polyphron were brothers, as appears from what follows, Bothe would alter the text to Πολύδωρος καὶ Πολύφρων ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, i. e. "Polydorus and Polyphron the brothers of Jason."

was supposed, of his brother Polyphron; for his death was sudden, and from no apparent cause. 34. Polyphron held the government for a year, and made his rule similar to that of a tyrant; for he put to death, at Pharsalus, Polydamas and eight others of the most respectable citizens, and drove several persons from Larissa into exile. As he was conducting himself in this manner, he was killed by Alexander, on the pretext of avenging Polydorus and overthrowing a tyranny. 35. But when Alexander got the government into his own hands, he proved himself a severe ruler to the Thessalians, and a violent enemy to the Thebans and Athenians, and an unprincipled robber by land and sea. After showing that such was his character, he was himself killed, by the hands indeed of his wife's brothers, but by the entire contrivance of his wife herself; 36. for she told her brothers that Alexander had a design on their lives, and concealed them a whole day in the house, and, taking Alexander in a state of intoxication, she removed his sword, after she had put him to sleep, while the lamp was left burning, and perceiving that her brothers were afraid to go into the room to Alexander, she declared that if they did not do the deed at once, she would awake him. As soon as they had entered, she closed the door, and kept fast hold of the bolt, until her husband was despatched. 37. Her hatred to Alexander is said by some to have arisen from the circumstance, that when Alexander had imprisoned a youth of whom he was fond, a boy of great beauty, and she entreated him to set him at liberty, he brought him out and put him to death. Others say that as he had no children by her, he sent to Thebes, and paid court to the widow of Jason to make her his wife.<sup>1</sup> The causes of the plot against him by his wife are thus related. Of the brothers who were agents in the affair, Tisiphonus, the eldest, has held the government till the time when this account was written.

<sup>1</sup> Schneider refers to Cic. Off. ii. 7; Ovid, Ibis, 323. H. Stephens admonishes us that the ἀναλαβεῖν in the text should be λαβεῖν.

## CHAPTER V.

The Peloponnesians being still under the influence of the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians endeavour to enjoin upon the several states a strict adherence to the terms of the peace of Antalcidas. All comply with their wishes except the Eleians, who are unwilling to grant freedom to certain of their towns. The Mantineans, contrary to the desire of the Lacedæmonians, re-unite themselves into one city. Factions of Collibius and Stasippus at Tegea; that of Stasippus is overthrown by the aid of the Mantineans. The Lacedæmonians send out Agesilaus, at the head of an army, to punish the Mantineans for their interference, but, though they make war also on the Orchomenians, he delays, and returns home without doing anything. The Thebans, who had been called to the support of the Tegeans and other Arcadians, wish to return home as soon as Agesilaus went away, but are induced by the solicitations of their party to invade the Lacedæmonian territories, which they lay waste, and march up nearly to the city itself. The Lacedæmonians, in their alarm, arm a large number of the helots, and show such determination to defend themselves, that the enemy at length withdraw. They also send an embassy to Athens to solicit succour, which the Athenians are chiefly induced to grant by the consideration that the Lacedæmonians had opposed the Thebans when they wished to destroy Athens. Excellent speech of Procles of Phlius. Iphicrates sent out, who does but little; the Thebans continue their march homewards.

1. THE affairs of Thessaly, such as took place in the time of Jason, and such as occurred immediately after his death until the assumption of the government by Tisiphonus, have been narrated. I shall now return to the point from which I digressed to give the account of them.

When Archidamus brought his army back, after his march to the relief of the troops at Leuctra, the Athenians, reflecting that the Peloponnesians would still think it their duty to follow the Lacedæmonians, and that the Lacedæmonians were not yet reduced to the state to which they had reduced the Athenians,<sup>1</sup> summoned deputies from as many of the states as wished to be parties to the peace which the king of Persia had prescribed. 2. When they were assembled, they passed a resolution, in conjunction with those who desired to share in the peace, that each should take the following oath: "I will adhere to the treaty which the king has sent down to us, and to the decrees of the Athenians and their allies; and if any

<sup>1</sup>For it was by means of the Lacedæmonians that the peace of Antalcidas was effected, by the terms of which the Athenians had lost their command over the cities that had been in alliance with them.  
*Weiske.*

power attack any one of the cities that have taken this oath, I will defend that city with all my strength." All who were present were pleased with this oath, except the Eleians, who stated, in objection to it, that "they were not called upon to leave either the Marganeans, the Scilluntians, on the Triphylians, independent, as those cities belonged to themselves." 3. The Athenians and the rest, however, having passed a resolution that "both the small and great cities should, as the king had specified, be alike independent," sent out a deputation to administer the oath, and required the chief magistrates in every city to take it. All took it except the Eleians.

Hence the people of Mantinea, as being now entirely their own masters, assembled in a body, and came to a determination that "they would make the city of Mantinea one,<sup>1</sup> and fortify the city." 4. But the Lacedæmonians, on their part, thought it would be a grievous thing if such a project should be carried into execution without their consent. They therefore sent Agesilaus as an ambassador to the Mantineans, because he was regarded as their friend since the time of his father. When he went to them, the magistrates of the Mantineans refused to assemble the people to hear him speak, but desired him to state what he wished to themselves alone. He then promised them, that "if they would desist for the present from building the wall, he would procure that it should afterwards be built with the consent of the Lacedæmonians, and without expense to them." 5. As they replied that "it was impossible for them to desist, as a resolution had been passed by their whole community to build a wall at once," Agesilaus immediately went off in anger. Yet it was not thought practicable to make war upon them, as the peace was based on the condition that the cities should be independent. Some of the Arcadian towns, too, sent people to the Mantineans to assist them in building their wall, and the Eleians gave them three talents of silver to assist in defraying the expense of the work. In this manner were the Mantineans occupied.

6. Among the people of Tegea, the party of Callibius and Proxenus were combining to procure that the whole body of Arcadians should meet together, and that whatever was voted by a majority of them in council, should be law in the several

<sup>1</sup> It had been divided into four, v. 2. 7.

cities. But the party of Stasippus contended for allowing the city to remain as it was,<sup>1</sup> and for using their own hereditary laws. 7. The party of Proxenus and Callibius, being outvoted in all the theatres,<sup>2</sup> imagined that if the whole people should meet together, they would overpower the other party by their numbers, and accordingly brought out their arms. The party of Stasippus, perceiving this movement, armed themselves in opposition, and were not inferior to the others in number; and, when they came to an engagement, they killed Proxenus and some few others with him, and put the rest to flight, but did not pursue them; for Stasippus was a man of such a character as to be unwilling to put many of his fellow-citizens to death. 8. The followers of Callibius retreated to the part of the wall, and the gates, on the side of Mantinea, and, as the enemy no longer molested them, remained there quiet in a body. Some time before they had sent to the Mantineans to request assistance, and they now spoke with the party of Stasippus about a reconciliation. As the Mantineans, however, were seen advancing, some of Callibius's men leaped upon the wall, and called to them to come forward with their utmost speed, shouting to them, and urging them to hasten, while others opened the gates for them. 9. The party of Stasippus, when they saw what was going on, rushed out at the gates opening towards Pallantium,<sup>3</sup> and succeeded in escaping, before they were overtaken by their pursuers, to the temple of Diana, when they shut themselves in and continued quiet. But their enemies, following close upon them, climbed

<sup>1</sup> 'Εάν τε κατὰ χώραν τὴν πόλιν.] Morus interprets, *nil immutare formam civitatis*, but erroneously. He did not understand that it was in contemplation among the Arcadians to build Megalopolis; a project which was at length with some difficulty carried into execution. This explains what is said at the beginning of the section, that "they were combining to procure that the whole body of Arcadians should meet together;" the object of Callibius and Proxenus being to transfer their own fellow-citizens with the rest of the Arcadians to Megalopolis. But the words of Xenophon can hardly be in a sound, unmutated condition. *Schneider*. See *Diod. Sic.* xv. 72. The foundation of Megalopolis is placed by the Arundelian marbles, as *Schneider* observes, in *Olymp.* 102, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Where meetings were held, either of the people or senate, as *Goldhagen* observes.

<sup>3</sup> Pallantium is mentioned as a town of Arcadia by *Steph. Byz.*; as well as by *Diod. Sic.* xv. 59; *Pausan.* viii. 43; *Dionys. Hal.* i. p. 24. *Schneider*.

upon the temple, broke through the roof, and pelted them with tiles. Seeing the necessity to which they were driven, therefore, they called on their adversaries to desist, and promised to come out. But the others, as they had them in their power, bound them, and, putting them on a carriage, conveyed them back to Tegea; where, in conjunction with the Mantineans, they sentenced them after a trial, and put them to death. 10. As soon as this took place, such of the people of Tegea as had been of the party of Stasippus, in number about eight hundred, fled to Lacedæmon.

Upon these proceedings, it appeared to the Lacedæmonians that they must, according to their oaths, take the field in the cause of the dead and exiled Tegeans. They accordingly made war upon the Mantineans, as having, contrary to their oath, gone under arms against the people of Tegea. The ephori gave notice of a foreign expedition, and the people desired Agesilaus to take the command of it. 11. The rest of the Arcadians were now assembled at Asea;<sup>1</sup> but as the Orchomenians declined to take part in the Arcadian confederacy, on account of their hostility to the Mantineans, and had even received into their city the mercenaries which had assembled at Corinth, and of which Polytropus had the command, the Mantineans remained at home to watch their proceedings. The Heræans and Lepreans joined the Lacedæmonians in the field against the Mantineans. 12. Agesilaus, as soon as the sacrifices for crossing the borders were favourable, proceeded at once into Arcadia. Having taken Eutæa, a town lying on the frontier, and found the old men, women, and children left in the houses there, while those of military age were gone to join the Arcadian confederacy, he did no harm to the town, but allowed them to continue in their houses; and his men purchased whatever they wanted; or, if anything had been taken by force when he entered the place, he ordered it to be searched for and restored. He also repaired the walls, as far as they needed, whilst he halted there waiting for the mercenaries under Polytropus.

13. In the mean time the Mantineans were taking the field against the Orchomenians. From the walls<sup>2</sup> they retired

<sup>1</sup> A village of Arcadia. *Steph. Byz.*

<sup>2</sup> Yet we have not been informed that they went to the walls. Some words seem to be wanting. *Weiske.*

with great difficulty, and some of them were killed; but when, in their retreat, they reached Elymia,<sup>1</sup> and, though the heavy-armed Orchomenians no longer pursued them, the mercenaries under Polytropus pressed upon their rear with the utmost boldness, the Mantineans, seeing that unless they repulsed them, many of their own men would be killed by their missiles, faced about and joined battle with their pursuers. 14. Here Polytropus died fighting; and of his men, who took to flight, many would have been killed, had not the Phliasian horse come up, and, riding round to the rear of the Mantineans, stopped their pursuit. The Mantineans, after they had ended this affair, went off home.

15. Agesilaus, hearing of these occurrences, and thinking that the mercenaries from Orchomenus would not now join him, set forward from Eutæa. On the first day he supped in the territory of Tegea, but on the next he crossed over into that of Mantinea, and encamped at the foot of the hills to the west of the city, whence he plundered the country and laid waste the cultivated lands. Those of the Arcadians, however, who were assembled at Asea, advanced in the night to Tegea. 16. The next day Agesilaus encamped about twenty stadia from Mantinea. The Arcadians from Tegea, meanwhile, keeping close to the mountains between Mantinea and Tegea, were advancing with a great number of heavy-armed men, eagerly desiring to join the Mantineans; for the Argives, though not with their whole force, were following them; and there were some who persuaded Agesilaus to attack them separately; but he, fearing that while he was marching against them, the Mantineans might sally from the city and assail him in flank and rear, thought it best to allow them to form their junction, and, if they wished to fight, to engage them both on a fair and open field. The Arcadians now accordingly united themselves to the Mantineans.

17. The peltasts from Orchomenus, and the cavalry of the Phliasians with them, having passed along under the walls of Mantinea by night, showed themselves at day-break to Agesilaus as he was sacrificing in front of his camp, and made the rest run to their posts, and Age-

<sup>1</sup> Not, as Morus supposes, the same with Elimia in v. 2. 38. "This is a part of Arcadia, but I have not seen it elsewhere mentioned." *Schneider*.

silaus himself to retire to his heavy-armed men. But when they were perceived to be friends, and Agesilaus had favourable omens from the sacrifice, he led forward his army, after breakfast, and, as evening came on, encamped, without being observed by the enemy, in a hollow behind the Mantinean territory, very close at hand, and entirely surrounded by hills. 18. The next day at dawn he sacrificed in front of the camp, and seeing the enemy assembling from Mantinea upon the hills in the rear of his army, concluded that he must advance out of the hollow without loss of time. But if he led on straight forward, he was apprehensive lest the enemy should attack his rear; he therefore remained quiet himself, and, turning his arms towards the enemy, sent orders to those in the rear to wheel to the right, and to march forward behind the main body towards him. Thus he at once drew them from the confined space, and rendered his main body continually stronger. 19. When his main body was doubled, he advanced into the plain with his heavy-armed troops thus disposed, and then extended his line so as to be only nine or ten men in depth. The Mantineans, however, desisted from coming out to engage him; for the Eleians, who had united their forces with them, persuaded them not to give battle till the Thebans came up; for "they were well assured," they said, "that they would come, as they had borrowed ten talents from themselves for the expenses of the expedition." 20. The Arcadians, hearing these assurances, remained quiet in Mantinea. But Agesilaus, though he was very desirous to lead off the army, for it was the middle of winter, yet stayed three days where he was, that he might not seem to hasten his departure through fear. On the fourth day, in the morning, he set out after breakfast, with the intention of encamping on the ground where he had encamped on his first day's march from Eutæa. 21. But as none of the Arcadians showed themselves, he proceeded, with the utmost expedition, as far as Eutæa itself, though he arrived there late in the evening; being desirous to bring off the heavy-armed troops before they saw the enemy's fires, that no one might say his departure was a flight. He seemed to have sufficiently revived his countrymen from their former despondency, since he had invaded Arcadia, and no one had thought fit to encounter him while he was laying the country waste. As



soon as he reached Laconia, he disbanded the Spartans and sent them home, and dismissed the periceci to their respective towns.

22. The Arcadians, when Agesilaus was gone, and they heard that his army was disbanded, while they themselves remained collected, marched against the Heræans, because they had refused to join the Arcadian confederacy, and because they had joined the Lacedæmonians in the invasion of Arcadia. They burst into their territory, burnt their houses, and cut down their trees.

But when the Thebans were reported to have come with succour to Mantinea, they drew off from the lands of Heræum, and went to join the Thebans. 23. When they came together, the Thebans were of opinion that enough had been done for their honour, since they had come to the aid of their friends, and no longer saw any enemy in the country; and they accordingly prepared to return home. But the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleians persuaded them to march with all possible expedition into Laconia, expatiating on their own numbers, and highly extolling the Theban troops; for the Boeotians, indeed, had all continued to exercise themselves in arms, ever since they were elated with their victory at Leuctra; and the Phocians, who had submitted to their rule, the Eubœans from every city of the island, both the tribes of Locrians, the Acarnanians, Heracleans, and Melians were following them, as well as cavalry and peltasts from Thessaly. Seeing such a force collected, and insisting on the defenceless condition of Lacedæmon, they entreated them "not to return until they had made an incursion into the territory of the Lacedæmonians." 24. The Thebans listened to these arguments, but alleged, in reply to them, that "Laconia was said to be very difficult to enter, and that they felt sure that troops were posted at such points as afforded easiest admittance;" for Ischolaus, in truth, was stationed at Œon in Sciritis, with a party of newly-enfranchised Spartans, and the youngest of the exiles from Tegea, in number about four hundred; and there was another party at Leuctrum<sup>1</sup> above the territory of Malea. The Thebans also reflected that the

<sup>1</sup> A small town in Laconia. Plutarch, Pelop. c. 20; Pausan. iii. p. 277, 264; Strabo, viii. p. 162. *Leuctra*, where the famous battle was fought, was in Boeotia.

forces of the Lacedæmonians could soon be brought together, and that they would nowhere fight better than on their own ground. Taking all these things into consideration, they were not very eager to march against Lacedæmon. 25. As people, however, came from Caryæ, who confirmed the account of the defenceless state of the city, and offered to guide them on the march, bidding them, "if they were found deceiving them in any way, to put them to death;" and as some of the periœci, too, came to invite them, promising to revolt if they would but show themselves in the country, and stating that "the periœci, when summoned by the Spartans, would not even now give them any assistance," the Thebans, hearing all these representations from everybody, at last yielded; and they themselves entered Laconia by Caryæ, and the Arcadians by Œon in Sciritis. 26. Had Ischolaus, however, advanced to the part most difficult of entrance, and made a stand there, it is said that no one could have gone up that way; but from wishing to have the people of Œon to support him, he remained in that village; and the Arcadians advanced up the ascent in great numbers. Here the party of Ischolaus, as long as they fought face to face with the enemy, had the advantage; but when the enemy came round them on the rear and on the flank, and, climbing on the houses, assailed them with spears and missiles from thence, Ischolaus was killed on the spot, with all his people, unless one or two escaped unobserved. 27. The Arcadians, having been thus successful, marched off towards Caryæ to join the Thebans.

The Thebans, when they heard what had been done by the Arcadians, marched down into the country with increased spirit. They immediately burnt and devastated Sellasia, and when, in proceeding through the plain, they had come to the precincts of the temple of Apollo, they encamped there. Next day they resumed their march; but they did not attempt to cross over the bridge<sup>1</sup> leading to the city of Sparta, for heavy-armed troops of the enemy were observed in the temple of Minerva Alea;<sup>2</sup> but, keeping the Eurotas on their right, they advanced along its banks, burning and laying waste

<sup>1</sup> Over the Eurotas.

<sup>2</sup> Minerva Prædatrix. Pausanias, lib. iii. p. 258, says that he saw a statue of Minerva Alea on the road leading from Sparta to Therapne, on this side of the Eurotas. *Schneider.*

houses full of much valuable property. 28. Of the people in the city, the women could not endure to look even on the smoke, as they had never seen an enemy before; while the men of Sparta, having a city without walls, were stationed at different posts, and, though they both were and seemed few in number, kept guard round the place. The magistrates thought proper, also, to issue a proclamation to the helots, that "if any of them were willing to take arms, and to go into the ranks, they might receive pledges that such as aided in the war should be free." 29. It was said that they at once wrote down the names of more than six thousand, so that, when they took their places among the troops, they caused some alarm, and seemed to be far too many. But after the mercenaries from Orchomenus consented to stay with the Lacedæmonians, and the Phliasians, Corinthians, Epidaurians, Pellenians, and people from some of the other cities, came to their support, they then began to have less fear of those who were enrolled.

30. As for the forces of the enemy, when they had advanced as far as Amyclæ, they then crossed the Eurotas. The Thebans, wherever they encamped, immediately threw as many as they could of the trees which they had felled before their lines, and thus made a defence for themselves; but the Arcadians took no such precautions; for, leaving their arms, they went off into the houses for plunder. On the third or fourth day afterwards, all the Theban and Eleian cavalry, and as many of the Phocian, Thessalian, or Locrian cavalry as were with the army, advanced, in separate bodies, to the Hippodrome at the temple of Neptune. 31. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, who appeared but very few, were drawn up to oppose them; and, as they had placed an ambush of the younger heavy-armed men, about three hundred in number, at the house<sup>1</sup> of the Tyndaridæ, at the same moment that these men in ambush started forth, the cavalry charged that of the enemy, who did not sustain their onset, but gave way, and many of the infantry, seeing this, took to flight. But as the Lacedæmonians came to a stop in their pursuit, and the Theban army kept its ground, they again encamped; and it now ap-

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν.] Sc. οἰκίᾳ. The house which Castor and Pollux inhabited, before they were placed among the gods, was for a long time kept in repair, and exhibited. Pausan. iii. 16 *Morus*.

peared somewhat more a matter of confidence to the Lacedæmonians that the enemy would make no further attack on the city. 32. The Thebans however broke up their camp from thence, and advanced along the road towards Helos and Gytheium; the unwall'd towns they set on fire, and made assaults on Gytheium, where the dockyards of the Lacedæmonians were, during three days. There were some of the perieci, too, who rose against the Lacedæmonians and joined the party of the Thebans.

33. The Athenians, hearing of these proceedings, began to consider how they ought to act with regard to the Lacedæmonians, and, in accordance with a decree of the senate, convoked an assembly of the people. Ambassadors from the Lacedæmonians, and such of their allies as still adhered to them, happened then to be at Athens; of whom the Lacedæmonians, Aracus, Ocyllus, Pharax, Etymocles, and Olontheus, almost all spoke in a similar way; for they reminded the Athenians that "the people of Athens and Lacedæmon had always, on occasions of the greatest emergency, stood by one another for good; since the Lacedæmonians," they said, "had assisted in expelling the tyrants<sup>1</sup> from Athens, and the Athenians, when the Lacedæmonians were besieged by the Messenians, readily came to their assistance;" 34. they enumerated also what advantages had ensued, when they both acted in concert, putting them in mind how they had fought in conjunction against the Barbarians, and bidding them recollect that "the Athenians were chosen leaders of the fleet, and guardians of the common treasure,<sup>2</sup> by the advice of the Lacedæmonians, and that the Lacedæmonians were confessedly preferred by all the Greeks to be leaders by land through the advice of the Athenians to that effect." 35. One of them also expressed himself to this purpose: "If you and we, men of Athens, act in unanimity, there may now be hope, according to the old saying, that the Thebans will be decimated."<sup>3</sup> The Athenians however did not listen altogether cordially to what they said; for a murmur of this kind went through the assembly: "they say so now, but, when they were in prosperity, they oppressed us." But the strongest argument used by the

<sup>1</sup> The Peisistratidæ. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Corn. Nep. Aristid. c. 3; Thucyd. i. 96.

<sup>3</sup> See c. 3, sect. 20

Lacedæmonians seems to have been, that, "when they had subdued the Athenians, and the Thebans wished to destroy Athens utterly,<sup>1</sup> they opposed the Thebans." 36. What they most insisted<sup>2</sup> on, however, was that "the Athenians ought to send them aid in conformity with their oath, as they had committed no injustice when the Arcadians and their confederates attacked them, but were merely supporting the Tegeans because the Mantineans made war on them contrary to their oath." At these words, also, a great murmur pervaded the assembly; for some said that "the Mantineans had acted justly in assisting the party of Proxenus when they were being put to death by that of Stasippus;" others said that "they had acted unjustly in taking arms against the Tegeans."

37. As these points were discussed by the assembly, Cleiteles, a Corinthian, rose and spoke thus: "It is, perhaps, a point for dispute, men of Athens, who it was that began to act unjustly. But with regard to ourselves, who, since the peace was made, can bring a charge against us, either that we have attacked any city, or have taken money from any people, or have laid waste any land belonging to others? Yet the Thebans have marched into our country, have cut down our trees, have burned our houses, and have carried off our cattle and other property. How, therefore, if you do not assist us who are thus openly ill treated, will you fail of violating your oaths? oaths, too, which you yourselves took care to administer, that we might, all of us, swear religiously to all of you." Here the Athenians uttered a shout, signifying that Cleiteles spoke with truth and justice. 38. After him Procles of Phlius arose, and spoke as follows:

"That the Thebans, O men of Athens, will, if the Lacedæmonians be put out of their way, make war upon you next,<sup>1</sup> is, I think, manifest to every one; for they regard you alone, of all other people, as the obstacle that prevents them from being supreme rulers of Greece. 39. If such, then, be the case, I consider that, when you take the field, you will not aid the cause of the Lacedæmonians more than your own; for

<sup>1</sup> See ii. 2. 19.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ο δὲ πλείστος ἦν λόγος.] The meaning of these words is, "what was most urged by the Lacedæmonian ambassadors," as Morus has rightly interpreted them. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Πρώτους.] That is, "you before all others."

that the Thebans, who are your enemies, and who dwell upon your borders, should become leaders of the Greeks, will, I think, give you much more trouble than you experienced when you had enemies at a distance. At least you would support the Lacedæmonians, while there are still allies left to them, with far more prospect of advantage to yourselves, than if you should be compelled, when they are utterly overthrown, to contend alone against the Thebans.

40. "But if any of you are apprehensive that, if the Lacedæmonians now escape destruction, they may hereafter give you trouble, reflect that it is not those to whom a person has done good, but those to whom he has done ill, that he has cause to dread, in case they should become powerful. It behoves you to reflect, also, that it is the duty both of individuals and of communities, while they are in a flourishing condition, to lay up for themselves some real advantage, in order that if ever they become weak, they may have support from their previous labours; and to you, by the favour of some god, is now presented an opportunity, if you assist the Lacedæmonians in their need, of attaching them to you as sincere friends for ever. 41. For they will be seen, not by a few witnesses merely, to have received kindness from you, but the gods, who see all things now and for ever, will know your conduct; and both your allies and your enemies, and all the Greeks and Barbarians besides, will be aware of what you have done; for by no one will your acts be unregarded; so that, if they show themselves ungrateful towards you, who will ever again be ready to serve them? 42. It is fair to hope, however, that they will behave well rather than ill to you; for they may certainly deserve the character, if any people ever deserved it, of having persevered in the pursuit of praise, and of having abstained from whatever was dishonourable.

43. "In addition to these considerations, reflect also, if danger should ever again fall upon Greece from the Barbarians, in whom would you place confidence more strongly than in the Lacedæmonians? Whom would you choose for supporters more willingly than that people, of whom those who were posted at Thermopylæ preferred rather to fight and die to a man, than to save their lives and let the Barbarians into Greece? How can it be otherwise than just, therefore, that both you and we, in whose defence they stood as brave

men in conjunction with you, and in whose defence it is to be hoped that they may similarly exert themselves hereafter, should manifest the utmost alacrity to serve them. 44. It is right also that you should show zeal for them, from regard for their present allies; for be assured that those who continue faithful to them in their calamities, will be ashamed not to show gratitude to you. And though our cities, who are willing to share danger with them, may seem but small, reflect that if your city joins us, we shall no longer be unimportant cities for their defence.

45. "I, indeed, O men of Athens, formerly admired this city from report, because I heard that all who suffered injustice, or were afraid of suffering it, might seek refuge here, and obtain relief. I now, however, no longer hear, but am myself present among you, and see the much-extolled Lacedæmonians, and their most faithful adherents with them, coming to you and entreating you to aid them. 46. I see also the Thebans, who once in vain desired the Lacedæmonians to enslave you, now beseeching you to allow those who saved you to be destroyed. It is told to the honour of your ancestors, that they did not suffer the dead bodies of the Argives, who fell at the citadel of Thebes, to remain uninterred; but it will be much more honourable to you, if you do not allow such of the Lacedæmonians as are still alive, to be either ill-treated or brought to nought. 47. And though it was a praiseworthy act, when you restrained the insolence of Eurystheus, and preserved the children of Hercules, would it not be far more praiseworthy, if you, who saved the patron-heroes<sup>1</sup> of Sparta, should save also its whole community? But it would be most praiseworthy of all, if, as the Spartans then saved you by a vote without danger to themselves, you should now march to their relief under arms at your own peril. 48. And while we rejoice, who have exhorted you by our words to succour brave men, it will appear noble in you, who are able to assist them by deeds, if, after having been often friends and often enemies to the Lacedæmonians, you remember not the injuries which you have suffered, but the services which you have received from them, and make fair repayment, not on behalf of yourselves only, but on that of all Greece, because they proved themselves brave men in its defence."

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρχηγέτας.] The Lacedæmonians considered that their kings were descendants of Hercules.

49. After this speech was ended, the Athenians proceeded to deliberate. They could not listen with patience to those who spoke against the aid, but passed a resolution "to succour the Lacedæmonians with all their force," and chose Iphicrates as commander. But when the sacrifices were auspicious, and he issued orders that "the soldiers should take their supper in the Academy," it was said that many marched forth before Iphicrates himself. However, he soon took the lead, and they followed him, imagining that he was conducting them to some honourable enterprise. But as, when he reached Corinth, he wasted several days there, they at once blamed him, in the first place, for such delay, yet, when at length he led them out again, they readily followed whithersoever he conducted them, and, to whatever strong-hold he brought them, they readily attacked it. 50. Of the enemies that had been before Lacedæmon, however, the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleians, had mostly withdrawn, as they dwelt on the borders, and were carrying or driving off the booty that they had taken. The Thebans and others, too, were inclined to leave the country, partly because they saw their force daily diminishing, and partly because provisions were growing insufficient, as some had been consumed, some carried off as plunder, some wasted, and some burnt. It was, besides, winter; so that everybody was desirous to go home. 51. And as the enemy thus withdrew from Lacedæmon, Iphicrates led off the Athenians from Arcadia to Corinth.

Whatever other enterprise Iphicrates conducted with honour, I have no wish to detract from the merit of it; but as to all that he did on this occasion, I find that it was managed by him either without judgment or with no advantage. Attempting to post a guard at Oneium, that the Bœotians might be unable to return home, he left the best pass, near Cenchreïæ, unguarded. Wishing to ascertain whether the Thebans had passed Oneium, he sent out all the Athenian and Corinthian cavalry to watch them; though a few might have been able to observe them as well as many, and, in case they were obliged to retire, it would have been much more easy for a few than for many to find a commodious road and to retreat at their ease; but to send forward large numbers, and yet inferior to those of the enemy, what was it but the greatest folly? For this body of horse, drawn up, as being numerous,



over a large space, fell in, when they were obliged to retire, with many difficult pieces of ground, so that not less than twenty horse-soldiers were killed; and the Thebans then marched off just as they pleased.

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## BOOK VII.

### CHAPTER I.

An embassy is sent by the Lacedæmonians to Athens to treat of peace.

Procles proposes that the Athenians shall have the chief command by sea, and the Lacedæmonians by land; but it is at last decided, on the proposition of Cephisodotus, that they shall take the command alternately, each for five days. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, meeting at Corinth, post themselves at the mountain Oneium, whence the Thebans dislodge them, and, in conjunction with the Arcadians, Eleians, and Argives, lay waste much of the country, but receive a check at Corinth. Twenty triremes come from Dionysius, bringing cavalry that severely harass the Thebans, who soon after return home. Rise of Lycomedes among the Arcadians, who, excited by his counsels, incur the dislike of the Thebans and Eleians. Philiscus comes into Greece with a large sum of money from Ariobarzanes, and assembles the Thebans and Lacedæmonians at Delphi, to re-establish peace, but, as the Lacedæmonians refuse to leave Messene free, the war is continued. Auxiliaries are again sent by Dionysius; operations of Archidamus in conjunction with them. The Thebans, aspiring to the supremacy in Greece, send Pelopidas as ambassador to the king of Persia, whom Pelopidas induces to prescribe terms of peace; but the Corinthians, and some other states, refuse to swear to the terms of it, and the attempt of the Thebans is frustrated. Epaminondas, wishing to attach Achaia to the party of the Thebans, marches into the country; the chief men meet him submissively, and he makes a treaty of alliance with them. Rise of Euphron at Sicyon.

1. THE following year, commissioners from the Lacedæmonians and their allies arrived at Athens, with full powers to settle on what terms an alliance offensive and defensive might be made between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. After several of the foreign commissioners, and several of the Athenians, had signified that the alliance ought to be made on fair and equal conditions, Procles of Phlius delivered the following speech:

2. "Since it has seemed good to you, O men of Athens, to make the Lacedæmonians your friends, it appears to me that you ought to consider by what means friendship may en-

dure between you as long as possible. If, therefore, we make a treaty on such grounds as shall be advantageous to both parties, we shall, according to all probability, mutually adhere to it. As to other points, then, both parties are nearly agreed; the consideration now is concerning the supremacy. By the senate it has been already arranged that the supremacy at sea should be yours, while that on land should belong to the Lacedæmonians; and this is an arrangement which appears to me to be ordained, not more by human thought, than by the Divine power and by circumstances. 3. In the first place, you inhabit a country excellently adapted by nature for such an adjustment; for many cities, that need supplies by sea, are situated around your city; and all of them are weaker than your own. You have also harbours, without which it is not possible to maintain a naval power; you have numbers of vessels; and to enlarge your force by sea is the occupation of your country. 4. You, moreover, possess all the arts necessary for such purposes, as your own; and you far excel other nations in nautical experience; for subsistence is gained by most of your people from the sea, so that, while you attend to your private pursuits, you are acquiring the knowledge requisite for naval warfare. Add to this the consideration, that from no harbours can more numerous fleets have issued than from your own; a consideration which is indeed one of the strongest reasons for assigning you the supremacy by sea; for to that which is already strong all men willingly unite themselves. 5. By the gods, likewise, it has been granted you to be successful in this pursuit; for, having engaged in very many and most important contests by sea, you have been unfortunate in but few, and have succeeded in the far greater number. It is natural, therefore, that your allies should share the dangers of such contests with you with the greatest alacrity.

6. "How necessary to you, moreover, and how naturally incumbent upon you, this attention to the sea is, convince yourselves from the following considerations. The Lacedæmonians were once at war with you for many years, and, though they became masters of your country, could not even then attain such success as to overthrow you; but when the gods at length allowed them to conquer you by sea, you at once fell entirely under their power. 7. It is hence, therefore, manifest that all your

safety depends on the sea ; and such being the state of things,<sup>1</sup> how can it be proper for you to give up to the Lacedæmonians the supremacy by sea ? especially when they themselves confess, in the first place, that they are less skilful than you in the naval art ; and when, in the next place, the peril in contests between you at sea is not equal on both sides, for they are concerned only for the men in the vessels, while you contend for your children, your wives, and your whole community.

8. "Such is the condition of things on your side ; consider next what it is on that of the Lacedæmonians. In the first place, they inhabit an inland country ; so that, while they are masters on land, they can even, if debarred from the sea, live with sufficient comfort. Conscious of their situation, accordingly, they practise from their very childhood exercises to qualify them for warfare on land ; and, in what is of the utmost importance, obedience to commanders,<sup>2</sup> they are most distinguished by land and you by sea. 9. Besides, as you can go forth with the greatest numbers and greatest expedition by sea, so can the Lacedæmonians by land ; so that their allies must necessarily join them on land with the greatest confidence. The gods have also granted, as to you to be successful by sea, so to them to be successful by land ; for, having fought many battles on land, they have failed in very few, and been successful in the far greater number.

10. "That attention to affairs on land, therefore, is not less necessary to them than attention to those at sea is to you, may be readily understood from past events ; for you, after being at war with them for many years, and defeating them several times at sea, made no progress towards subjugating them ; but, when they were once<sup>3</sup> beaten by land, they were immediately in peril respecting their families, their wives,

<sup>1</sup> Οὕτως οὖν πεφυκότων.] Sc. πραγμάτων : just as προχωρούντων is elsewhere used. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχουσιν.] That is, κατὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι. The same charge against the Athenians, of not obeying their laws and magistrates, is also made by our author in the Mem. Soc. iii. 5. 16, and iv. 4. 15 ; where he observes that the republic of Lacedæmon was upheld and raised to excellence by constant obedience on the part of the people. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> When Epaminondas laid waste Laconia, advancing to the very gates of the city, so that he threatened to destroy even the whole state of the Lacedæmonians. B. vi. c. 5. *Weiske*.

and their whole political existence. 11. How then would it be otherwise than wonderful that they should suffer others to take the chief command by land, when they themselves can manage affairs by land better than any other people?

"Such suggestions have I offered, in accordance with what was arranged by the senate, and believe that I have recommended that which is most advantageous for both parties. May you happily succeed in determining on the best course for us all!"

12. Thus spoke Procles; and the Athenians, and such of the Lacedæmonians as were present, agreed in bestowing great commendation on his advice. But Cephisodotus<sup>1</sup> came forward and said, "You do not perceive, men of Athens, that you are misled, but, if you will listen to me, I will at once make the matter plain to you. You are now to have the command by sea; but, if the Lacedæmonians send you auxiliaries, it is certain that they will furnish you with Lacedæmonian captains, and perhaps with Lacedæmonian marines; while the sailors, doubtless, will be helots or hirelings. It is over such as these that you will have the command. 13. But whenever the Lacedæmonians call you to an expedition by land, you will assuredly send them your own heavy-armed troops and cavalry; and they, therefore, thus become commanders of you yourselves, while you will be commanders only of their slaves and men of no value. Tell me," added he, "Timocrates of Lacedæmon, did you not just now say<sup>2</sup> that you came hither to make an alliance upon fair and equal terms?" 14. "I did say so," replied Timocrates. "Can anything, then, be fairer," said Cephisodotus, "than that each party should have the command of the fleet alternately, and of the land forces alternately; and that you, if there is any advantage in taking the command by sea, may have a share in it, as well as we in the command by land?" The Athenians, on hearing this proposal, changed their opinion, and passed a resolution that each should hold the chief command alternately for five days.

15. As both parties, with their allies, then marched towards

<sup>1</sup> Ὁ ἐκ Κεραμίων, who was supreme in public speaking, until Demosthenes succeeded to his dignity. See Reiske's Index to Demosth. sub voce. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> We are to suppose, as Weiske intimates, that he was one of those who were said to have spoken in sect. 1.

Corinth, it seemed proper to them to guard Oneium<sup>1</sup> in conjunction; and when the Thebans and their party approached they drew up, and stood on their defence, part on one side of Oneium, and part on the other, the Lacedæmonians and Pellenians, however, being on the quarter that was most assailable. The Thebans and their party, when they were about thirty stadia from the force on guard, encamped in the plain, and calculating when they thought they might start so as to accomplish the whole distance, set forward, at twilight in the morning,<sup>2</sup> to attack the force of the Lacedæmonians. 16. Nor were they deceived in the time; for they came up to the Lacedæmonians and Pellenians just when the night-watches ended, and the men were rising from their couches to proceed to their several duties. At this moment the Thebans<sup>3</sup> assailed them, falling, as men prepared for action, upon men that were unprepared, and, as men in regular order, upon men that were in total disorder. 17. But when those who saved themselves from the danger retired to the nearest eminence, and the Lacedæmonian commander, taking as many heavy-armed men from the allies, and as many peltasts, as he pleased, might have kept possession of the place, (for he might have safely brought provisions from Cenchreïæ,) he would not make the attempt, but, though the Thebans were perplexed how to descend from the heights toward Sicyon,<sup>4</sup> or how to go back again, he made a truce, more for the advantage of the Thebans, as most people thought, than of his own party, and accordingly withdrew and led off his troops.

18. The Thebans, in consequence, effecting their descent

<sup>1</sup> We must refer to vi. 5. 41 for the thread of the narrative. Diodorus Siculus, xv. 68, says that Chabrias, the Athenian general, had with him, including auxiliaries from Megara, Pellene, and Corinth, a force of ten thousand men, and that there were as many in the army of the Lacedæmonians and their allies, making in all twenty thousand; and that, to stop the march of the Bœotians, he had made a rampart and a ditch from Cenchreïæ to Lechæum. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄμα κνέφα.] Κνέφας is here the morning twilight, *diluculum*, not the evening, *vespertinum*. So κνεφαῖος, de Rep. Laced. 13. 3, signifies one who does anything at the dawn. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> Under Epaminondas. The force of the Athenians was commanded by Chabrias, Diod. Sic. xv. 68. *Schneider*.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σικυῶνα βλέποντος.] Brodæus adds λόφου. But Morus observes that βλέπον is here of the neuter gender, and signifies the part of the heights looking towards Sicyon. Compare vi. 5. 21; vii. 2. 15. *Schneider*.

in safety, and joining their allies, the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleians, immediately proceeded to attack<sup>1</sup> Sicyon and Pelene. Marching also against Epidaurus, they laid waste its whole territory; and retreating from thence, in a manner that showed contempt for all their enemies, they advanced, when they drew near the city of Corinth, at full speed up to the gates on the side towards Phlius, intending to rush in if they chanced to be open. 19. But a party of light-armed men, sallying forth from the city, met the chosen men<sup>2</sup> of the Thebans not four hundred feet distant from the wall, and, mounting upon the monuments and higher places, hurled down stones and javelins upon them, killed a great number of the foremost, and, putting them to flight, pursued them for three or four stadia. When the affair was over, the Corinthians, having dragged the bodies of the slain to the wall, and afterwards restored them by truce, erected a trophy. At this turn of fortune the allies of the Lacedæmonians found their spirits revived.

20. While these occurrences were taking place, the succour from Dionysius to the Lacedæmonians arrived, consisting of more than twenty triremes, which carried Celts, Iberians,<sup>3</sup> and about fifty horsemen. Next day, the Thebans and their allies, forming in order of battle, and covering the plain down to the sea, and up to the hills near the city, destroyed whatever was on the ground that could be of any service. As for the Athenian and Corinthian cavalry, they made no near approach to the army of the enemy, seeing how strong and numerous were the troops opposed to them; 21. but those sent

<sup>1</sup> With what success, Xenophon does not say. Diodorus Siculus states that Epaminondas attacked Trœzen and Epidaurus, and laid waste all the neighbouring country, but without capturing any town; though, at the same time, he gained over to his side Sicyon, Phlius, and some other places in those parts. Pausanias casually alludes to this expedition against Sicyon, vi. p. 457, where it is said that Stomius, the commander of the Eleian cavalry, is said to have challenged the commander of the Sicyonians to single combat, and to have killed him. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις.] They seem to have been men selected for the occasion; picked men.

<sup>3</sup> It is said by Diodorus Siculus, xv. 70, that two thousand Celts and Iberians were sent, with pay for five months, and that they returned at the end of the summer. But he makes no mention of cavalry. *Schneider*.

by Dionysius, few as they were, spreading themselves over the plain, and galloping forward at different points, hurled their javelins as they rode up, and, when the enemy started forward to attack them, retreated, and then wheeled round and discharged their javelins a second time. In the midst of these feats, too, they would dismount from their horses and rest, but if any of the enemy rode at them while they were dismounted, they would easily vault into their seats and ride off. Or if any pursued them to a distance from the main body, they would press upon them, as soon as they began to retreat, hurling their javelins at them and wounding them severely, and would oblige the whole army to advance or retire according to their movements. 22. After these events the Thebans stayed but a few days, and went off with their allies to their respective homes.

Soon afterwards, the auxiliaries from Dionysius made an attack upon Sicyon,<sup>1</sup> and defeated the Sicyonians in a battle on the plain, killing about seventy of them. They also took the fortress of Dera by assault. And, having completed these operations, this first<sup>2</sup> auxiliary force from Dionysius sailed away to return to Syracuse.

Hitherto the Thebans, and all who had revolted from the Lacedæmonians, had acted and taken the field with the utmost unanimity, the Thebans retaining the command. 23. But now arose<sup>3</sup> a man named Lycomedes, a Mantinean, a person of birth inferior to none, of superior wealth, and, with all these advantages, of extraordinary ambition, who filled the Arcadians with notions of their own importance, telling them that "the Peloponnesus was their own proper country, for that they alone were the original inhabitants of it; and that the Arcadians were the most numerous people of Greece, and in the best condition for military service." He also endeavoured to show that they were the bravest of the Greeks, offering as proofs of this assertion, that "whenever any people required auxiliaries, they chose none in preference to the Arcadians;" and that, "without their support, the Lacedæmonians would never have made their attacks upon Athens,

<sup>1</sup> Now on the side of the Thebans. See note on sect. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The second is mentioned in sect. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐγγενόμενος.] *Exortus est* is given as an equivalent for this word by Leunclavius; I suspect it to be not genuine. *Schneider.*

nor would the Thebans now, without the Arcadians, have advanced upon Lacedæmon. 24. If you are wise, therefore," continued he, "you will desist from following whither other people lead you; for formerly, when you followed the Lacedæmonians, you increased their power, and now, if you inconsiderately follow the Thebans, and do not insist on commanding in return, you will perhaps soon find the Thebans to be second Lacedæmonians."

The Arcadians, on hearing these arguments, were extremely puffed up, and quite in love with Lycomedes, seeming to think him the only man among them; so that they appointed as officers whomsoever he desired. 25. From the events that had occurred, too, the Arcadians were greatly exalted; for, when the Argives invaded the territory of Epidaurus,<sup>1</sup> and were prevented from retreating by the mercenary troops of Chabrias, and by the Athenians and Corinthians, the Arcadians, coming to their aid, set them at liberty when they were closely blockaded, though they had to contend, not only with the enemy, but the difficulties of the ground. Having undertaken an expedition, too, against Asine in Laconia, they overcame the Lacedæmonian garrison, killed Geranor the commander, a genuine Spartan,<sup>2</sup> and destroyed the suburbs of the place. Wherever, indeed, they resolved to march, neither night, nor winter, nor length of way, nor difficult mountains, could stop their course, so that at that time they thought themselves the most valiant of mankind. 26. On these accounts, the Thebans began to regard the Arcadians with envy, and ceased to entertain feelings of friendship towards them. The Eleians too, as, when they solicited from the Arcadians repossession of the cities of which they had been deprived by the Lacedæmonians, they found that they paid no attention to their requests, but showed great regard for the Triphylians and others that had revolted from them, because they alleged that they were Arcadians, began also themselves to be unfavourably disposed towards them.

27. While each<sup>3</sup> of the allied states were thus forming high

<sup>1</sup> He means that expedition of the Argives to which he had alluded in sect. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Σπαρτιάτην γεγεννημένον.] It would have been much less credit to the conquerors if he had not been so. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Only the Arcadians are specified as forming such high notions.



notions of themselves, Philiscus of Abydos came with a large sum of money from Ariobarzanes;<sup>1</sup> and he, in the first place, convened<sup>2</sup> the Thebans and their allies, with the Lacedæmonians, to a consultation at Delphi concerning a peace. Having assembled there, they did not consult the god how a peace might be arranged, but proceeded to deliberate themselves. But as the Thebans could not agree that Messene<sup>3</sup> should be under the Lacedæmonians, Philiscus next collected a large body of mercenaries, that he might support the Lacedæmonians in the field.

28. During these proceedings, the second<sup>4</sup> body of auxiliaries from Dionysius arrived; and the Athenians observing that it would be proper to send them into Thessaly<sup>5</sup> to act against the Thebans, while the Lacedæmonians proposed to despatch them into Laconia, the latter suggestion found greater favour among the allies. The troops, therefore, from Dionysius sailing round to Lacedæmon,<sup>6</sup> Archidamus<sup>7</sup> took them under his command, and marched with them and the

But we are to understand that all were looking enviously, and with dissatisfaction, on the Arcadians, and were perhaps envying one another.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xv. 70, says "from Artaxerxes;" and Morus would substitute the name of Artaxerxes in Xenophon's text. Philiscus was the chief of the governors under Ariobarzanes, who had taken possession of the Greek cities on the Hellespont, and plundered them. \* \* \* This is the same Ariobarzanes, to whose aid Timotheus was sent by the Athenians, but whom, when he saw that he had revolted from the king of Persia, he deserted, as we learn from Demosthenes de Rhodior. Libert. p. 193. Hence the hatred of Ariobarzanes towards the Athenians; and the reader will of course understand that the common reading of the text is not to be altered. See Cyrop. viii. 8. 4. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian king had the right of assembling the states of Greece, for the purpose of maintaining and recommending peace, by the well-known treaty mentioned in v. i. 28. *Morus*.

<sup>3</sup> It is plain that the new city built by Epaminondas, and the territory belonging to it, are signified. See Diod. Sic. xv. 66; Pausan. iv. 26; Polyb. iv. 32. *Schneider*.

<sup>4</sup> See sect. 22.

<sup>5</sup> The power of the Thebans had greatly increased in this country, the Thessalians having called them to their aid against Alexander of Phæræ; vi. 4. 34; Diod. Sic. xv. 67, 71; Plutarch. Pelop. c. 26. *Morus*. The word *πέμπειν*, or some such verb, is wanting in the text, as Leunclavius observes.

<sup>6</sup> That is, to Laconia. *Morus*.

<sup>7</sup> Son of Agesilaus.

forces of his countrymen into the field. He then took Caryæ<sup>1</sup> by assault, and put all that he found alive in it to the sword. Proceeding from thence, with the same force, against the Parrhasians of Arcadia, he laid waste their country; but when the Arcadians and Argives came to their support, he retreated and encamped upon the hills at Midea.<sup>2</sup> While he was there, Cissidas, the commander of the auxiliaries from Dionysius, apprized him that "the time which was appointed for him to remain was expired;" and he had no sooner given them this intimation than he went off towards Sparta. 29. But as the Messenians stopped him on his march, at a narrow pass in the road, he sent back to Archidamus and solicited succour. Archidamus accordingly proceeded to his relief. But when his troops arrived at the turning towards Eutresii,<sup>3</sup> the Arcadians and Argives advanced into Laconia, to cut him off from his way homewards, when he, turning aside into the level piece of ground lying at the junction of the roads to Eutresii and Midea, drew up his force as if determined upon a battle; and it is said that he rode along before the several companies and addressed to them the following exhortation:

"Soldiers and citizens, let us now, acting as brave men, look up with undaunted eyes. Let us deliver our country to our descendants as we received it from our forefathers. Let us cease to be ashamed before our children and wives, before older men and foreigners, in whose eyes we were formerly the most admirable of all the Greeks."

31. When these words were uttered, it is said that thunder and lightning, of a propitious nature, appeared from a clear sky; and there happened to be also on his right wing a sacred grove and statue of Hercules, of whom Archidamus is said to be a descendant.<sup>4</sup> From all these circumstances, in consequence, it is said that such spirit and boldness was produced in his men, that it was difficult for the officers to re-

<sup>1</sup> A town in the territory of Laconia, which had recently revolted, vi. 5. 25, 27. *Weiske*.

<sup>2</sup> The exact situation of this place is unknown. See Mr. Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, ch. lxxix. vol. x. p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned by Pausan. *Arcad.* p. 654, as a town of Arcadia. Steph. Byz. calls it *Εὐτρεσίον*, as Schneider observes.

<sup>4</sup> Like all members of the royal houses of Sparta. See Morus ad Isocr. *Panegy.* c. 16. *Schneider*.

strain them from rushing forward at once to charge the enemy. Accordingly, when Archidamus led them on, those few of the enemy who received their charge at the point of the spear,<sup>1</sup> were killed; and the rest, who fled, fell some by the hands of the cavalry, and others by those of the Celts. 32. When the battle was over, and he had erected a trophy, he immediately sent home Demoteles, the herald, to announce the greatness of the victory, and to say that not one of the Lacedæmonians was killed, but a very large number of the enemy. It was said, however, that the people at Sparta, when they heard the news, all, beginning with Agesilaus, the senators, and the ephori, shed tears; so common are tears both to sorrow and joy.<sup>1</sup> At this ill fortune of the Arcadians the Thebans and Eleians were not much less pleased than the Lacedæmonians; so much were they offended at their presumption.

33. As the Thebans were constantly contriving how to attain the sovereignty of Greece, they thought that if they sent to the king of Persia, they might forward their views in some degree by his means. Having accordingly summoned a meeting of their allies, on the pretext that Euthycles the Lacedæmonian was now with the king, there went up into Persia, of the Thebans, Pelopidas; of the Arcadians, Antiochus the pancratiast; of the Eleians, Archidamus, and Argivus<sup>3</sup> also followed; and the Athenians, hearing of their departure, sent up Timagoras and Leon. 34. When they had all arrived, Pelopidas gained far the most influence with the Persian monarch; for he could say that "the Thebans alone, of all the Greeks, had joined the king of Persia at Platææ; that they had never since been engaged in hostilities against the king; and that the Lacedæmonians had made war upon them for this reason only, that they refused to go with Agesilaus against him, and would not allow him to sacrifice to Diana at

<sup>1</sup> Εἰς δόρυ.] Not signifying here, as in many other places, *dextrorsum*, but *usque ed ut hastâ feriri possent*. Weiske.

<sup>2</sup> From the extraordinary joy of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, Plutarch, Agesil. c. 33, remarks how great must have been the reduction of their power, and how much their spirits must have been sunk. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀργεῖος.] Morus supposed that the name of an Argive commissioner had fallen out of the text, not being aware that this is the proper name of a commissioner from Elis, who is named again in ch. 4, sect. 15. *Schneider*.

Aulis,<sup>1</sup> where Agamemnon sacrificed when he sailed to Asia and took Troy.” 35. It also contributed to gain Pelopidas honourable attention, that the Thebans had been victorious in the battle at Leuctra, and that they were known<sup>2</sup> to have laid waste the Lacedæmonian territory. Pelopidas also added that “the Argives and Arcadians had been defeated by the Lacedæmonians, because the Thebans were not with them.” Timagoras, the Athenian, bore witness to Pelopidas that he spoke the truth in all these particulars, and was in consequence held in honour next to Pelopidas. 36. Afterwards, Pelopidas being asked by the king “what he wished to be written in the letter for him,” replied, that “Messene should be left independent by the Lacedæmonians, and that the Athenians should lay up their fleet; that, if they refused to comply with these requisitions, war should be made upon them; and that, if any state declined to follow to the field, hostilities should be directed against that state first.” 37. These particulars being accordingly committed to writing, and read over to the ambassadors, Leon exclaimed, in the hearing of the king, “By Jupiter, Athenians, it is time for you, as it appears to me, to seek some other friend in place of the king.” After the secretary had interpreted<sup>3</sup> what the Athenian said, he again brought out<sup>4</sup> the letter with the following clause added: “but if the Athenians think of anything more reasonable than this, they are to go to the king and make him acquainted with it.”

38. As soon as the ambassadors had returned to their several homes, the Athenians put Timagoras to death; for Leon brought a charge against him, that “he refused to lodge in the same apartments with him,” and that “he supported Pelopidas in all his objects.” Of the other ambassadors, Archidamus, the Eleian, extolled the state of the king’s affairs, because he gave the preference to Elis<sup>5</sup> over Arcadia; but

<sup>1</sup> See iii. 4. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐφαίνοντο.] Not *videbantur*, but *palam erat eos vastasse*. Morus.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀπῆγγειλεν.] He interpreted the Greek to the king, as Pirkheimer and Goldhagen rightly understand the passage. *Schneider*.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐξήνεγκε.] The conditions of peace seem to have been written in a separate apartment, that of the secretary, and then to have been brought out, and read in the presence of the king and the ambassadors. *Schneider*.

<sup>5</sup> As he made no present to Antiochus, the Arcadian ambassador. *Schneider*.

Antiochus, because the Arcadian power was slighted by him, and because he received no presents, reported to the Ten Thousand<sup>1</sup> that the king had an infinite number of bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, and door-keepers, but men who would be capable of fighting with the Greeks he said that he had not been able to see, though he looked about for them with the utmost diligence; besides, he observed that that vast quantity of wealth appeared to him mere ostentation, since the golden plane-tree,<sup>2</sup> so much celebrated, would be unable to afford shade even to a grasshopper.

39. When the Thebans had summoned deputies from all the states to hear the king's letter, and the Persians who brought it, after showing the king's seal, had read the contents, the Thebans called on all who wished to be friends to the king and to themselves, to take an oath to obey the requisitions; but the deputies from the states replied that "they were not sent to swear, but to hear," and told them, "if they required oaths, to send to the different states to that effect." Lycomedes the Arcadian also observed that "the congress should not have been held at Thebes, but in the place where the war was;"<sup>3</sup> and as the Thebans expressed displeasure at what he said, and told him that he was dissolving the confederacy, he refused even to sit any longer in the council, but took his departure, and all the deputies from Arcadia went off with him.

40. But as the deputies assembled at Thebes still declined to take the oath, the Thebans sent commissioners to the several states to desire them to take it, thinking that they would act according to the king's letter, and that each of the states, individually, would be afraid to incur the hostility of

<sup>1</sup> The senate or council of the Arcadians, instituted by Lycomedes, to determine on peace and war. See Diod. Sic. xv. 59; Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 544, 403, ed. Reisk.; Vales. ad Harpocr. p. 130. The same senate or council is mentioned below, c. 4, sect. 2, 33, 34. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Presented to Darius by Pytheas of Sardes, as we are told by Herodotus, vii. 27, and Pliny, H. N. xxiii. 10. The real plane-tree is large and spreading, and the grasshopper likes to settle in the shady branches of trees; yet that golden plane-tree would not suffice to overshadow even a grasshopper. *Schneider*. Weiske supposes that there is an allusion intended to the golden grasshoppers which the Athenians wore in their hair.

<sup>3</sup> In Arcadia? So I suppose. *Weiske*.

themselves and the king. However, as they went first of all to Corinth, and the Corinthians objected, replying that "they wanted to take no common oaths to the king," many others or the states also followed their example, and gave answers to the same effect. Thus this attempt<sup>1</sup> of Pelopidas and the Thebans at sovereignty was brought to an end.

41. But Epaminondas, again, wishing to bring the Achæans under the power of the Thebans, in order that the Arcadians and their other allies might pay greater attention to them, resolved upon going to war with Achaia. He therefore prevailed on Peisias the Argive, who had the command of the army at Argos, to take possession of Oneium. Peisias, accordingly, having observed that the guard at Oneium was but negligently maintained by Naucles, who commanded the mercenaries of the Lacedæmonians, as well as by Timomachus the Athenian, seized upon the hill above Cenchreïæ in the night, at the head of two thousand heavy-armed men, and having with him provisions for seven days. 42. During those days the Thebans came up, and passed Oneium; and then all the confederates marched into Achaia, under the leadership of Epaminondas. But as the chief men of Achaia made submission<sup>2</sup> to him, Epaminondas prevailed with them, by his influence, that they should send none of the aristocracy into exile, nor make any change in the government, and, having received pledges from the Achæans that they would be faithful allies, and follow whithersoever the Thebans should lead them, he turned his course homewards. 43. But as the Arcadians, and such as were opposed to him, accused him of marching off home after having put Achaia in a favourable condition for the Lacedæmonians,<sup>3</sup> it was resolved by the Thebans to send harmosts into the cities of Achaia, who, on their arrival, expelled the aristocracy with the aid of the common people, and established aristocracies throughout Achaia. However the persons thus exiled, concerting soon after together, made attempts upon each of the cities separately, and, being by no means few in number, effected their return, and kept posses-

<sup>1</sup> Περιβολή.] *Conatus, studium imperii acquirendi*, as Morus rightly explains it. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Προσπεσόντων.] *Cum eum supplices rogarent*. Morus.

<sup>3</sup> By instituting an oligarchy in most of the cities and towns. *Schneider*.

sion of the cities. And as, on their return, they no longer acted a moderate part, but zealously supported the Lacedæmonian interest, the Arcadians were pressed on one side by the Lacedæmonians, and on the other by the Achæans.

44. At Sicyon, down to this period, the government had been maintained in conformity with their ancient<sup>1</sup> laws. But at this time Euphron, who, being the most considerable of the citizens in the estimation of the Lacedæmonians,<sup>2</sup> desired also to take the lead among the party opposed to them, intimated to the Argives and Arcadians that if the most wealthy citizens should hold the chief power at Sicyon, the city, wherever an opportunity offered, would doubtless go over again to the side of the Lacedæmonians; "but if a democracy be established," said he, "be assured that the state will continue to adhere to you. If, therefore, you will support me," he added, "I will take upon myself to convene the people; and I will offer you this<sup>3</sup> as a pledge of sincerity on my part, and will engage to keep the city firmly in alliance with you. This course I adopt," continued he, "because, you may be certain, I have long been dissatisfied, like yourselves, with the haughtiness of the Lacedæmonians, and would willingly escape from bondage." 45. The Arcadians and Argives, accordingly, listening to these representations with pleasure, prepared to give him their support; and he, without delay, assembled the people in the forum, in the presence of deputies from the Argives and Arcadians, as if intending that "the government should be established on a basis just and equal for all." When the people had met, he desired them to choose as military commanders whomsoever they pleased; and they in consequence chose Euphron himself, Hippodamus, Cleander, Acrisius, and Lysander. This matter being arranged, he appointed his own son Adeas over the mercenary troops, setting aside Lysimenes who had commanded them before. 46. Of these mercenary troops, Euphron soon attached some to him by conferring

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf justly prefers ἀρχαίους, which is found in at least two manuscripts, to the old reading Ἀχαιῶν, which Schneider and Weiske retain, though not without distrust, in their texts.

<sup>2</sup> Below, c. 3, sect. 7, he is called φιλαίτατος Λακεδαιμονίοις Schneider.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the convocation of a general assembly of the people.

favours upon them; others he gained by bribery, sparing neither the public money nor the treasures in the temples. Whatever persons, too, he banished for favouring the Lacedæmonians, he put their property to a similar use. Of his colleagues in command, he put some to death, and sent others into exile; so that he brought everything under his own power, and became undoubtedly a tyrant. And in order that the allies might allow him to pursue this course, he partly prevailed with them by sending them money, and partly by following them readily to the field with his mercenaries, wherever they undertook any military expedition.

## CHAPTER II.

The steady attachment of the city of Phlius to the Lacedæmonians during all changes of fortune. Instances of the spirit and resolution of its inhabitants. They expel from the city a force of the Eleians and Arcadians, assisted by their own exiles, even after they had got possession of the citadel. They repulse the Argives and Arcadians; also the Sicyonians and Pellenians. They release Proxenus without ransom. Their successes in bringing provisions from Corinth, and in taking the fortress of Thyamia from the Sicyonians.

1. THESE affairs having thus far succeeded, and the Argives having fortified Tricaranon,<sup>1</sup> which is above the temple of Juno, to command the city of Phlius, while the Sicyonians had fortified Thyamia on the Phliasian confines, the people of Phlius were very much distressed and in want of provisions. Yet they still adhered to their alliance with the Lacedæmonians.

Of great states, if they have done anything to their honour, all historians make mention; but it appears to me that if any

<sup>1</sup> A fortress in the territory of Phlius. *Steph. Byz.* This chapter is a digression from the course of the history to celebrate the praises of the Phliasians. There is much reference to the events related before, but chiefly in order to show what part the Phliasians took in them. *Morus.* Xenophon manifests, in this digression in praise of a small city, his strong feeling in favour of the Lacedæmonians. *Schneider.*



small state has achieved many honourable acts, it is even still more proper to set forth its praises.

2. The Phliasians, for instance, became friends to the Lacedæmonians when they were in the greatest height of power; and, when they were overthrown in the battle of Leuctra, when many of the neighbouring people withdrew from them, and when all the helots, and all their allies except a few, revolted, and when all the Greeks, so to speak, made war upon them, they still continued faithful to them; and though they had the Arcadians and Argives for their enemies, the most powerful people in the Peloponnesus, they nevertheless gave them assistance; and when it was their lot to go over<sup>1</sup> to Prasias last of all the confederates, (and these were the Corinthians, Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Hermionians, Halians, Sicyonians, and Pellenians,) they did not even then withdraw their aid; 3. nor, though the commander of the confederates took those that had crossed first, and went off leaving them behind, did they turn back, but, hiring a guide at Prasias, penetrated through the country as well as they were able, though the enemy were close upon Amyclæ, and arrived at Sparta. The Lacedæmonians, besides paying them other marks of honour, sent them an ox to entertain themselves.

4. When, too, after the army had withdrawn from Lacedæmon, the Argives, exasperated at the attachment of the Phliasians to the Lacedæmonians, directed their whole force against Phlius, and laid waste their territories, they did not even on that occasion submit, but when the enemy, after having spread as much devastation as they could, commenced their retreat, the cavalry of the Phliasians sallied forth and pursued them, and though all the horse, with some companies of infantry behind them, guarded the rear of the Argives, they, though but sixty in number, fell upon them, and put the whole rear-guard to flight. It was but a few that they killed; yet they erected a trophy in the sight of the Argives, with not less boldness than if they had killed them all.

5. On another occasion, while the Lacedæmonians and their

<sup>1</sup> Over the Lerna, says Gail, in his version. Prasias was a small town on the Sinus Argolicus, Thucyd. ii. 56. It was settled by lot in what order the confederates should go; and it was the lot of the Phliasians to be last. The words *ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος*, a little below, are justly thought by Schneider to be in some way corrupt.

allies were keeping guard at Oneium, and the Thebans were advancing with an intention to go beyond it,<sup>1</sup> and while the Arcadians and Eleians, at the same time, were proceeding through Nemea to form a junction with the Thebans, some exiles from Phlius gave intimation to [the Thebans],<sup>2</sup> that "if they would only show themselves to the Phliasians, they might take the city;" and as it was agreed to make the attempt, the exiles, and others with them, to the number of about six hundred, took a position close under the wall<sup>3</sup> by night with ladders; and when the sentinels gave notice that the enemy were advancing from Tricaranon,<sup>4</sup> and the people directed their attention to their adversaries in that quarter, those who were ready to betray their city<sup>5</sup> made a signal to those sitting under the wall to mount, 6. who, mounting accordingly, and seizing on such arms belonging to the garrison as were lying unguarded, went in pursuit of the day-sentinels,<sup>6</sup> who were ten in number, (for one out of every five was left as a sentinel,)<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> So as to effect an entrance, over the higher grounds, into the territory of Corinth. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> I have supplied the words in brackets. Xenophon does not say to whom the intimation was given. "The author has left it doubtful," says *Schneider*, "to whom the exiles addressed themselves, the Thebans or their allies; nor is it made sufficiently clear who placed themselves under the walls of the citadel. It appears, however, that the Thebans themselves are to be understood." *Schneider*. The account of the movements of the different parties, in this attack on Phlius, is so extremely obscure, that I can but faintly hope that, with the help of the notes, which I borrow chiefly from *Schneider*, I may make the narrative intelligible to the reader.

<sup>3</sup> Close under the citadel. *Schneider*. The citadel seems not to have been surrounded by the wall of the city. The city wall appears to have joined that of the citadel on each side of the citadel.

<sup>4</sup> The Argives, who held the fortress of Tricaranon, commanding the town of Phlius, planned and executed this attack on the city in common with the Thebans. It was the Argives, therefore, of whom the sentinels gave notice as advancing from Tricaranon; and the Phliasians, looking out for their approach, did not perceive the enemy lying in wait under the walls. Hence the Argives and Arcadians, sect. 8, surround the city, and begin to make a breach in the wall of the citadel, while the Thebans are fighting within the citadel. *Schneider*.

<sup>5</sup> Οἱ προδιδόντες.] Those of the citizens who were in concert with the exiles to betray the city to the Thebans and their party.

<sup>6</sup> Ἡμεροφύλακας.] In opposition to the night watch. The same as ἡμεροσκόπους.

<sup>7</sup> Hence we learn that the number of the garrison in the citadel was fifty. *Schneider* and *Weiske*.

killed one while he was still asleep, and another as he was fleeing to the temple of Juno; and as the other sentinels in their flight leaped down from the part of the wall<sup>1</sup> that looks towards the city, those who had climbed up the wall of the city were indisputably masters of the citadel. 7. But as, on the noise reaching the city, the citizens came out with succour, the enemy,<sup>2</sup> sallying forth from the citadel, contended with them, at first in the space before the gates opening towards the city; but afterwards, being hemmed in by the defenders<sup>3</sup> of the place, they retreated back to the citadel, and the citizens rushed in with them. The space between the walls and the citadel,<sup>4</sup> accordingly, became at once clear; but the enemy, climbing on the walls and the towers, hurled javelins and stones at those within, who defended themselves standing on the ground, and maintained the contest at the foot of the stairs leading up to the wall; and when the citizens became masters of some of the towers on each side of them, they closed hand to hand, in desperation, with those that had mounted them; but, being hard pressed by them, in their audacity and fury, were driven together into still smaller and smaller space. At this very time the Arcadians and Argives collected around the city, and began to make a breach in the wall of the citadel at the upper part<sup>5</sup> of the city; while, of the people within,<sup>6</sup> some struck at those on the wall, and some at those mounting up, with their feet still on the ladders, while others made head against those who had now ascended the towers, and, having found fire in the tents, applied it to the towers, bringing up to them from the citadel some bundles of straw which happened to be lying there cut.<sup>7</sup> The men upon

<sup>1</sup> Of the citadel. *Dindorf*.

<sup>2</sup> That is, "those who had climbed up the wall." *Weiske*. Οἱ ἀναβάντες, as they are just before called.

<sup>3</sup> Ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοηθούντων.] By those who had come to the support of the displaced garrison.

<sup>4</sup> Τὸ μὲν σὺν μέσῳ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως.] I consider that by these words is meant all the space between the gates of the city and the citadel. *Schneider*.

<sup>5</sup> Κατὰ κεφαλὴν.] We must understand τῆς πόλεως, "at the head" of the city, which the citadel overhung. *Dindorf*.

<sup>6</sup> Understand the Phliasians; for there were also Thebans there. *Schneider*.

<sup>7</sup> *Weiske* (ad sect. 7) supposes that there was space within the walls of the city for corn to grow.

the towers, dreading the flame, then leaped down, while those on the wall were struck and hurled down by the citizens; and when the enemy once began to give way, the whole citadel was soon cleared of them. The Phliasian cavalry immediately sallied out, and the enemy, at the sight of them, made off altogether, leaving behind them the scaling-ladders and the dead, and some, too, alive, that had been maimed. Of the enemy, such as fought within the wall, and such as leaped down from it, there were killed not less than eighty. A person might then have seen the men shaking each other by the hand, with mutual congratulations on their safety, and the women bringing them drink, and weeping, at the same time, for joy. Indeed, smiles mingled with tears prevailed among all those who were present on the occasion.

10. Next year the Argives and Arcadians made an attack upon Phlius with their whole force. The cause of their continued hostility to them, was partly that they were exasperated with them, and partly that they saw the town of Phlius lying between them, and were constantly in hopes that they would reduce them to submission through want of provisions. But, in this invasion also, the cavalry, and picked infantry of the Phliasiens, with such of the Athenian horse as were with them, attacked the enemy at the crossing of the river,<sup>1</sup> and, having the advantage, forced the enemy, for the remainder of the day, to retire to the tops of the hills, as if anxious not to trample down any of the corn of their friends in the plain.<sup>2</sup>

11. On another occasion the Theban commander at Sicyon made an expedition against Phlius, taking with him the Sicyonians and Pellenians whom he had in the garrison; (for those people were then accustomed to follow the Thebans;) and Euphron also joined in the enterprise with his mercenaries, in number about two thousand. The rest of the force went down by Tricaranon towards the temple of Juno, as if intending to lay waste the plain; but the Sicyonians and Pellenians the commander left on the eminence by the gates opening to-

<sup>1</sup> The Asopus, as appears from Pausanias. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> A sarcasm. They were afraid of the Phliasian and Athenian cavalry. \* \* \* But when, in their fear, they betook themselves to the mountain, they *appeared* desirous to spare the fields in the plain. *Weiske*.

wards Corinth, lest the Phliasiens, going round in that direction, should occupy still higher ground above the temple of Juno. 12. But when the people in the city learned that the enemy were marching into the plain, the cavalry and chosen infantry of Phlius went out to meet them, and, engaging with them, prevented them from entering the plain. The greater part of the day they spent in skirmishing on the field, the troops of Euphron pursuing as far as the ground was adapted for cavalry, and the people of the city as far as the temple of Juno. 13. But when the enemy thought it time to retreat, they went off by a circuit round Tricaranon, for the ravine before the wall prevented them from taking the shortest road to the Pellenians.<sup>1</sup> The Phliasiens, having followed them, a short distance, to the ascent, turned off and went along the road by the wall towards the Pellenians and those with them. 14. The party with the Theban commander, observing the haste of the Phliasiens, made all possible expedition to outstrip them and aid the Pellenians. But the Phliasian cavalry, arriving first, attacked the Pellenians, but, as they withstood their first charge, they returned to a second in conjunction with such of the foot as had come up, and engaged them hand to hand, when the enemy soon gave way, and some of the Sicyonians, and a large number of the bravest men of the Pellenians, were killed. 15. Such being the case, the Phliasiens erected a trophy, and sung, as they had just reason, the pæan of victory; whilst the Theban commander, Euphron, and their troops, stood looking at their proceedings, as if they had come out on an excursion<sup>2</sup> only to see a sight. After such a termination to the affair, the one party went off to Sicyon, and the others retreated into the city.

16. The following is another honourable act that the Phliasiens performed. Having taken Proxenus<sup>3</sup> of Pellene prisoner, they gave him his liberty, though they were in want of every necessary, without requiring any ransom. Who would deny that people who did such things were high-minded and gallant men?

<sup>1</sup> Those who had been left with the Sicyonians, sect. 11?

<sup>2</sup> Περιεδραμηκότες.] Morus would prefer παραεδραμηκότες.

<sup>3</sup> That this word is the proper name of a man, has already been observed by Goldhagen. If a proxenus, or public host, were intended, his name might have been expected to be given. *Schneider*.

17. That they maintained their fidelity to their friends with the most persevering constancy, is known to all; for, when they were prevented from raising crops from their lands, they procured subsistence, partly by taking provisions from the enemy's territories, and partly by purchasing from Corinth, going to market amidst many perils,<sup>1</sup> with difficulty finding money to pay, and with difficulty conciliating those that could furnish them with provisions, as they could scarcely produce sureties for the beasts to take them away. 18. At length, when they were in total distress, they prevailed upon Chares to afford them a convoy. When Chares and his men came to Phlius, they begged him to take the useless part of the population with him as far as Pellene,<sup>2</sup> where they left them; and, having made their purchases,<sup>3</sup> and laden as many beasts as they could, they commenced their return by night, not ignorant that they would be exposed to an ambush from the enemy, but thinking that to want food was worse than to fight. 19. They proceeded accordingly in company with Chares, and, as they fell in with the enemy, they immediately engaged them, and, encouraging one another, pressed them with the utmost vigour, shouting at the same time to Chares to support them. The victory at last being theirs, and the enemy being driven from the road, they got safe back, themselves and what they were conveying, to Phlius. As they had passed the night without sleep, they slept far into the next day. 20. But as soon as Chares had risen, the cavalry, and the most efficient of the heavy-armed men, went to him, and said,

"It is in your power, Chares, to achieve to-day a most honourable exploit; for the Sicyonians are building a fortress<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The way to Corinth passed close by the mountain on which Tricaranon, the fortress of the Argives, intended to command the citadel, was built; whence the Argives could harass the Phliasians as they went past. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> The Pellonians were therefore, at this time, in friendship with the Phliasians, their feelings having been changed, perhaps, by the generosity of the Phliasians to Proxennus, mentioned in sect. 16, as Goldhagen also suspects. Xenophon alludes to this reconciliation afterwards, c. 4. sect. 17. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> Having left their useless mouths at Pellene, they proceeded to Corinth and bought provisions. Of the obscure brevity of Xenophon in this passage Palmerius has already complained, *Exercitatt. p. 75. Schneider*.

<sup>4</sup> Thyamia. See sect. 23.

on our confines, having with them a great number of masons, and but a small party of heavy-armed men. We, therefore, the cavalry and the strongest of the infantry, will march forth as your guides, and if you, with your mercenaries, will follow us, perhaps you will find the matter settled when you come to the place; or, perhaps, by merely showing yourself, you will cause the enemy to take flight, as was the case at Pellene.<sup>1</sup> But if what we propose seems formidable to you, consult the gods by sacrifice; for we think that the gods will exhort you, even more strongly than ourselves, to undertake the enterprise; and you may be well assured, Chares, that if you succeed in the attempt, you will have secured possession of a fortress<sup>2</sup> to bear upon the enemy, you will have saved a friendly city, you will be highly honoured in your own country, and be greatly celebrated both among allies and enemies."

21. Chares, being moved by these representations, proceeded to sacrifice; and the horsemen of the Phliasians immediately put on their corselets, and bridled their horses; and the heavy-armed troops made whatever preparations are necessary for infantry. When they had taken their arms, and were going to the place where the sacrifice was being offered, Chares and the augur met them, and said that the omens were propitious. "But stay a little," they added, "for we will go out at once with you." As soon as notice was given by the herald, accordingly, the mercenaries hastened forth with an alacrity that seemed prompted by the gods. 22. When Chares commenced his march, the Phliasians, horse and foot, went on in front of him; they led off, at the very first, with expedition, and still quickened their pace; at length the cavalry hurried forward at full speed, and the infantry followed as fast as they could without breaking their ranks, Chares briskly keeping up with them. The time of day was a little before sun-set; and, of the enemy at the fortress, they found some bathing, some dressing their meat, some kneading their bread, and others preparing their couches. 23. But when they saw the impetuosity of the invaders' approach, they were immediately struck with a panic, and took to flight, leaving

<sup>1</sup> Compare sect. 14. *Schneider*.

<sup>2</sup> Τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιτετειχικῶς ἔσει.] If you seize on a fortress already built, namely, Thyamia, you will be in possession of a strong-hold which you may use against the enemy. *Morus*.

all their provisions for the use of their brave assailants, who, accordingly, supped upon what they found, and what they had brought from Phlius, and, pouring libations and singing a pæan for their good success, and then placing sentinels, went to their repose. The Corinthians, as a messenger came to them in the night with the news of the occurrence at Thyamia, called, with the utmost good-will, for all their carriages and beasts of burden, and, loading them with corn, drove off to Phlius ; and, until the building of the fortress was completed, supplies of provisions continued to be daily despatched from Corinth.

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### CHAPTER III.

Æneas, general of the Arcadians, endeavours to put an end to civil discord at Sicyon. Euphron, fearing for his life, takes refuge in the harbour, which he delivers into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. He afterwards goes to Thebes, to bribe the Thebans to make him master of Sicyon. He is put to death at Thebes by a party of his countrymen. The man that killed him pleads his cause before the Theban senate, and is pronounced to have acted justifiably.

1. CONCERNING the Phliasians, how faithful they were to their friends, how bravely they conducted themselves throughout the war, and how, though in want of every necessary, they still adhered to their alliance, has now been related.

About the same time Æneas of Stymphalus, being appointed general of the Arcadians, and thinking that the proceedings at Sicyon<sup>1</sup> were not to be endured, marched up with his troops into the citadel, called an assembly of the principal Sicyonians that were in the city, and sent for such of them as had been banished without any public decree.<sup>2</sup> 2. Euphron, being alarmed at these transactions, took refuge in the harbour of Sicyon, and sending for Pasimelus from Corinth, delivered up the harbour, through him, to the Lacedæmonians, and represented himself as in alliance with them, saying that "he

<sup>1</sup> On the state of things established at Sicyon, see c. 1, sect. 44. *Dindorf*.

<sup>2</sup> Not by any public decree of the government, but by the injustice of Euphron. *Schneider*.



had still remained faithful to the Lacedæmonians; for when it was put to the vote in the city, whether the Sicyonians should revolt, he had voted against doing so with the minority, and had afterwards instituted the democracy only from a desire to be revenged on those who had deserted him. 3. And now," added he, "all those who deserted you are in banishment by my means. If, therefore, I had been able, I should have come over to you with the whole city; the harbour, of which I was master, I now give up to you." Many heard these statements proceed from him; but how many believed him is not at all certain.

4. But since I have begun to speak of what concerned Euphron, I should wish to finish the account of it. The aristocracy and the common people of Sicyon being at variance, Euphron, bringing with him some mercenaries from Athens, returned thither, and, with the aid of the populace, made himself master of the city; but, as the Theban harmost still held the citadel, and he was conscious that he should be unable, as long as the Thebans were in possession of that strong-hold, to retain the city under his power, he collected a sum of money and went off to Thebes, designing to prevail on the Thebans, by means of that money, to eject the aristocracy, and to put the city again into his hands. 5. But those who had previously been exiled became aware of his journey and intention, and proceeded to Thebes to counteract it. As they found him, however, conversing familiarly with the principal men, and grew apprehensive that he would effect what he desired, some of them put their lives in peril, and assassinated him in the citadel, while the magistrates and senate were sitting in council. The magistrates then brought those who had done the deed before the senate, and spoke to the following effect:

6. "We arraign these persons, fellow-citizens, who have killed Euphron, as guilty of death; knowing that well-principled men do nothing unjust or impious, and that wicked men commit crimes indeed, but endeavour to keep themselves undiscovered; but these persons have so far exceeded all other men in daring and atrocity, that they have, of their own will, assassinated this man before the very magistracy, and in presence of you yourselves, who have the sole authority of pronouncing who ought and who ought not to die. If these persons, therefore, shall not suffer the severest penalty of the

law, who will ever visit your city with confidence? Or what indeed will become of the city, if any one that pleases shall be allowed to kill a stranger, before he has even made known to us for what purpose he has come? We therefore, I say, arraign these men as guilty of the greatest impiety and injustice, and of having shown the utmost contempt for this city. You, after giving them a hearing, award them whatever kind of punishment they appear to deserve."

7. Thus spoke the magistrates. Of the assassins, all the rest, except one, severally denied that they had struck the blow; but that one avowed himself guilty, and proceeded to plead in his defence to the following effect:

"It is impossible, O Thebans, for a man who is aware that you have absolute power to do whatever you please with him, to show disrespect for you. On what, then, did I place my confidence, when I killed the man in this place? Be assured that I trusted, in the first place, to a conviction that I was doing what was right, and, in the next, to a persuasion that you would form a just judgment concerning the deed. For I knew that you yourselves, in the case of Archias, Hypates, and their accomplices,<sup>1</sup> whom you found guilty of practices like those of Euphron, did not wait for a legal decision, but inflicted vengeance on them as soon as you could, in the persuasion that sentence of death has already been pronounced by all men on those who are openly impious, acknowledged traitors, and attempting to make themselves tyrants. 8. Was not Euphron, then, guilty of all these crimes? Having found the temples full of gold and silver offerings, he exhibited them stripped of all. A traitor who could more manifestly be than Euphron, who, though most friendly to the Lacedæmonians, chose your side instead of theirs, and, having given you pledges, and received pledges from you, deserted you again, and gave up the harbour of Sicyon to your enemies? Was not he a tyrant, too, without excuse, who made slaves, not merely free, but even citizens, and who put to death, banished, and deprived of their property, not those who had been guilty of crimes, but those whom he pleased, and who were the most honourable men in Sicyon? 9. Returning again also to the city, by the aid of the Athenians, your greatest enemies, he took

<sup>1</sup> Who were killed by the Theban conspirators when the citadel of Thebes was recovered from the Lacedæmonians. B. iv. c. 4.

up arms against your own harmost, and, when he was unable to expel him from the citadel, he collected a sum of money, and came off hither. Had he openly collected an armed force against you, you would have felt grateful to me for killing him; and now, when I have taken vengeance on the man who came prepared with money, intending to corrupt you with it, and to persuade you to make him once more master of Sicyon, how can I with justice meet death at your hands? Men who are compelled to any act by force of arms, are wronged, but are not proved to be unjust; but those who are corrupted by money to act contrary to justice, are not only wronged, but covered with disgrace.

10. "If indeed he had been an enemy to me, and a friend to you, I confess that it would not have been well for me to put him to death before you; but how could he who was a traitor to you be a greater enemy to me than to yourselves? But some one, by Jupiter, may say, 'He came hither of his own free will.'<sup>1</sup> Then, if any one had killed him at a distance from your city, he would have received praise; and now, when he had actually come back to it to add other crimes to his previous ones, will any one say that he was not justly put to death? When can any man show that there are terms of peace to be observed by Greeks with traitors, or persons that change sides time after time, or tyrants? 11. Recollect, besides, that you yourselves made a decree that exiles might be brought off<sup>2</sup> to justice out of any of the allied cities; and as for that man who, though an exile, returned without the sanction of a common decree<sup>3</sup> of the allies, can any one say that it was not just that he should die? I say therefore, O men of Thebes, that if you put me to death, you will have avenged the cause of your greatest enemy; but that, if you

<sup>1</sup> These words are nothing to the purpose. I think that Xenophon must have written *ικέρης ὧν ἦλθε*, or something similar. To a "suppliant" is justly opposed one who is "at a distance from a city," to which he wishes to flee for refuge. *Weiske*. But, as *Schneider* observes, there is nothing in the text to support this conjecture. *Mr. Grote*, in his abstract of this speech, ch. lxxix., supplied, "confiding in the laws of the city."

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀγωγίμους εἶναι.*] *Ἀγωγήμος* indicates one who may be apprehended by any person in any place whatsoever, and hurried off to a magistrate, or to prison, or to punishment. See *Reisk. Ind. Græcit. Demosth. Morus.*

<sup>3</sup> As there was no decree permitting his return, he was still *ἀγώγιμος*.

pronounce me to have acted justly, you will evidently support both your own interest and that of all your allies."

12. The Thebans, on hearing these representations, gave judgment that Euphron had suffered with justice. The people of his city, however, took his body home, and buried it in the market-place, as that of a well-deserving man; and they honour him as a protector of their city. Thus most men, as it appears, pronounce their own benefactors to be honourable characters.

## CHAPTER IV.

The town of Oropus, in alliance with the Athenians, is seized by a party of exiles from it. The Arcadians enter into an alliance with the Athenians, who, at the same time, in vain attempt to make themselves masters of Corinth. The Corinthians become allies of the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, on condition that they be allowed to abstain from war. Dionysius the younger sends aid to the Lacedæmonians, who take Sellasia. The Eleians take possession of Lasion. The Arcadians, after occupying Elis, are driven from it, but, as the Eleians are divided into factions, overcome one faction by the aid of the other. The Achæans join the Eleians; the Arcadians occupy Olurus, but are expelled from it. The Arcadians are successful in another expedition. The Lacedæmonians, incited by the Eleians to make war on the Arcadians, seize on Cromnus, which is immediately besieged by the Arcadians. Ill success of Archidamus. Exiles from Elis take Pylos. The Lacedæmonians endeavour to bring off their garrison from Cromnus, but more than a hundred of them fall into the hands of the Arcadians. The time of the Olympic games approaches; contentions between the Arcadians and Eleians as to the celebration of them. The Arcadians appropriate the sacred treasures at Olympia to the payment of their soldiers; the Mantineans and others oppose this sacrilege. The Arcadians ask assistance from the Thebans, who refuse it, and make peace with the Eleians. The chief men of the Arcadians, and a Theban general, make several of the Eleians and Mantineans prisoners at a banquet; but most of them escape. The Theban general is accused by the Arcadians at Thebes; Epaminondas is favourable to him, and threatens to make war on the Arcadians for having made peace without the authority of the Thebans.

1. THE affair of Euphron has now been related; and I shall return to the point from which I digressed to give an account of it. While the Phliasians were still fortifying Thyamia, and Chares continued with them, Oropus<sup>1</sup> was seized by the citizens who had been exiled from it. As the

<sup>1</sup> A town on the frontiers of Bœotia and Attica, for the possession of which the inhabitants of both countries were frequently contending. It was now in the hands of the Athenians.

Athenians took the field with their whole force to recover it, and recalled Chabrias from Thyamia, the harbour of Sicyon was again occupied by the citizens themselves and Arcadians. But of the allies of the Athenians none came to their aid; and they in consequence retreated, putting Oropus into the hands of the Thebans until the disputes about the possession of it should be judiciously settled.

2. Lycomedes, understanding that the Athenians were dissatisfied with their allies, because, though they themselves had taken great trouble in their behalf, no one gave them assistance in return, prevailed on the Ten Thousand<sup>1</sup> to treat with them respecting an alliance. At first, some of the Athenians were displeased that, as they were friends to the Lacedæmonians, they should join in alliance with their enemies, but when, after some consideration, they found that it was not less for the interest of the Lacedæmonians than for their own, that the Arcadians should stand in no need of the Thebans, they consented to form an alliance with the Arcadians. 3. Lycomedes, after completing the negotiation, lost his life, as he was returning from Athens, by a most singular interposition of the gods; for when there were a large number of ships going to sail, and he had fixed upon the one which he preferred, agreeing with the captain to land him wherever he might desire, he determined on landing in that very spot where the exiles happened to be, and thus lost his life; but the alliance was ratified.

4. Demotion<sup>2</sup> having chanced to observe in the public assembly of the Athenians, that "the alliance with the Arcadians appeared to him to be a judicious measure," but adding that "they ought to enjoin upon the generals to take care that Corinth might be preserved to the people of Athens," the Corinthians, hearing of this remark, immediately despatched efficient garrisons of their own men to all places where there were Athenians in garrison, and gave them notice "to depart, as they no longer wanted men for their garrisons." They complied with this requisition; and when the Athenians from the garrisons had assembled in the city of Corinth, the Corinthians made proclamation, that "if any Athenian had been wronged, he should give in his name, as he would receive

<sup>1</sup> See c. 1, sect. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Of this man I find no mention elsewhere. *Schneider.*

what was just.”<sup>1</sup> 5. While affairs were in this state, Chares arrived with his fleet at Cenchreæ; and, when he learned what had been done, he gave out that, “having heard of a design formed upon the city, he had come to its aid.” The Corinthians, though they did not refuse him commendation, would nevertheless not admit his ships into the harbour, but desired him to steer off. To the heavy-armed troops<sup>2</sup> they did justice, and sent them away. In this manner were the Athenians kept out of Corinth. 6. Their cavalry, however, they were obliged to send to the aid of the Arcadians, in conformity with the terms of the alliance, if any hostile power invaded Arcadia. But they never entered Laconia in a hostile manner.

The Corinthians, reflecting how difficult it would be for them to maintain themselves in security, as they had previously been overpowered by land, and as the Athenians were also become unfavourable to them, resolved to take into their pay bodies both of foot and horse. At the head of these, they at once protected their city, and did great damage to their neighbouring enemies. However, they sent deputies also to Thebes, to ask “whether, if they came thither in form, they could obtain peace?” 7. The Thebans desiring them to come, as peace would be made with them, the Corinthians entreated them also to allow them to consult their allies, “since they would make peace,” they said, “in conjunction with such as desired it, and leave such as preferred war to continue at war.” As the Thebans allowed them to do so, the Corinthians went to Lacedæmon, and said,

8. “We are come to you, men of Lacedæmon, as your friends, and we entreat, that if you see any prospect of safety for us, should we continue at war, to inform us what it is, but, if you think our affairs reduced to the utmost extremity, to make peace in concert with us, should it be for your advantage; for with no people would we more gladly secure safety than with you. But if you think it for your interest to continue the war, we beg you at least to allow us to make peace for ourselves; for, if we are now preserved, we may again, at some time, be in a condition to serve you; but if

<sup>1</sup> As to their pay, since they were mercenaries. Compare sect. 5. *Weiske.*

<sup>2</sup> The Athenian troops that had been in the garrison.

we are ruined, it is plain that we shall never be of service to you hereafter."

9. The Lacedæmonians, on hearing these solicitations, advised the Corinthians to make peace, and gave permission to such of the other confederates as were unwilling to continue the war with them,<sup>1</sup> to desist from it; as for themselves, they said that "they would go on with the war, and do whatever might please the gods, but would never submit to be deprived of Messene,<sup>2</sup> which they had inherited from their forefathers."

10. The Corinthians, on receiving this permission, proceeded to Thebes to make peace. The Thebans, however, required of them "to swear to an alliance with them;" but they replied that "an alliance with them would not be peace, but merely a change in the war;" adding that "they were come to make, if the Thebans would consent, a fair peace."<sup>3</sup> The Thebans, admiring their spirit, since, though in peril, they would not go to war with their benefactors,<sup>4</sup> consented to a peace with them and the Phliasians, and whatever other parties had come with them to Thebes, on the condition that "they should each keep their own territory;" and oaths were taken to the observance of it.

11. The Phliasians, when an arrangement was thus made, withdrew at once from Thyamia; but the Argives, though they had sworn to make peace on the same terms as the Phliasians, yet, when they could not arrange that the Phliasian exiles<sup>5</sup> should remain in Tricaranon, as if they were in their own city,<sup>6</sup> took possession of the place, and put a garrison in it, saying that the land on which it stood, and which they had lately laid waste as belonging to their enemies, was their own; and though the Phliasians invited them to submit the matter to arbitration, they refused to comply.

12. About this period, as Dionysius the elder had recently

<sup>1</sup> The Lacedæmonians.

<sup>2</sup> See c. 1, sect. 27, 36. *Weiske.*

<sup>3</sup> Τὴν δικαίαν εἰρήνην.] *Veram, et quæ rectè hoc nomine appellatur, pacem. Weiske.*

<sup>4</sup> The Athenians? They seem, beyond every other people, to have deserved the name of benefactors from the Thebans. *Weiske.*

<sup>5</sup> Those who were of the Argive party.

<sup>6</sup> Ὡς ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν πόλει ἔχοντας.] *Tanquam si essent in civitate suâ, i. e. Phliunte. Leunclavius.* With whom *Weiske* concurs. *Schneider* would willingly read ὄντας instead of ἔχοντας.

died, his son sent twelve ships, with Timocrates as their commander, to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. Timocrates, on his arrival, assisted them in the reduction of Sellasia,<sup>1</sup> and, having accomplished that object, sailed off home.

Not long after this the Eleians took possession of Lasion,<sup>2</sup> which had formerly belonged to them, but which had now united itself with the Arcadians. 13. The Arcadians did not overlook the proceeding, but instantly called their forces together, and marched to the relief of the place. The three hundred, and also four hundred,<sup>3</sup> of the Eleians, came out to oppose them. After the Eleian troops had lain encamped in front of the enemy during the day, on a level piece of ground, the Arcadians in the night went up to the top of the hill which overhung the Eleians, and, at day-break the next morning, marched down upon them. The Eleians, seeing that the Arcadians were coming on with the advantage of the ground, and that they were far more numerous than themselves, were ashamed to flee while they were yet at a distance, and advanced to meet them, but, on receiving their charge, took to flight; and, as they had to retreat through difficult places, they lost many of their men and many of their arms.

14. The Arcadians, having achieved this object, proceeded against the towns of the Acroreians,<sup>4</sup> and having captured them all, except Thraustus, arrived at Olympia, where they erected a palisading round the hill of Saturn,<sup>5</sup> placed a garrison on it, and made themselves masters of the mountain of Olympia. They took also the town of the Marganians, some of the people delivering the place into their hands. Such being the success of the Arcadians, the Eleians were in utter despair; the Arcadians advanced up to the city of Elis, and penetrated into it as far as the forum, where however the cavalry and the rest of their troops made a stand against

<sup>1</sup> It had revolted at the time that the pericæci deserted the Spartans, vi. 5. 25. See Diod. Sic. xv. 64. *Dindorf*.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 2. 30. Diod. Sic. xv. 77.

<sup>3</sup> The three hundred appear to be, in round numbers, their infantry, and the four hundred their cavalry. See sect. 16. *Weiske*.

<sup>4</sup> Morus was the first that interpreted this word as the name of a people. The Ἀκρόρειοι are mentioned above, iii. 2. 21. Steph. Byz. calls Acrorii a city of Triphylia, and adds that the inhabitants are likewise so called. *Schneider*.

<sup>5</sup> Τὸ Κρόνιον.] *Montem Saturno sacrum.* *Weiske*.



them, drove them out, killed some of their men, and erected a trophy.

15. There had been for some time previous discord in Elis; for the party of Charopus, Thrasonides, and Argivus<sup>1</sup> were forming the government in a democracy; while that of Stalcas, Hippias, and Stratolas were trying to bring it to an oligarchy. But when the Arcadians, with so large a force, appeared as supporters to those inclined to a democracy, the party of Charopus grew consequently bolder, and having bargained with the Arcadians for aid, took possession of the citadel. 16. The cavalry and the three hundred, however, were not slow to act, but instantly marched up and expelled them; so that about four hundred of the citizens, with Argivus and Charopus, were forced to become exiles. But not long after, these exiles, uniting with them a party of Arcadians, seized upon Pylos;<sup>2</sup> and many of the populace from the city went out to join them, as it was a fine place, and they had the great force of the Arcadians to support them.

The Arcadians, too, afterwards made another incursion into the territory of the Eleians, being persuaded by the exiles that the city of Elis would come over to them. 17. But the Achæans, who were then in friendship with the Eleians, defended their city; so that the Arcadians retired without doing anything further than laying waste the country. Hearing, however, as soon as they had quitted the territory of Elis, that the Pellenians were in that country, they accomplished an extremely long march by night, and seized on Olurus,<sup>3</sup> a place that belonged to them; for the Pellenians had now gone over again into alliance with the Lacedæmonians. 18. But when they heard of the seizure of Olurus, they made a circuit, as large as they could, and lodged themselves in their own city of Pellene. They then maintained a war with the Arcadians in Olurus, and with all their own populace;<sup>4</sup> and, though

<sup>1</sup> See c. 1, sect. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Not the city on the coast of Messene, but a town in Elis, distant from the city of Elis about eight stadia according to Pausanias, vi. p. 509, or, according to Diod. Sic. xiv. 17, seventy stadia. *Schneider*.

<sup>3</sup> A town of Achaia, subject to Pellene. *Weiske*.

<sup>4</sup> That is, says *Schneider*, with the exiles whom the Arcadians had made prisoners, and whom they forced to fight on the Arcadian side against their own countrymen.

they were but few, they did not cease from hostilities till they had reduced Olurus by siege.

19. The Arcadians made yet another incursion into Elis. But as they were encamped between Cyllene and the city of Elis, the Eleians made an attack upon them; but the Arcadians sustained their charge, and defeated them. Andromachus, the commander of the Eleian cavalry, who appears to have been the adviser of the engagement, committed suicide; the rest of the Eleians retreated into their city. There was killed in this battle a Spartan named Soclides, who chanced to be present; for the Lacedæmonians were now become allies to the Eleians. 20. But the Eleians, being hard pressed within their own territory, sent ambassadors to the Lacedæmonians, and entreated them to make war on the Arcadians, thinking that they should thus stop the course of the Arcadians most effectually, if they were assailed on both sides. In consequence Archidamus took the field with the forces of Sparta, and seized upon Cromnus; and then, leaving there three of his twelve<sup>1</sup> companies as a garrison, returned home. 21. The Arcadians, however, as their troops were still assembled after their expedition into Elis, hastened to the relief of Cromnus, and encircling it with a double line of palisading, besieged, while they themselves were within defences, the Lacedæmonians who were in the town. The government of the Lacedæmonians, annoyed at this siege of their own countrymen, sent out an army, Archidamus taking the command also on that occasion. Having arrived at the scene of warfare, Archidamus laid waste as much as he could of Arcadia and Sciritis, and tried every means in his power to draw off the besiegers. But the Arcadians were not the more induced to move, and paid no regard to all his proceedings. 22. Archidamus, however, taking a view of a hill, over which the Arcadians had carried their exterior line of palisading,<sup>2</sup> thought that he might secure it, and that, if he had it in his possession, the besiegers at the foot of it would not be able to maintain their position. As he was leading round his troops, accordingly, towards that quarter, and his peltasts, advancing before the

<sup>1</sup> Compare c. 5, sect. 10. *Dindorf*.

<sup>2</sup> The Arcadians had extended their outermost circuit of palisading round the city in such a manner that the hill was in the same line in which the rampart and ditch ran. *Morus*.

rest, caught sight of the Epariti<sup>1</sup> on the outside of the palisading, they at once fell upon them, and the cavalry endeavoured to support their charge. The Arcadians did not retreat, but collected themselves into a body, and remained quiet. The Lacedæmonians charged them a second time, but as they did not then retire, but even advanced upon their assailants, and as a great noise now arose, Archidamus himself came up to the support of his party, turning aside into the carriage-road that leads to Cromnus, and leading on his men two abreast, the order in which he happened to have them. 23. When they drew near each other, the party of Archidamus in a line,<sup>2</sup> as men proceeding along a road, and the Arcadians in a body, with their shields close together, the Lacedæmonians were unable to withstand the mass of Arcadians, and Archidamus was soon wounded through the thigh, and those that fought in front of him, Polyænidas, and Chilon who had married the sister of Archidamus, were killed; and indeed in all not less than thirty of the Spartans lost their lives on the occasion. 24. When the Lacedæmonians however had retreated along the road, and reached the open ground, they then formed again to receive the enemy; while the Arcadians stood their ground, in battle-array as they were, and, though inferior in number, were in much higher spirits, as having advanced on the retreating enemy, and having killed several men. The Lacedæmonians indeed were greatly dejected, as they saw Archidamus wounded, and heard the names of those who were killed, men of great bravery and almost of the highest rank. 25. And as, when they were near each other, one of the old men exclaimed, "Why should we prolong the contest, my fellow-soldiers, and not rather make a truce and separate?" both sides listened to the proposal gladly, and made a truce. The Lacedæmonians then took up their dead and marched away; and the Arcadians, returning to the spot from which they first began to advance, erected a trophy.

26. While the Arcadians were thus employed round Crom-

<sup>1</sup> See note on sect. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Κατὰ κέρασ.] In the Anabasis, iv. 6. 6, ἐπὶ κέρασ ἄγειν signifies to lead troops in a long line, of which the front is much more extensive than the depth. See Hipparch. iv. 3. In Cyrop. i. 6. 43, κατὰ κέρασ ἄγειν is opposed to ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἄγειν, "to lead in a dense body." *Schneider*.

nus, the Eleians from the city went in the first place against Pylos,<sup>1</sup> and fell in with the Pylians who had been repulsed from Thalamæ.<sup>2</sup> The cavalry of the Eleians, catching sight of them as they were riding up, made no hesitation, but attacked them at once, and killed some of them, while others fled to a hill. When the infantry however came up, they overthrew those on the hill also, of whom they killed some, and took others alive to the number of nearly two hundred. Whatever of their prisoners were foreigners they sold; all that were exiles they put to the sword. The Pylians, with their town, as none came to their aid, they soon after reduced under their power, and also recovered the town of the Margareans. But the Lacedæmonians, marching to Cromnus some time after in the night, made themselves masters of that part of the palisading which was in the quarter of the Argives,<sup>3</sup> and instantly called on such of the Lacedæmonians as were besieged in the place to come forth. As many, accordingly, as happened to be near, and quickly took advantage of the opportunity, came out, but those whom a number of the Argives, gathering to the rescue, intercepted, were shut up within,<sup>4</sup> and being made prisoners, were divided among the captors, the Argives taking one part, the Thebans one, the Arcadians another, and the Messenians another. The number of Spartans and perioeci captured at this time was in all more than a hundred.

28. As soon as the Arcadians ceased to be engaged with affairs at Cromnus, they again turned their attention to the Eleians, and not only occupied Olympia with a stronger garrison, but, as the Olympic year was coming on, prepared to celebrate the Olympic games in conjunction with the people of Pisa, who assert that they were the original guardians of the temple.<sup>5</sup> But when the month had arrived in which the

<sup>1</sup> Into which the exiles from Elis had lately betaken themselves in company with the Arcadians; see sect. 28.

<sup>2</sup> It appears to have been a town or fortress situated not far from Pylos, and consequently in the territory of Elis. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> The Argives were now acting with the Arcadians. *Dindorf*.

<sup>4</sup> Within the palisading of the Arcadians; between the palisading and the wall of the town.

<sup>5</sup> This affair is related with more brevity by Diodorus Siculus, xv. 78. Hence it happened that the Eleians did not reckon this Olympiad, in which everything was conducted by force, and the Pisans and Arcadians took the management of the games, in the

Olympic games are performed, and the days on which the grand assembly comes together, the Eleians, making open preparations for the purpose, and calling on the Achæans to aid them, began to march along the road to Olympia. 29. The Arcadians had not supposed that they would come to interrupt them, and were, with the people of Pisa, conducting the festival. The chariot-race they had already finished, as well as the foot-race of the pentathlum;<sup>1</sup> and those who had come to wrestle were not then on the course, but were wrestling between the course and the altar; for the Eleians had now advanced under arms to the sacred grove. The Arcadians advanced towards them only so far as to draw themselves up on the bank of the river Cladaus, which, running by the Altis,<sup>2</sup> discharges itself into the Alpheius; and some allies were there to support them, about two thousand heavy-armed Argives, and about four hundred Athenian cavalry.<sup>3</sup> 30. The Eleians drew themselves up on the other side of the river, and, after sacrificing, advanced at once to charge them; and though in former times they had been held in contempt, as to warlike qualifications, by the Arcadians and Argives, and held in contempt also by the Achæans and Athenians, they nevertheless, on that day, advanced at the head of their allies as if they were the bravest of mankind, and put the Arcadians, with whom they engaged first, immediately to flight, and, receiving the charge of the Argives, who came to their support, got the advantage over them. 31. Even when they had repulsed the enemy as far as the space between the senate-house and the temple of Vesta, and the theatre which extends towards them, they, nevertheless, continued the contest, and forced them back to the very altar, but, being galled with missiles from the porticos, the senate-house, and the great temple, and having to contend with the enemy also on the ground, a number of the Eleians were killed, and among them Stratolas, the commander of the three number of the Olympiads. The month was the Athenian Hecatombeon. *Schneider.*

<sup>1</sup> The pentathlum consisted of the five exercises of leaping, running, throwing the discus, throwing the spear, and wrestling.

<sup>2</sup> A sacred grove, which Xenophon, a little above, calls τὸ τέμενος. *Schneider.*

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the Athenian cavalry, sent to the aid of the Arcadians, see above, sect. 6. *Schneider.*

hundred.<sup>1</sup> The conflict being ended, they retired to their own camp; but the Arcadians and their party were so much in dread of the following day, that they did not rest the whole night, employing themselves in cutting up the elaborately decorated tents, and constructing a rampart for their defence. The Eleians, on their part, advancing towards the enemy next day, and seeing the strong wall in front of them, with numbers of men mounted on the temples, retired to the city having proved themselves such characters as a god, by inspiring them with valour, may enable men to show themselves even in a single day, and such characters as men, even in the longest time, could not enable those who are not naturally brave to be.

33. As the commanders of the Arcadians were appropriating the sacred treasures to their own use, and maintaining their Epariti<sup>2</sup> with the aid of them, the Mantineans were the first to pass a resolution that "they should not use the sacred money;" and having themselves raised the contribution due from their own city for the payment of the Epariti, they sent it to the commanders. But the commanders, charging them with weakening the Arcadian power, summoned their magistrates before the Ten Thousand, and, as they did not obey the summons, passed sentence upon them, and despatched the Epariti to bring the condemned before them. The Mantineans however closed their gates, and would not admit them into the city. 34. But, in consequence, some others, even among the Ten Thousand themselves, soon proceeded to remark that "they ought not to use the sacred money, nor to leave on their posterity for ever the stain of such a crime against the gods." As it was therefore resolved in the council that

<sup>1</sup> Sect. 13, 16.

<sup>2</sup> The Epariti, mentioned here and in sect. 22 and 36, are mercenary soldiers in the army of the Arcadians. In c. 5, sect. 3, deputies from the Epariti are also said to have been sent by the Arcadians to Lacedæmon. See Hesychius. Stephanus Byzantinus citing this passage of Xenophon, calls them Eparitæ, a tribe of Arcadians, their name being derived from a city named Eparis the name of which he acknowledges, however, that he has nowhere read. Morus supposes them to have been a body of Arcadian soldiers, and I can offer no better suggestion; they seem to me to have been somewhat similar to the *three hundred* of the Eleians. That they were citizens, collected from different cities and towns is apparent from sect. 34. *Schneider*.

"they would no longer use the sacred treasures," those of the Epariti who could not subsist among them without pay, soon deserted their ranks, while such other persons as could, encouraging one another, enrolled themselves among the Epariti, not that they might be subject to the others, but that the others might be subject to them. But such of the commanders as had had the management of the sacred money, knowing that if they were called to account, they would be in danger of being put to death, sent messengers off to Thebes, and acquainted the Thebans that "unless they despatched an army thither, the Arcadians would be likely to join the Lacedæmonians again." 35. The Thebans accordingly prepared to take the field; but those who most consulted the interests of the Peloponnesus, prevailed on the supreme council of the Arcadians to send ambassadors to the Thebans, and to request them "not to enter Arcadia under arms, unless the government of the Arcadians invited them." Nor did they only send this message to the Thebans, but also reasoned among themselves that "they had no need of war;" for they thought that they had no cause to hold the presidency of the temple of Jupiter, but that they should act with greater justice and piety by restoring it to the Eleians, and should by that means give greater satisfaction to the god; and as the Eleians had similar wishes, it was resolved by both sides to establish a peace. A truce was made accordingly.

36. The oaths being taken, and not only all the other parties, but also the Tegeans, and the Theban captain who was then in Tegea with three hundred heavy-armed Bœotians, having sworn, the other Arcadians, who were then in Tegea, remained there, and made feasts and enjoyed themselves, pouring libations and singing pæans in the belief that peace was settled; but the Theban captain, and such of the Arcadian commanders as feared to be called to account, shut the gates in the wall of Tegea, in concert with the Bœotians and such of the Epariti as were ready to support them, and then, sending parties to those who were carousing together, made prisoners of the principal personages; and as Arcadians were there from all the cities of the country, all desirous of having peace, the prisoners must have been very numerous; so that the gaol was soon filled with them, as well as the town-house. 37. But as those thrown into confinement were many, so

there were many, too, that leaped down from the wall, and many others that had been let out through the gates, (for no one used violent measures with another, who was not afraid of losing his own life,) it threw the Theban officer, and those that acted with him, into great perplexity, to find that of the Mantineans, whom they most wished to have in their power, they had secured but few, for, as their city was near at hand, almost all of them had gone off home.

38. When it was day, and the whole people of Mantinea knew what had taken place, they immediately sent to the other cities of Arcadia, and told them to be ready under arms, and to guard the roads. These measures they themselves adopted, and sending also messengers to the people of Tegea, demanded such of the Mantineans as they had in custody, and stated, at the same time, that "they thought it just that no one of the Arcadians should be kept in prison or put to death, before he was brought to trial; and, if any persons had charges to make against them," the messengers added that "the government of the Mantineans would be responsible for producing before the general assembly of the Arcadians whatever individuals any one might require." 39. The Theban captain, hearing of this communication, was at a loss how to act in the affair, but at last released all the prisoners; and, on the following day, having called together as many of the Arcadians as were willing to meet, he stated, in defence of his conduct, that "he had been deceived; for he had heard," he said, "that the Lacedæmonians were under arms upon the frontiers, and that certain of the Arcadians were going to betray Tegea into their hands." Those who heard this statement let him depart indeed, (though they knew that he spoke falsely as to themselves,) but sending deputies afterwards to Thebes, they accused him as deserving of death. 40. But they reported that Epaminondas (for he was then commander-in-chief) observed that the Theban captain acted much more properly when he seized the men than when he set them at liberty; "for inasmuch as you, when we went to war on your account, made peace without our consent, why may not any person, in that particular, justly charge you with treachery? But be assured," added he, "that we will both march into Arcadia, and will prosecute the war in concert with those who are of our sentiments."



## CHAPTER V.

Epaminondas, at the head of the Thebans and their allies, invades the Peloponnesus, and having in vain waited for the Athenians, whom he hoped to intercept, proceeds to Tegea; whence, having heard that Agesilans had left home with his forces, he directs his course towards Sparta, which he would have surprised in a defenceless condition, had not Agesilaus hastened his return. Epaminondas is unsuccessful in a battle near Sparta, and hurries off to Tegea, despatching his cavalry to Mantinea, where the cavalry of the Athenians had arrived, who save a supply of provisions for the Mantineans. Epaminondas prepares for another engagement, and, after deceiving the enemy by a short delay, breaks through their line, and forces them to retire, but is himself killed. His troops being unable to turn their success to advantage, many of them are killed, and it begins to be doubted to which side the victory ought to belong. Nor was anything settled by this battle, though almost all the forces of Greece were engaged in it; on the contrary, greater disturbances ensued.

1. WHEN these words were reported to the general assembly of the Arcadians, and throughout the several cities, the Mantineans, and such other Arcadians as cared for the interests of the Peloponnesus, as well as the Eleians and Achæans, forthwith concluded that the Thebans evidently wished the Peloponnesus to be in as weak a condition as possible, in order that they might without difficulty enslave it. 2. "For why," said they, "do they wish us to continue at war, but that we may distress one another, and may both stand in need of their interference? Or why, when we tell them that we do not want them at present, are they preparing to take the field? Is it not plain that they intend to march forth for the purpose of doing us injury?" 3. They also sent to Athens to ask assistance; and deputies from the Epariti proceeded to Lacedæmon, calling on the Lacedæmonians, "should any power come to enslave the Peloponnesus, to join, if they pleased, in stopping<sup>1</sup> its progress." Concerning the command, however, they settled at once<sup>2</sup> that each people should lead in its own territory.

4. While these matters were in progress, Epaminondas took the field, with all the Bœotians and Eubœans, and many of the Thessalians, who had been sent partly from Alexander,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Κοινῇ διακωλύειν.] "To hinder in common."

<sup>2</sup> Ἀυτόθεν.] *Ex eo ipso tempore.* Schneider and Weiske.

<sup>3</sup> Tyrant of Phææ, of whom Xenophon speaks, vi. 4. 34. He had

and partly from his adversaries.<sup>1</sup> The Phocians did not accompany him, for they said that "the treaty made with them was such, that they were to give assistance if any enemy came against Thebes, but that it was not expressed in the treaty that they were to take the field against other powers. 5. Epaminondas however considered that the Argives and Messenians would join him in the Peloponnesus, as well as such of the Arcadians as favoured the Theban interests, and these were the people of Tegea, Megalopolis, Asea, Pallantium, and whatever other towns, from being small, and situated in the midst of the greater states, were compelled to take part with them. 6. Epaminondas accordingly marched forth with expedition; but when he came to Nemea, he made some delay there, hoping that he would surprise the Athenians as they were passing by,<sup>2</sup> and thinking that such good fortune would not only have a great effect on the Theban allies, so as to raise their spirits, but on the enemy, so that they would fall into despondency; and, to say all in a word, he thought that in whatever way the Athenians suffered loss, it would be all gain to the Thebans. 7. During his stay at Nemea, all the Peloponnesians that were of the same sentiments met together at Mantinea. But as Epaminondas heard that the Athenians had given up the thought of going by land, and were preparing to proceed by sea, in order to go to the support of the Arcadians through Laconia,<sup>3</sup> he removed his camp from Nemea and went off to Tegea.

8. That the expedition proved fortunate for him, I cannot say; but whatever proofs could be given of forethought and valour, he appears to me to have been wanting in none. I cannot but commend in him, in the first place, that he formed his camp within the walls of Tegea, where it was much safer than it would have been if he had pitched it without, and whatever he did was much better concealed from the enemy;

formerly been the bitterest enemy of the Thebans, but, after he was defeated by Pelopidas, the Thebans had obliged him to promise that he would support them in the field in whatever war they might demand his services. Plutarch, Pelop. c. 35. *Morus*.

<sup>1</sup> Those towns which had been previously under the oppressive dominion of Alexander, but which the Thebans, after defeating him, had restored to liberty. *Morus*.

<sup>2</sup> To the aid of the Athenians. *Weiske*.

<sup>3</sup> Διὰ Λακεδαιμονίας.] i. e. *per Laconicam*. *Schneider*.

while, if he found himself in want of anything, it was much easier for him, being in a city, to procure it. As the enemy, on the other hand, were encamped on open ground, it was easy to see whether everything went right among them, or whether they committed any error. And though he judged himself to be superior to the enemy, he did not lead out his troops to attack them, as long as he saw that they had the advantage of the ground. 9. But finding that no city came over to him, and that the term of his command was fast advancing, he thought that he must do something, or else he expected to bring on himself much dishonour in place of his former glory. When he learned, therefore, that the enemy were keeping on their guard round Mantinea, and were sending for Agesilaus and all the Lacedæmonians, and was also informed that Agesilaus had marched out, and was then at Pellene,<sup>1</sup> he gave, one night after supper, the necessary orders to his troops, and led them off straight towards Sparta; 10. and had not a Cretan, under some divine influence, gone and told Agesilaus that the army was advancing, Epaminondas would have taken the city like a bird's nest deserted by those that should have defended it. But as Agesilaus had notice of his approach, and anticipated him in returning to the city, the Spartans were in array and on their guard, though they were but few indeed in number, for all their cavalry was absent in Arcadia, as well as their mercenary troops, and the three of their twelve<sup>2</sup> companies of foot. 11. Epaminondas, therefore, when he went into the city<sup>3</sup> of the Spartans, where, while he and his men would

<sup>1</sup> Agesilaus was not at this time in Achaia, as appears from the course of Xenophon's narrative, as well as from Pausanias, ix. 8, and especially from Plutarch, Agesil. c. 34. It is therefore not Pellene, the well-known town of Achaia, mentioned above, c. 2, sect. 13, and c. 4, sect. 18, which is to be understood here, but a far more obscure town of Laconia, on the borders of Arcadia, which Pliny, H. N. iv. 6, and Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 177, assign to Arcadia, and which appears to be the same that Pausanias, iii. 20, calls in the Doric dialect Pellana, and which Schneider shows to be mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, xv. 67. *Weiske*.

<sup>2</sup> See c. 4, sect. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐγένετο—ἐν τῇ πόλει.] Morus and Weiske interpret ἐν τῇ πόλει by *ad urbem, prope urbem*. But Polybius, as Schneider observes, says (ix. 8) that Epaminondas took a portion of the city of Sparta, and entered as far as the forum, but retired on hearing that Agesilaus was approaching. Xenophon's words seem certainly to have

have had to fight on the ground, they would also have been assailed with missiles from the tops of the houses; and where the larger would have had no superiority in the struggle over the smaller number, he did not enter it, but, after taking possession of an eminence, where he thought that he should have some advantage, he went down, and did not go up, to the city.<sup>1</sup> 12. As to what happened afterwards, we may ascribe it either to divine influence, or we may say that none can resist desperate men; for when Archidamus,<sup>2</sup> though he had not even a hundred men, advanced against him, and, having crossed that<sup>3</sup> which might have proved some hindrance, proceeded up the ascent to charge the enemy, then those fire-breathing Thebans, who had previously defeated the Lacedæmonians, who were infinitely superior in number, and who had also the advantage of the ground, did not even stand the charge of Archidamus and his party, but gave way before them. 13. The men in the front ranks of Epaminondas were killed, but as those from the city, exulting in their success, pursued farther than was prudent, they also suffered loss;<sup>4</sup> for it had been prescribed by divine providence, as it would seem, how far victory should be granted to each party. Archidamus erected a trophy on the spot where he had had the superiority, and gave up under truce the bodies of the enemy who had fallen there.

14. Epaminondas, concluding that the Arcadians would come to the aid of Sparta, had no desire to fight with them and all the Lacedæmonians in conjunction, especially when they had met with success, while his own men were under disappointment. He therefore marched back with all possible expedition to Tegea, where he caused his heavy-armed men to halt, but

a larger meaning than Morus and Weiske allow them. Mr. Grote, chap. lxxx., represents Epaminondas as "actually entering the city of Sparta," referring to this passage of Xenophon as his authority.

<sup>1</sup> *κατεβαίνει καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.*] From the brevity of this narrative, in which the partiality of Xenophon for the Lacedæmonians is eminently manifested, it is difficult to understand every thing fully without having an exact knowledge of the ground. But of this we may feel assured, that *καταβαίνειν* means to descend to lower ground, and *ἀναβαίνειν* to ascend to higher ground. *Schneider.*

<sup>2</sup> Son of Agesilaus.

<sup>3</sup> The Eurotas. *Gail.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ἀποθνήσκουσι.*] It might be supposed from this word that they were all killed, but, as Archidamus erected a trophy, we may suppose that there were some survivors. I have therefore given the word a mild translation.

despatched his cavalry to Mantinea, entreating them to bear up under the toil, and telling them it was likely that all the cattle of the Mantineans were without the city, as well as all the people, especially as it was the season for gathering in their corn. 15. The cavalry accordingly commenced their march. But the cavalry of the Athenians, which had started from Eleusis, and, after supping on the Isthmus, had passed by Cleonæ, happened to have come up to Mantinea, and had quartered themselves in the houses within the walls. As soon as the enemy, therefore, were seen riding up, the Mantineans besought the Athenian cavalry "to give them whatever support they could, since all their cattle and farm-slaves, as well as many children and old men of the free population, were without the city;" and the Athenians, on hearing their entreaties, sallied out to give aid, though both themselves and their horses were still without refreshment. 16. Who again<sup>1</sup> must not admire, on this occasion, the spirit of those men, who, though they saw before them an enemy far more numerous than themselves, and though ill success had attended their cavalry at Corinth,<sup>2</sup> took no thought of those matters, nor were daunted at having to fight with Theban and Thessalian cavalry, considered to be of all cavalry the best, but, thinking that they would be disgraced if, when they were present, they should give no assistance to their allies, engaged with the enemy as soon as they saw them, longing to maintain their hereditary glory? 17. By their exertions in the field, they were the cause of everything belonging to the Mantineans, that was out of the city, being preserved. Many brave men on their side were killed; and they themselves killed many brave men on that of the enemy; for none on either side had weapons so short that they could not reach one another. Their own dead they did not abandon; some of the dead bodies of the enemy they gave up under a truce.

18. Epaminondas now reflecting that he must quit Tegea in a few days, as the time allotted for the expedition would soon expire, and that, if he should leave those undefended to

<sup>1</sup> Aῦ.] This particle is intended to allude to the like spirit displayed by the Lacedæmonians, sect. 12. *Weiske*.

<sup>2</sup> He refers, I suppose, to the affair mentioned in c. 1, sect. 5, 6, or 29, when the Athenians are said to have been repulsed from Oneium, the fortress of the Corinthians. *Schneider*.

whom he came as an ally, they would be besieged and reduced by their enemies, and he himself would suffer greatly in reputation, having been repulsed at Sparta, with a numerous body of heavy-armed troops, by a handful of men, having been defeated in a cavalry engagement at Mantinea, and having been the cause, by his hostile expedition into the Peloponnesus, of the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Achæans,<sup>1</sup> Eleians, and Athenians, forming a union, judged it, on these accounts, impossible for him to withdraw without fighting; for he thought that, if he should conquer, he should cause all his previous failures to be forgotten, and conceived that, if he should die, his death would be glorious in the endeavour to leave the sovereignty of the Peloponnesus to his country. 19. That he should have reasoned thus, appears to me by no means surprising; for such are the reasonings of men ambitious of honour; but that he had so disciplined his army, that they sunk under no toil, either by night or day, shrunk from no danger, and, though they had but scanty provisions, were yet eager to obey, seems to me far more wonderful. 20. For when at last he gave them orders to prepare for battle, the cavalry, at his word, began eagerly to polish their helmets, the heavy-armed troops of the Arcadians marked the clubs on their shields as if they were Thebans,<sup>2</sup> and all the men

<sup>1</sup> As to the union of this people with the others, Xenophon has not previously mentioned any regular treaty; for that of which he speaks in c. 1, sect. 43, was not of such force that they should be compelled to act as allies to the Lacedæmonians in the field. But that they were present in this battle is confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, xv. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπεγράφοντο—ρόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες.] The texts of Weiske, Schneider, and all preceding editors, have ἐπεγράφοντο—, ρόπαλα ἔχοντες, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, the commentators all following Morus in referring ἐπεγράφοντο to the shields. Dindorf very judiciously ejected ἔχοντες, which is wanting in four manuscripts, with the following note: "As we have noticed above, iv. 4. 10, that the shields of different nations or tribes were inscribed with the initial letters of their names, so the Thebans, and the Arcadians who on this occasion imitated them, had a club, the *insigne* of the Theban Hercules, painted on their shields. The only man that was able to extract this sense from the passage was Eckhel, in his Doctr. Num. vol. ii. p. 203, where he has illustrated a Theban coin stamped with a Bœotian shield having a club on it; although he did not arrive at the discovery that ἔχοντες should be omitted, as it is in two manuscripts of Paris and two of ours."

sharpened their spears and swords, and brightened their bucklers.

21. After he had led them out thus prepared, it is well to consider how he acted. First of all, as was to be expected, he drew up his forces, and, in doing so, appeared to give manifest indications that he was preparing for a battle." When his army however was drawn up as he wished, he did not lead it the shortest way towards the enemy, but conducted it towards the mountains on the west and over against Tegea; so as to produce a notion in the enemy that he would not fight that day; 22. for when he came near the hills, after his main body was drawn out to its full extent, he ordered his men to file their arms at the foot of the heights, so that he appeared to be encamping. By acting in this manner, he slackened the determination for engaging which was in the hearts of most of the enemy, and caused them to quit their posts on the field. But when he had brought up to the front the companies which on the march had been in the wings, and had made the part in which he was posted strong and in the shape of a wedge, he immediately gave orders for his troops to resume their arms, and began to advance, while they followed him. As for the enemy, when they saw the Thebans advancing, contrary to what they had expected, not one of them could remain quiet, but some ran to their posts, some formed themselves in line, others bridled their horses, others put on their breastplates; yet all were more like men going to suffer some harm than to inflict any on others.

23. Epaminondas led on his army like a ship of war with its beak directed against the enemy, expecting that wherever he assailed and cut through their ranks, he would spread disaster among their whole force; for he was prepared to settle the contest with the strongest part of his troops; the weaker he had removed to a distance; knowing that if they were defeated they would cause dismay among his own men and confidence in the enemy. 24. The enemy, on their part, had drawn up their cavalry like a body of heavy-armed infantry, of a close depth,<sup>1</sup> without any foot to support them;<sup>2</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> "Ὅσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα βάθος ἐφεξῆς.] The last word, says Schneider, (whose text has ἐξῆς,) denotes the continuous depth of the body of men standing one behind the other, without being broken by the interspersion of infantry.

<sup>2</sup> "Ἐρημον πεζῶν ἀμύπων.] The ἄμυποι are infantry attached to

Epaminondas, on the contrary, had formed of his cavalry a strong wedge-like body, and had posted companies of foot to support them, judging that when he had broken through the cavalry of the enemy, he would have defeated their whole force, since it is hard to find men that will stand when they see some of their own party in flight; and that the Athenians might not send succour from their left wing to the part of the enemy nearest them, he posted over against them, upon some high grounds, parties of horse and heavy-armed foot, wishing to inspire them with the apprehension that if they stirred to aid others his own troops would attack them in the rear.

25. Such was the mode in which he commenced the engagement; nor was he deceived in his expectations; for, being successful in the part on which he made his attack, he forced the whole body of the enemy to take to flight. But when he himself fell,<sup>1</sup> those who survived him could make no efficient use of their victory; for though the main body of the enemy fled before them, his heavy-armed troops killed none of them, nor even advanced beyond the spot where the charge took place; and though the cavalry also retreated, his own cavalry did not pursue, or make any slaughter either of horse or foot, but, like men who had been conquered, slipped away in trepidation amidst their fleeing adversaries. The other parties of foot, indeed, and the peltasts, who had shared in the success of the cavalry, advanced up to the enemy's left wing, as if masters of the field, but there the greater part of them were put to the sword by the Athenians.

26. When the conflict was ended, the result of it was quite contrary to what all men had expected that it would be; for as almost the whole of Greece was assembled on the occasion, and arrayed in the field, there was no one who did not suppose that, if a battle took place, one side would conquer and be masters, and the other be conquered and become subjects; but the divine power so ordered the event, that both parties erected trophies as being victorious, neither side hindering

the cavalry, or interspersed among them; as those of the Germans mentioned by Cæsar, B. G. i. 48, and those of the Dahæ, by Quintus Curtius, vii. 7. *Weiske*.

<sup>1</sup> He fell by the hand of Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, as Pausanias, viii. 11, is inclined to think. Others have been named as the authors of the blow, but Pausanias considers that there is most evidence in favour of Gryllus.



the other in the erection ; both parties, as conquerors, restored the dead under a truce, and both parties, as defeated, received them under truce ; and neither party, though each asserted the victory to be its own, was seen to gain any more, either in land, or towns, or authority, than it possessed before the battle took place. Indeed there was still greater confusion and disturbance in Greece after the conflict than there had been before it.

Let it suffice for me to have written to this point ; subsequent occurrences will perhaps be an object of attention to some other author.

THE END.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## TO THE HELLENICS.

The second column of this Table shows the dates of the events related in the passages to which references are given in the first. The expression, Ol. XCII.  $\frac{3}{4}$  denotes that the occurrences to which it alludes, happened in the third and fourth years of the ninety-second Olympiad.

The dates B. C. are those of the ordinary Chronological Tables; but it is to be remembered that the Olympic year commenced at Midsummer, the time at which the Olympic games were celebrated, and that, consequently, if an event took place in the latter half of the Olympic year, the date B. C. must be diminished by one.

Bk. C. Sect.		B. C.	Bk. C. Sect.		B. C.
I. 1. 1.	Ol. XCII.	2. 411	V. 2. 8.	Ol. XCVIII.	4. 385
I. 2. 4.		3. 410	V. 2. 12.	XCIX.	1. 384
I. 3. 1.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 410, 9	V. 2. 11.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 383, 2
I. 4. 21.	XCIII.	1. 408	V. 3. 1.		3. 382
I. 6. 1.		$\frac{1}{2}$ . 408, 7	V. 3. 8.		4. 381
I. 6. 27.		3. 406	V. 3. 19.	C.	1. 380
II. 1. 10.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 406, 5	V. 3. 21.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 380, 79
II. 3. 3.	XCIV.	1. 404	V. 4. 13.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 379, 8
II. 4. 22.		$\frac{1}{2}$ . 404, 3	V. 4. 47.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 378, 7
III. 1. 1.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 402, 1	V. 4. 58.	CI.	$\frac{1}{4}$ . 377, 6
III. 1. 4.	XCV.	1. 400	V. 4. 61.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 376, 5
III. 1. 8.		2. 399	VI. 1. 1.		2. 375
III. 2. 6.		3. 398	VI. 2. 3.		3. 374
III. 2. 11.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 398, 7	VI. 2. 31.		4. 373
III. 2. 23.	XCIV.	4. 401	VI. 3. 1.	CII.	$\frac{1}{4}$ . 373, 2
III. 2. 25.	XCV.	$\frac{3}{4}$ . 399, 8	VI. 4. 4.		2. 371
III. 3. 1.		4. 397	VI. 4. 27.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 371, 70
III. 4. 3.	XCVI.	$\frac{1}{4}$ . 397, 6	VI. 4. 34.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 370, 69
III. 4. 20.		2. 395	VI. 4. 35.	CV.	2. 359
IV. 1. 41.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 395, 4	VI. 5. 1.	CII.	2. 371
IV. 3. 10.		3. 394	VI. 5. 6.		3. 370
IV. 4. 19.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 394, 3	VI. 5. 10.		4. 369
IV. 5. 1.	XCVII.	$\frac{1}{4}$ . 393, 2	VII. 1. 25.	CIII.	1. 368
IV. 6. 1.		2. 391	VII. 1. 33.		2. 367
IV. 7. 1.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 391, 90	VII. 1. 44.	CII.	4. 369
IV. 8. 1.	XCVI.	3. 394	VII. 2. 1.	CIII.	1. 368
IV. 8. 7.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 394, 3	VII. 2. 2.	CII.	4. 369
IV. 8. 12.	XCVII.	$\frac{1}{4}$ . 392, 1	VII. 2. 10.	CIII.	1. 368
IV. 8. 30.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 390, 89	VII. 2. 16.		2. 367
V. 1. 1.	XCVIII.	1. 388	VII. 4. 1.		3. 366
V. 1. 25.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 388, 7	VII. 4. 12.		4. 365
V. 1. 30.		2. 387	VII. 4. 28.	CIV.	1. 364
V. 2. 1.		$\frac{3}{4}$ . 387, 6	VII. 4. 36.		2. 363
V. 2. 3.		$\frac{1}{4}$ . 386, 5			

# INDEX.

---

The Numbers to which C. is prefixed refer to the *Cyropædia*; those to which no letter is prefixed, to the *Hellenics*. The first number refers to the Book, the second to the Chapter, the third to the Section.

- ABARNIS** prom. ii. 1. 29.  
**Abradatas**, C. v. 1. 1, 2; vi. 1. 45, 48; 3. 36; 4. 2. His death and funeral rites, vii. 1. 32; 3. 4, 10, 11, 13, 17.  
**Abydos**, i. 1. 5; 2. 15; iv. 8. 5; v. i. 25. People of, ii. 1. 18; iv. 8. 3, 6, 35, 37.  
**Academy**, ii. 2. 8; vi. 5. 49.  
**Acanthians**, v. 2. 23.  
**Acanthus**, v. 2. 11; 3. 6.  
**Acarnania**, vi. 3. 37.  
**Acarnanians**, iv. 2. 17; 6. 1, 3; 7. 1; vi. 5. 23.  
**Achæans**, i. 2. 18; iii. 2. 26; iv. 2. 18; vi. 2. 2; 4. 18; 6. 7; vii. 1. 41, *sq.*; 4. 17, 28; 5. 1, 18.  
**Achæan mountains at Phthia**, iv. 3. 9.  
**Achaia**, iv. 3. 10, 23; vi. 2. 2; vii. 1. 41, *sq.*  
**Achilleium**, iii. 2. 17; iv. 8. 17.  
**Acrisius of Sicyon**, vii. 1. 45.  
**Acrocorinth**, iv. 4. 4.  
**Acrorians**, iii. 2. 30; iv. 2. 16; vii. 4. 14.  
**Adeas of Sicyon**, vii. 1. 45.  
**Adeimantus Athen.** i. 4. 21; 7. 1; ii. 1. 30, 32.  
**Adusius**, C. vii. 4. 1, 8; viii. 6. 7.  
**Ægæ**, iv. 8. 5.  
**Ægina**, ii. 2. 19; v. 1. 2.  
**Æginetans**, ii. 2. 3, 9; v. 1. 2; 4. 61; vi. 2. 1.  
**Ægospotami**, ii. 1. 21.  
**Ægosthena Megar.** v. 4. 18; vi. 4. 26.  
**Ægypt**, C. i. 1. 4; viii. 6. 20.  
**Ægyptian Larisa.** See *Larisa*.  
**Ægyptians**, C. vi. 2. 10; 3. 20; vii. 1. 29, 32, 34, 36, 41.  
**Æneas of Stymphalus**, vii. 3. 1.  
**Ænesias Laced.** ii. 3. 9.  
**Ænians**, iii. 5. 6; iv. 3. 15.  
**Æolia**, iii. 1. 10; 2. 13; iv. 8. 33. C. viii. 6. 7.  
**Æolians**, iii. 4. 11; iv. 3. 10. C. vi. 2. 20.  
**Æschines Athen.** ii. 3. 2, 13.  
**Æthiopia**, C. viii. 6. 21; 8. 1.  
**Ætolians**, iv. 6. 14.  
**Æxonians**, ii. 4. 26.  
**Agamemnon**, iii. 4. 3; vii. 1. 34.  
**Agathinus**, Corinthian, iv. 8. 10.  
**Agésilas**, iii. 3. 2, *sq.*; 4. 4, *sq.*; iv. 1. 2; 3. 3, *sq.*; 4. 19; 5.; 6. 3; v. 1. 31, *sq.*; 2. 3, 32; 3. 15, 17, 20; 4. 13, 25, 35, 55, 58; vi. 4. 5; 5. 5, 12, 15, *sq.*; vii. 5. 9, *sq.*  
**Agisipolis**, iv. 2. 9; 7. 2; v. 2. 3, 4; 3. 8, 19.  
**Agestratus Laced.** ii. 3. 10.  
**Agis**, i. 1. 33; ii. 2. 7, *sq.*; 3. 3; iii. 2. 22, *sq.*; 3. 1, *sq.*  
**Aglaütadas**, C. ii. 2. 11.  
**Agriгентum**, i. 5. 21; ii. 2. 24.  
**Agryrhios Athen.** iv. 8. 31.  
**Alcetas Laced.** v. 4. 56, *sq.*

- Alcetas, king of Epirus, vi. 1. 7; 2. 10.  
 Alceunas, C. v. 3. 42.  
 Alcibiades, i. 1. 5, 9, 10, 18; 3. 2, 10, 13; 4. 10, 13, 18, 20, *sq.*; 5. 16; ii. 1. 25; 3. 42.  
 Alcibiades, his cousin, i. 2. 13.  
 Alcimeneas, Corinthian, iv. 4. 7.  
 Alea, name of Minerva, vi. 5. 27.  
 Alexander of Thessaly, vi. 4. 34, *sq.*; vii. 5. 4.  
 Alexias Athen. ii. 1. 10.  
 Alexippidas Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Alpheius, iii. 2. 29; vi. 2. 31.  
 Altis, vii. 4. 29.  
 Alypetus Laced. v. 4. 52.  
 Alyzia, v. 4. 65.  
 Amphidolians, iii. 2. 25, 29; iv. 2. 16.  
 Ampheium, v. 4. 8.  
 Amphipolis, iv. 3. 1.  
 Amyclæ, vi. 5. 30; vii. 2. 3.  
 Amyclæans, iv. 5. 11.  
 Amyntas, king of Macedonia, v. 2. 12, 38; 3. 9.  
 Anætiæ Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Anaxibius Laced. iv. 8. 35, *sq.*  
 Anaxicrates Byzant. i. 3. 18.  
 Anaxilaus Byzant. iv. 8. 35, 36.  
 Andamyas, C. v. 3. 38.  
 Andrians, i. 4. 21, *sq.*; ii. 1. 31, *sq.*  
 Androcleides of Thebes, iii. 5. 1; v. 2. 31.  
 Andromachus of Elis, vii. 4. 19.  
 Andros, i. 4. 21; 5. 18.  
 Angenidas Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Antalcidas Laced. iv. 8. 12, *sq.*; v. 1. 6, 25, 29; vi. 3. 12.  
 Antandros, i. 1. 25; 3. 17; ii. 1. 10; iv. 8. 35.  
 Antigeneas Athen. i. 3. 1.  
 Antiochus, Arcadian, vii. 1. 33, 38.  
 Antiochus Athen. i. 5. 11, *sq.*  
 Antiphon Athen. ii. 3. 40.  
 Antisthenes Laced. iii. 2. 6.  
 Anytus Athen. ii. 3. 42.  
 Apaturia, i. 7. 8.  
 Aphytis, v. 3. 19.  
 Apollo, iii. 5. 5; vi. 4. 2, 30; 5. 27. C. vii. 2. 15.  
 Apollonia, v. 2. 11; 3. 1, *sq.*  
 Apollonians, v. 2. 12.  
 Apollophanes of Cyzicus, iv. 1. 29.  
 Arabians, C. i. 1. 4; 5. 2; vi. 2. 10; vii. 4. 16.  
 Aracus Laced. ii. 1. 7; 2. 6; 3. 10; vi. 5. 33.  
 Araspas, C. v. 1. 1, 8, 17, 32; vi. 1. 36; 3. 14, 21.  
 Arcadians, iii. 2. 19; 5. 12; vi. 5. 11, 22; vii. 1. 18, *sq.*, 22, 25, 28; 2. 31, *sq.*; 4. 2, *sq.*, 12, 23, 28, 33, 36, 40; 5. 1.  
 Archedemus Athen. i. 7. 1.  
 Arcestratus Athen. i. 5. 16; ii. 2. 15.  
 Archias of Thebes, v. 4. 2; vii. 3. 7.  
 Archidamus, father of Agesilaus, v. 3. 13.  
 Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, v. 4. 25, *sq.*; vi. 4. 18, 19; vii. 1. 28, *sq.*, 31; 4. 21, *sq.*; 5. 12, *sq.*  
 Archidamus of Elis, vii. 1. 33.  
 Archytas Laced. ii. 1. 10; 3. 10.  
 Aresias Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Arginuse, i. 6. 27.  
 Argives, i. 3. 13; ii. 2. 7; iii. 2. 21; 5. 11; iv. 2. 16; 3. 15; 4. 1, *sq.*, 19; 5. 1; 7. 2, 3; 8. 13, *sq.*; v. 1. 29, *sq.*; vi. 5. 46; vii. 1. 25, 28, 44; 2. 1, *sq.*; 4. 11, 30, *sq.*  
 Argivus of Elis, vii. 1. 33; 4. 15, 16.  
 Ariæus, iv. 1. 27.  
 Aribæus, Cappadoc. C. iv. 2. 31.  
 Ariobarzanes, i. 4. 7; v. 1. 28; vii. i. 27. C. viii. 8. 4.  
 Aristarchus Athen. i. 7. 28; ii. 3. 46.  
 Aristocles Athen. vi. 3. 2.  
 Aristocrates Athen. i. 4. 21; 5. 16; 6. 29; 7. 2.  
 Aristodemus Laced. iv. 2. 9.  
 Aristogenes Athen. i. 5. 16; 6. 29; 7. 1.  
 Aristogenes, Sicilian, i. 2. 8.  
 Aristolochus Laced. v. 4. 22.  
 Aristomenes Laced. i. 1. 35.  
 Ariston Byzant. i. 3. 8.  
 Aristophon Athen. vi. 3. 2.  
 Aristoteles Athen. ii. 2. 18; 3. 2, 46.  
 Armenians, C. ii. 1. 6; iii. 1. 10.

- Their king, ii. 4. 12; iii. 1. 6, 8, 14, 38, 42.  
 Arnapes, a Persian, i. 3. 12.  
 Arsamas, C. vii. 1. 3, 8.  
 Artabatas, C. viii. 3. 18; 6. 7.  
 Artabazus, Mede, C. i. 4. 27; iv. 1. 23; v. 1. 23; vi. 1. 9, 31, 34; vii. 5. 48; viii. 3. 25; 4. 1, 12, 24.  
 Artabazus, a Persian, C. v. 3. 38.  
 Artacamas, C. viii. 6. 7.  
 Artagersas, C. vi. 3. 31; vi. 1. 22, 27.  
 Artamas, king of the Greater Phrygia, C. ii. 1. 5.  
 Artaozus, C. vi. 3. 31.  
 Artaxerxes, v. 1. 30, *sq.* C. viii. 8. 12.  
 Artuchas, Hyrcanian, C. v. 3. 38.  
 Asea, vi. 5. 11.  
 Aseans, vii. 5. 5.  
 Asia, iii. 4. 5; iv. 8. 5, 27; v. 1. 31.  
 Asiadatas, C. vi. 3. 32.  
 Asine, vii. 1. 25.  
 Aspendus, iv. 8. 30.  
 Assyrian king, C. i. 5. 3; ii. 1. 5; iii. 3. 26, 44, 63; iv. 1. 8. His successor, vi. 1. 25; vii. 5. 30.  
 Astyages, king of the Medes, C. i. 2. 1; 5. 2; iii. 1. 10.  
 Astyochus Laced. i. 1. 31.  
 Astyre, Diana of, iv. 1. 41.  
 Atarneus, iii. 2. 11.  
 Athenadas of Sicyon, iii. 1. 18.  
 Athens, ii. 3. 24; vi. 2. 9, &c.  
 Athenians, i. 1. 1, 22, 33; 2. 1, *sq.*; 3. 2, *sq.*; 4. 4, *sq.*; 5. 13, *sq.*; 6. 15, *sq.*; 7. 9, *sq.*; ii. 1, *sq.*; 2. 10, *sq.*; 3. 1, *sq.*; 4. 21; iii. 1. 1, *sq.*; 5. 16; iv. 4. 18; 8. 12; v. 1. 13, *sq.*; 4. 34, *sq.*; vi. 1. 10; 2. 1, 10; 3. 1; 4. 20; 5. 1, *sq.*; vii. 1. 1, *sq.*; 4. 4, *sq.*  
 Aulis, iii. 4. 3; 5. 5; vii. 1. 34.  
 Aulon, iii. 2. 25; 3. 8, 10.  
 Autobesaces, a Persian, ii. 1. 8.  
 Autocles Athen. ii. 3. 2, 7.  
 Babylon, C. ii. 1. 5; v. 2. 8; vii. 2. 11; 5. 7, 11, 15, 29; viii. 6. 22.  
 Bacchus, temple of, at Aphytus, v. 3. 19.  
 Bactrians, C. i. 1. 4; 5. 2. Their king, v. 1. 2.  
 Bagæus, Persian, iii. 4. 13.  
 Bendideum, ii. 4. 11.  
 Bithynians, i. 3. 2, *sq.*; iii. 2. 2, *sq.*  
 Bœotarchs, iii. 4. 4.  
 Bœotia, vi. 4. 3.  
 Bœotians, ii. 4. 30; iii. 2. 25; iv. 3. 3; 5. 10; v. 1. 32, 33; 4. 62.  
 Bœotius Laced. i. 4. 2.  
 Brasidas Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Byzantium, i. 1. 35; 3. 14, 15, 18, 20; ii. 2. 1; iv. 8. 27.  
 Cadmeia, v. 2. 29; 4. 1, *sq.*; vi. 5. 46.  
 Cadusians, ii. 1. 13. C. v. 2. 25; 3. 22; 4. 15, 22.  
 Callias Athen. i. 6. 1; son of Hipponicus, iv. 5. 13; v. 4. 22; vi. 3. 2, *sq.*  
 Callias Laced. iv. 1. 15.  
 Callibius Laced. ii. 3. 13, 14.  
 Callibius of Tegea, vi. 5. 6.  
 Callicratidas Laced. i. 6. 1; ii. 1. 1.  
 Callimedon Athen. iv. 8. 13.  
 Callisthenes Athen. iv. 8. 13.  
 Callistratus Athen. ii. 4. 27. Another, vi. 2. 39; 3. 3, 10, *sq.*  
 Callixenus Athen. i. 7. 8, 35.  
 Calydon, iv. 6. 1, 14.  
 Camarina, ii. 3. 5.  
 Cambyses, father of Cyrus, C. i. 2. 1; 4. 25; 6. 2; viii. 5. 23.  
 Cambyses, son of Cyrus, C. viii. 7. 11.  
 Cannous Athen. i. 7. 20.  
 Cappadocians, C. i. 1. 4; vi. 2. 10; vii. 4. 16; viii. 6. 7.  
 Cardia, i. 1. 11.  
 Carduchas, vi. 3. 30.  
 Caria, iii. 2. 12.  
 Carians, iii. 2. 15. C. i. 5. 3; ii. 1. 5; vii. 4. 1, 7; viii. 6. 7.  
 Carthaginians, i. 1. 37; 5. 21; ii. 3. 5.  
 Caryæ, vi. 5. 25; vii. 1. 28.  
 Castolus, i. 4. 3.  
 Catina, ii. 3. 5.  
 Caue, iv. 1. 20.  
 Caystrian plain, C. ii. 1. 5.  
 Cebren, iii. 2. 10.  
 Cedreæ, ii. 1. 15.  
 Celtæ, vii. 1. 20, 31.  
 Celusa, iv. 7. 7.  
 Cenchreia, iv. 5. 1; vi. 5. 51; ii. 4. 5.

- Ceos, v. 4. 61.  
 Cephalenia, vi. 2. 31, 33.  
 Cephisodotus Athen. ii. 1. 16. An-  
   other, vi. 3. 2; vii. 1. 12.  
 Cephisophon Athen. ii. 4. 36.  
 Cephisus, river in Attica, ii. 4. 19.  
   In Bœotia, iv. 3. 16.  
 Ceramicus at Athens, ii. 4. 33.  
 Ceramicus in Caria, i. 4. 8; ii. 1. 15.  
 Ceres, vi. 3. 6.  
 Chabrias Athen. iv. 5. 19; v. 1. 10,  
   *sq.*; 4. 61; vi. 2. 39; vii. 1. 25.  
 Chærelaus Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Chærilas Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Chæron Laced. ii. 4. 33.  
 Chalcedon, i. 3. 2; ii. 2. 1; iv. 8.  
   28.  
 Chaldeans, C. iii. 1. 34; 2. 1, 7; vii.  
   2. 5.  
 Chares Athen. vii. 2. 18, 20; 4. 1, *sq.*  
 Charicles Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Charmides Athen. ii. 4. 19.  
 Charon, Theban, v. 4. 3.  
 Charopus of Elis, vii. 4. 15.  
 Chersonesus, Thracian, i. 5. 17; iii.  
   2. 8—10; iv. 2. 6; 8. 39. People  
   of, i. 3. 10; iii. 2. 8.  
 Chians, ii. 1. 1, *sq.*  
 Chilon Laced. vii. 4. 23.  
 Chios, i. 1. 32; ii. 6.  
 Chremon Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Chrysantas, C. ii. 2. 19; 3. 5; 4.  
   22; iv. 1. 3, 4; 3. 15; v. 3. 36; vi.  
   2. 21; vii. 1. 3; 5. 55; viii. 1. 1;  
   3. 16; 4. 11; 6. 7.  
 Chrysopolis, i. 1. 22; 3. 12.  
 Cilicians, C. i. 5. 3; ii. 1. 5; vi. 2.  
   10; vii. 4. 2; viii. 6. 8.  
 Cinadon Laced. iii. 3. 4, 11.  
 Cissidas Syrac. vii. 1. 28.  
 Cithæron, v. 4. 37, 47, 55, 59; vi.  
   4. 5.  
 Cios, i. 4. 7.  
 Cladaus, vii. 4. 29.  
 Clazomenæ, i. 1. 10, 11; v. 1. 31.  
 Cleander of Sicyon, vii. 1. 45.  
 Clearchus Laced. i. 1. 35; 3. 15.  
 Cleigenes, v. 2. 11.  
 Cleinomachus Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Cleiteles, vi. 5. 37.  
 Cleitorians, v. 4. 36, *sq.*  
 Cleocritus Athen. ii. 4. 20, *sq.*  
 Cleombrotus Laced. v. 4. 14, 16, 59;  
   vi. 1. 1; 4. 3, 6, *sq.*  
 Cleomedes Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Cleon Laced. v. 4. 39.  
 Cleonæ, vii. 5. 15.  
 Cleonymus Laced. v. 4. 25; vi. 4. 14.  
 Cleophon Athen. i. 7. 35.  
 Cleosthenes Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Cleostratus, i. 3. 13.  
 Cnidus, iv. 3. 12; 8. 22.  
 Cocylitans, iii. 1. 16.  
 Cœratadas, Bœotian, i. 3. 15, 21, 22.  
 Colonæ, iii. 1. 13, 16.  
 Colophon, i. 2. 4.  
 Colophonians, *ib.*  
 Collytus. See *Thrasymbulus*.  
 Conon Athen. i. 4. 10; 5. 16, 18;  
   6. 15, 19, 38; 7. 1; ii. 1. 28, *sq.*;  
   iv. 8. 1, 2, 10, 13, 16.  
 Corcyra, v. 4. 64; vi. 2. 4, 8, *sq.*  
 Coressus, i. 2. 7.  
 Corinth, iv. 4. 6, 14, 18, 19; 8. 15;  
   v. 1. 34, 36; vi. 5. 49; vii. 4. 4.  
 Corinthians, ii. 1. 32, *sq.*; 4. 30;  
   iii. 2. 25; 5. 17; iv. 2. 14; 3.  
   15; 4.; 5. 4; v. 3. 27; vi. 4. 18;  
   5. 15, 40; 29. 52; vii. 1. 2, 23;  
   4. 6, *sq.*  
 Coroneia, iv. 3. 16.  
 Coryphasium, i. 2. 18.  
 Craneium, iv. 4. 4.  
 Crannonians, iv. 3. 3.  
 Cratesippidas Laced. i. 1. 32; 5. 1.  
 Cratistus Laced. i. 1. 35.  
 Cremaste, iv. 8. 37.  
 Cretans, iv. 2. 16; 7. 6; vii. 5.  
   10.  
 Creusis, iv. 5. 10; v. 4. 16, 60; vi.  
   4. 3.  
 Crinippus Syrac. vi. 2. 36.  
 Critias Athen. ii. 3. 2, 24—56; 4.  
   8, 19.  
 Crocinas, Thessalian, ii. 3. 1.  
 Crœsus, C. i. 5. 3; ii. 1. 5; iv. 1.  
   8; 2. 29; vi. 2. 9, 10, 11; vii. 1.  
   23, 25, 27; 2. 1, 5, 12, 15, 26; 3.  
   1. 4, 12; viii. 2. 15.  
 Crommyon, iv. 4. 13; 5. 19.  
 Cromnus, vii. 4. 20, 21, *sq.*  
 Cronium, vii. 4. 14.

Cyaxares, uncle of Cyrus, C. i. 4. 9, 22; 5. 2, 4; ii. 1. 5, 7, 8; 4. 5; iii. 3. 25, 29; iv. 1. 13; 5. 8, 52; v. 5. 1, 8, 37, 44; vi. 1. 6; 3. 2; viii. 5. 19.

Cydon Byzant. i. 3. 18.

Cyllene, iii. 2. 27, 30; vii. 4. 19. C. vii. 1. 45.

Cylon, iii. 5. 1.

Cyme, iii. 4. 27. C. vii. 1. 45.

Cynoscephalæ, v. 4. 15.

Cyprians, C. vi. 2. 10; vii. 4. 2; viii. 6. 8.

Cyprus, v. 1. 10, 31. C. viii. 6. 21; 8. 1.

Cyrenian chariots, C. vi. 1. 27; 2. 8.

Cyrus, son of Cambyses, and grandson of Astyages, by Mandane, C. i. 2. 1; visits his grandfather, and remains with him, 3. 1, 13; his decision in a dispute between two boys, 17; his popularity, respect for his grandfather, and fondness for riding and hunting, 4. 1—5; hunts with Cyaxares and Astyages, 7, 14; he shows his fitness for government at sixteen years of age, 16; his return to Media, 25; is sent to the aid of Cyaxares with an army, 5. 5, 7; his discourse with his father on the duties of a general, 6. 1; he provides new arms for his men, ii. 1. 11; institutes exercises, 20; his reply to the Indian ambassadors, 4. 8; takes the Indian king prisoner, iii. 1. 1; his treatment of him, 31; reconciles the Chaldeans and Armenians, 2; sends for money to the Indian king, 2. 28; marches with Cyaxares against the Assyrians, 3. 20; defeats them, 60; takes their camp, iv. i. 9; pursues the enemy, through a stratagem, without the consent of Cyaxares, 19; is joined by the Hyrcanians, 2. 9; institutes Persian cavalry, 3. 3; sends for reinforcements from Persia, 5. 16; his letter to Cyaxares, 27; refuses to see Panthea, v. 1. 7; retains the

Medes with him, 18; visits Gobryas, 2. 1; again lays waste Assyria, 3. 1; marches to Babylon, and in vain endeavours to bring the Assyrian king to a battle, 5; aids Gadatas, 29; his reason for addressing his generals by name, 46; delivers Gadatas, 4. 7; avenges the ill-treatment of the Cadusians, 23; makes the Assyrian king agree to spare the husbandmen, 24; why he is unwilling to lead his army close to Babylon, 41; takes three fortresses, 51; sends for Cyaxares, 5. 1; meets him, 5; soothes his anger, 37; discourses on the plans of his own winter-quarters, vi. 1. 12; invents scythed chariots, 27; builds towers on wheels, 52; allays the fears of his troops, 2. 14; prepares to march against Croesus, 23; his arrangement of his forces, 3. 21; his exhortation to his officers, 4. 12; his arms, vii. 1. 2; exhortation to his soldiers, 10; his horse is wounded, and he is thrown off, 37; takes Sardes and Croesus, 2. 1; his kind treatment of Croesus, 26; mourns the death of Abradatas, 3. 2; marches to Sardis, subduing the Phrygians, Cappadocians, and Arabians, *ib.*; his return to Babylon, 4. 12; 5. 1; makes a trench and towers, 9. 12; takes the city by drawing off the water from the Euphrates, 15; enters the palace, 57; chooses eunuchs for his body-guard, 58; appoints guards of the palace and city, 66; arranges the duties of the attendants at the palace, viii. 1. 9; converses with Croesus on generosity, 2. 15; conducts a procession, 3. 1; his upright tiara, and other apparel, 13; adoration paid to him, 14; entertains his friends at a banquet, 4. 1; goes to Persia to his parents, 5. 1; visits Cyaxares and invites him to Babylon, 17; marries the daughter of Cyaxares, 28; sends out sa

- traps, 6. 1; his arrangement of messengers for carrying news, 17; his end approaches, 7. 3; his speech to his sons, 6; dies, 23.
- Cyrus the younger, i. 4. 3; 5. 2, 3; ii. 1. 8, 13, 15; iii. 1. 1. C. viii. 8. 3.
- Cythera, iv. 8. 8.
- Cyzicus, i. 1. 11, 14, 16, *sq.* People of, i. 1. 19, 20; iv. 1. 29.
- Daipharnes, C. viii. 3. 21.
- Darius, i. 2. 19; ii. 1. 8. Darius, *ib.*
- Dascyleium, iii. 4. 13; iv. 1. 15.
- Datamas, C. v. 3. 38.
- Datamas, C. viii. 3. 17.
- Dauchus, C. vi. 3. 29.
- Deceleia, i. 1. 33, *sq.*; 2. 14; 3. 22; ii. 2. 7; 3. 3.
- Deigma in the Piræus, v. 1. 21.
- Deimon Laced. v. 4. 33; vi. 4. 14.
- Delphic oracle, C. vii. 2. 15.
- Delphinium, i. 5. 15.
- Delphion of Phlius, v. 3. 22.
- Demænetus Athen. v. 1. 10, 26.
- Demaratus Laced. iii. 1. 6.
- Demarchus Syrac. i. 1. 29.
- Demostratus Athen. vi. 3. 2.
- Demoteles Laced. vii. 1. 32.
- Demotion, vii. 4. 4.
- Deras, vii. 1. 22.
- Dercylidas Laced. iii. 1. 8, 9, 16, 17, *sq.*; 2. 1, *sq.*; 4. 6; iv. 3. 1, *sq.*; 8. 3.
- Derdas, v. 2. 38, *sq.*; 3. 1, *sq.*
- Diana, iv. 2. 10; vi. 5. 9; vii. 1. 34; of Astyre, iv. 1. 41; of Ephesus, i. 2. 6; iii. 4. 18; of Leucophris, iii. 2. 19; of Munychia, ii. 4. 11.
- Diocles, ii. 3. 2.
- Diomedon Athen. i. 5. 16; 6. 22, 29; 7. 2, 16.
- Dion Athen. iv. 8. 13.
- Dionysius the elder, ii. 2, 24; 3. 5; vi. 2. 4, 33; vii. 1. 20, 22.
- Dionysius the younger, vii. 4. 12.
- Dionysius Athen. v. 1. 26.
- Diopenthes Laced. iii. 3. 3.
- Dioscuri, vi. 3. 6.
- Diotimus Athen. i. 3. 12; v. 1. 25.
- Diphridas Laced. iv. 8. 21, *sq.*
- Dolopians, vi. 1. 7.
- Dorieus of Rhodes, i. 1. 4; 5. 19.
- Dorotheus, i. 3. 13.
- Dracon of Pella, iii. 2. 11.
- Dracontides Athen. ii. 3. 2.
- Ecbatana, C. viii. 6. 22.
- Ecdicus Laced. iv. 8. 20, *sq.*
- Eion, i. 5. 15.
- Elæus, ii. 1. 20.
- Eleians, iii. 2. 21, *sq.*; iv. 2, 16; vi. 2. 2; 5. 5, 19, 23; vii. 1. 18, *sq.*; 2. 7; 4. 12, *sq.*; 5. 1, 18.
- Eleusis, ii. 4. 8, 9, 19, 24; vii. 5. 15.
- Eleutheræ, v. 14. 4.
- Elimia, v. 2. 38.
- Elis, iii. 2. 25.
- Elymia in Arcadia, vi. 5. 13.
- Embas, C. v. 3. 38.
- Enyalios, ii. 4. 17.
- Epaminondas, vi. 4. 15; vii. 1. 15, *sq.*; 4. 39, *sq.*; 5. 3, *sq.*
- Eparatus Laced. ii. 3. 10.
- Epariti, vii. 4. 22, 33, 36; 5. 3.
- Epeium, iii. 2. 30.
- Ephesians, i. 2. 10; 5. 12, 15.
- Ephesus, i. 2. 6; 5. 14; iii. 2. 11; 4. 4, 7, 16; v. 1. 7. Territory of Ephesus, iii. 2. 14.
- Epicydidas Laced. iv. 2. 2; v. 4. 39.
- Epidaurus, iv. 2. 16; vi. 2. 2; vii. 1. 18, 25.
- Epidocus, i. 1. 29.
- Epieiceia, iv. 2. 14; 4. 13.
- Epitalium, iii. 2. 25, 29, 30.
- Erasinides Athen. i. 5. 16; 6. 29; 7. 2.
- Erasistratus Athen. ii. 3. 2.
- Eratosthenes Athen. ii. 3. 2.
- Erythræ, v. 4. 49.
- Eteonicus Laced. i. 1. 32; 6. 26, 35, *sq.*; ii. 1. 5, *sq.*; 2. 5; v. 1. 1, *sq.*
- Etymocles Laced. v. 4. 22, 32; vi. 5. 33.
- Euagoras of Cyprus, ii. 1. 29; iv. 8. 24; v. 1. 10; of Elis, i. 2. 1.
- Eualces Athen. iv. 1. 40.
- Euarchippus Laced. i. 2. 1; ii. 3. 10.



- Eubœa**, ii. 3. 10.  
**Eubœans**, iv. 3. 15; vi. 5. 23; vii. 5. 4.  
**Eubotas of Cyrene**, i. 2. 1.  
**Eubulus Athen.** i. 1. 22.  
**Eucleia**, festival, iv. 4. 2.  
**Eucleides Athen.** ii. 3. 2.  
**Eucles**, Sicilian, i. 2. 8.  
**Euctemon Athen.** i. 2. 2.  
**Eudamidas Laced.** v. 2. 24.  
**Eudicus Laced.** v. 4. 39.  
**Eudicus Laced.** ii. 3. 1.  
**Eumathes Athen.** ii. 3. 2.  
**Eunomus Athen.** v. 1. 5, 7, 9.  
**Euphratas**, C. vi. 3. 28.  
**Euphrates**, C. vii. 5. 8.  
**Euphron of Sicyon**, vii. 1. 41, *sq.*; 2. 11, *sq.*; 3. 2, *sq.*  
**Eurotas**, v. 4. 28; vi. 5. 27, 30.  
**Eurymedon**, iv. 8. 30.  
**Euryptolemus Athen.** i. 3. 12, *sq.*; 4. 19; 7. 16.  
**Eurysthenes**, iii. 1. 6.  
**Eurystheus**, vi. 5. 47.  
**Eutæa**, vi. 5. 12, 20.  
**Euthycles Laced.** vii. 1. 33.  
**Eutresians**, vii. 1. 29.  
**Euxenus Laced.** iv. 2. 5.  
**Euxine Sea**, C. viii. 6. 21; 8. 1.  
**Exarchus Laced.** ii. 3. 10.  
  
**Gabæus**, C. ii. 1. 5; iv. 2. 30.  
**Gadatas**, C. v. 2. 28; 3. 15, 26; 4. 1, 29, 34; vii. 5. 30; viii. 4. 2.  
**Galaxidorus Laced.** iii. 5. 1.  
**Gambreium**, iii. 1. 6.  
**Gaurium**, i. 4. 22.  
**Gela**, ii. 3. 5.  
**Gelanor or Geranor Laced.** vii. 1. 25.  
**Geræstus**, iii. 4. 3; v. 4. 61.  
**Gergis**, iii. 1. 15, 19.  
**Gnosius Syrac.** i. 1. 29.  
**Gobryas**, C. iv. 6. 1, 4; v. 2. 6, 14; vii. 5. 30; viii. 4. 7, 25.  
**Gongylus Eretr.** iii. 1. 6.  
**Gordieium**, i. 4. 1.  
**Gorgion Eretr.** iii. 1. 6.  
**Gorgopas Laced.** v. 1. 5, *sq.*  
**Greeks in the army of Cyrus the younger**, iii. 1. 2, &c.  
  
**Greeks of Asia**, C. i. 1. 4; ii. 1. 5; vi. 2. 10; vii. 4. 9.  
**Gryneium**, iii. 1. 6.  
**Gylis Laced.** iv. 3. 21, 23.  
**Gytheium**, i. 4. 11; vi. 5. 32.  
  
**Hagnon Athen.** ii. 3. 10.  
**Halæ**, ii. 4. 34.  
**Haliars**, iv. 2. 16; vi. 2. 3; vii. 2. 2.  
**Haliartus**, iii. 5. 17.  
**Halipidon at Athens**, ii. 4. 30.  
**Halisarne**, iii. 1. 6.  
**Hamaxitus**, iii. 1. 13, 16.  
**Hannibal**, i. 1. 37.  
**Hegesandridas Laced.** i. 1. 1; 3. 17.  
**Helicon**, Mount, iv. 3. 18.  
**Helixus of Megara**, i. 3. 15, 21.  
**Hellespont**, i. 1. 2; ii. 1. 20; iii. 2. 8, *sq.* People on the, iii. 4. 11, *sq.*; iv. 3. 17.  
**Helos**, vi. 5. 32.  
**Helots**, i. 2. 18; iii. 3. 6, *sq.*; vi. 5. 28; vii. 2. 2.  
**Heraclea Trachinia**, i. 2. 18; vi. 4. 27.  
**Heracleans**, iii. 5. 6; vi. 4. 9; 5. 23.  
**Heraclides Syrac.** i. 2. 8.  
**Heræa**, iii. 2. 30; 3. 1.  
**Heræans**, vi. 5. 11, 22.  
**Heræum at Corinth**, iv. 5. 5, *sq.*; at Phlius, vii. 2. 1, *sq.*  
**Hercules**, iii. 3. 3; vi. 3. 6. Temple of, in Ægina, v. 1. 10; at Chalcedon, i. 3. 7; at Thebes, vi. 4. 7.  
**Herippidas Laced.** iii. 4. 6, 20; iv. 1. 11, *sq.*; 2. 8; 3. 15, 18; 8. 11.  
**Hermion**, vi. 2. 3.  
**Hermionians**, iv. 2. 16; vii. 2. 2.  
**Hermocrates Syrac.** i. 1. 27; 3. 13.  
**Hermogenes Athen.** iv. 8. 13.  
**Hermon**, i. 6. 32.  
**Herodas Syrac.** iii. 4. 1.  
**Hieramenes**, ii. 1. 9.  
**Hierax Laced.** v. 1. 3, *sq.*  
**Hieron Athen.** ii. 3. 2. Laced. vi. 4. 9.  
**Himera**, i. 1. 37.

- Hippias of Elis, vii. 4. 15; of Samos, i. 6. 29.  
 Hippocrates Laced. i. 1. 23; 3. 5, *sq.*  
 Hippodameion, ii. 4. 11.  
 Hippodamus Sicyon. vii. 1. 45.  
 Hippolochus Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Hippomachus Athen. ii. 4. 19.  
 Hippon Syrac. i. 2. 8.  
 Hipponicus Athen. vi. 3. 2. Phliasian, v. 3. 13.  
 Histians, ii. 2. 3.  
 Hyampolitans, vi. 4. 27.  
 Hypates Theb. vii. 3. 7.  
 Hypatodorus, v. 4. 49.  
 Hypermenes Laced. vi. 2. 25.  
 Hyrcaniana, C. i. 5. 2; iv. 2. 1; v. 3. 24, 38.  
 Hystaspes, C. ii. 2. 2; iv. 2. 46; vii. 1. 19; 4. 8; viii. 4. 9, 25.  
 Iberians, vii. 1. 20.  
 Ichthys prom. vi. 2. 31.  
 Ida, i. 1. 25.  
 Idæus Laced. iv. 1. 39.  
 Ilarchus Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Ilia, iii. 1. 16.  
 Ilium, i. 1. 4.  
 Illyrians, C. i. 1. 4.  
 Imbros, iv. 8. 15; v. 1. 31.  
 Indians, C. i. 5. 3; ii. 4. 7; iii. 2. 25; vi. 2. 1, 2, 12.  
 Ionia, iii. 2. 14; v. 1. 28. C. viii. 6. 7. Cities of, iii. 2. 12.  
 Ionians, iii. 4. 11; iv. 3. 17. C. vi. 2. 10.  
 Iphicrates Athen. iv. 4. 9, 16; 5. 13, *sq.*; 8. 34, *sq.*; v. 1. 25; vi. 2. 13, *sq.*; 3. 3; 4. 1; 5. 49, *sq.*  
 Isanor Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Isarchus Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Ischolaus, vi. 5. 24, *sq.*  
 Isias, ii. 3. 10.  
 Iamenias, iii. 5. 1; v. 2. 25, *sq.*  
 Isthmian games, iv. 5. 1.  
 Isthmus of Corinth, iv. 5. 1; 8. 8; of Thrace, iii. 2. 10; of Pallene, v. 2. 15.  
 Jason of Pheræ, vi. 1. 4; 4. 20, *sq.*  
 Juno, C. i. 4. 12.  
 Jupiter, Olympic, iii. 2. 22, 26; 7. 2; vii. 4. 35.  
 Jupiter Patrius, C. i. 6. 1; viii. 7. 3. King, ii. 4. 19; iii. 3. 21; vii. 5. 57; viii. 3. 11. 24.  
 Labotes Laced. i. 2. 18.  
 Lacedæmon. See *Sparta*.  
 Lacedæmoniana, i. 1. 7, *et passim*.  
 Laconia, vii. 1. 25, 29.  
 Lacratea Laced. ii. 4. 33.  
 Lampsacus, i. 2. 15, *sq.*; ii. 1. 18 iii. 2. 6.  
 Larisa, Ægyptian, iii. 1. 7, 16. C. vii. 1. 45. In Thessaly, vi. 4. 33  
 Larisæans, ii. 3. 4; iv. 3. 3.  
 Larisus, iii. 2. 23.  
 Lasion, iii. 2. 30; vii. 4. 12.  
 Lasionians, iv. 2. 16.  
 Lechaum, iv. 4. 7, 17; 5. 7, 8, 10 19; v. 1. 29.  
 Lemnos, iv. 8. 15; v. 1. 31.  
 Leon Athen. i. 5. 16; 6. 16; vii. 1. 33, 37. Laced. ii. 3. 10. Salamin. ii. 3. 39.  
 Leonteichus Athen. v. 1. 26.  
 Leontiades Theb. v. 2. 25, *sq.*; 4. 7, 19.  
 Leontines, ii. 3. 5.  
 Leotychides, iii. 3. 1.  
 Lepreans, iii. 2. 25; vi. 5. 11.  
 Lesboæ, i. 2. 11; 6. 26; ii. 2. 5; iv. 8. 28.  
 Letriana, iii. 2. 25, 30; iv. 2. 16.  
 Leucas, vi. 2. 3, 26.  
 Leucolophides Athen. i. 4. 21.  
 Leucophrys, iii. 2. 19; iv. 8. 17.  
 Leuctra, vi. 4. 4.  
 Leuctrum, vi. 5. 24.  
 Libya, C. vi. 2. 8.  
 Libya Laced. ii. 4. 28.  
 Lichæa Laced. iii. 2. 21.  
 Locriana, Opuntian, iii. 5. 3, *sq.*  
 Ozolian, iv. 2. 17; 3. 15, 22.  
 Locris, iii. 5. 3; iv. 3. 21.  
 Lycæthius Athen. vi. 3. 2.  
 Lycaonians, C. vi. 2. 10.  
 Lycarius Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Lyceium, i. 1. 33; ii. 4. 27.  
 Lyciscus Athen. i. 7. 13.  
 Lycomedes Mantin. vii. 1. 23, *sq.*; 4. 2, *sq.*  
 Lycophron of Pheræ, ii. 3. 4.  
 Lycurgus Laced. i. 3. 18.  
 Lydia, C. vi. 2. 21; vii. 4. 14.

- Lysander Laced. i. 5. 1, *sq.*; 6. 1, *sq.*; ii. 1. 6, *sq.*; 2. 2, *sq.*; 3. 6, *sq.*; 4. 28, *sq.*; iii. 3. 3; 4. 2. 7, *sq.*; 5. 6, *sq.*  
 Lysander of Sicyon, vii. 1. 45.  
 Lysias Athen. i. 6. 30.  
 Lysimachus Athen. ii. 4. 8, 26.  
 Lysippus Laced. iii. 2. 29, *sq.*
- Macedonia, v. 2. 12, 13; vi. 1. 11.  
 Macedonian army, v. 2. 43.  
 Macedonians, v. 2. 12, 40.  
 Macistus, iii. 2. 30.  
 Madatas, C. v. 3. 41.  
 Madytus, i. 1. 3.  
 Mæander, iii. 2. 14, 17; 4. 12, 21; 8. 17.  
 Magadidians, C. i. 1. 4.  
 Malea, prom. of Laconia, i. 2. 18; vi. 5. 24.  
 Malea, prom. of Lesbos, i. 6. 26.  
 Mandane, C. i. 2. 1; 3. 1; 4. 1.  
 Mania Dardan. iii. 1. 10, *sq.*  
 Mantinea, iv. 5. 18; v. 2. 7, *sq.*; vi. 5. 15; vii. 5. 7, *sq.*  
 Mantineans, iii. 2. 21; iv. 2. 13; 4. 17; v. 2. 1, *sq.*; vi. 4. 18; 5. 3; vii. 4. 33; 5. 1. Territory of, vi. 5. 15, 17.  
 Mantitheus Athen. i. 1. 10; 3. 13.  
 Maracians, vi. 1. 7.  
 Maragdus, C. ii. 1. 5; iv. 2. 31.  
 Margane, vii. 4. 11.  
 Marganians, iii. 2. 25, 30; iv. 2. 16; vi. 5. 2; vii. 4. 14, 26.  
 Mars, C. vii. 1. 26.  
 Medes, i. 2. 19. C. i. 3. 2, 18; ii. 1. 6.  
 Media, C. i. 4. 17; ii. 1. 1; 4. 20.  
 Medochus, iv. 8. 26.  
 Megabates, iv. 1. 28.  
 Megabyzus, C. viii. 6. 7.  
 Megalopolitans, vii. 5. 5.  
 Megara, i. 1. 36; 2. 14; ii. 4. 1; iv. 4. 13; v. 4. 55, 58.  
 Megillus Laced. iii. 4. 6.  
 Melanippus, vi. 2. 35.  
 Melanopus Athen. vi. 3. 2.  
 Melanthius Athen. ii. 3. 46.  
 Meletus Athen. ii. 4. 36.  
 Melians, iii. 5. 6; iv. 2. 17; vi. 5. 23.  
 Melians, islanders, ii. 2. 3, 9.  
 Melobius Athen. ii. 3. 2.
- Melon Theb. v. 4. 2, *sq.* See *Menon*.  
 Melus, iv. 8. 7.  
 Menander Athen. i. 2. 16; ii. 1. 16, 26.  
 Menascus Laced. iv. 2. 8.  
 Menecles Athen. i. 7. 38.  
 Menecrates Syrac. i. 1. 29.  
 Menon or Melon of Thespiæ, v. 4. 55.  
 Messene, v. 2. 3; vii. 1. 27, 36.  
 Messenians, vi. 5. 33; vii. 4. 27; 5. 5.  
 Methymne, i. 2. 12; 6. 13, 37; iv. 8. 29.  
 Methymnæans, i. 6. 13, 14.  
 Midea, vii. 1. 28, 29.  
 Midias Dardan. iii. 1. 14, *sq.*  
 Migdon Laced. iii. 4. 20.  
 Milesians, i. 6. 8.  
 Miletus, i. 1. 31; 2. 2; 5. 1; 6. 2, 7.  
 Mindarus Laced. i. 1. 4, 11, 14, *sq.*  
 Minerva, i. 1. 4; 3. 1; 6. 2; iii. 1. 21, 22. See *Alea*.  
 Misgolaidas Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Mithras, C. vii. 5. 53.  
 Mithridates, C. viii. 8. 4.  
 Mitræus, ii. 1. 8.  
 Mitrobates, i. 3. 12.  
 Mnasippus Laced. vi. 2. 4, *sq.*, 15.  
 Mnesilochus Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Mnesithides Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Munychia, ii. 4. 11. Diana of Munychia, *ib.*  
 Myrina, iii. 1. 6.  
 Myscon Syrac. i. 1. 29.  
 Mysians, iii. 1. 13; iv. 1. 24.  
 Mytilene, i. 6. 16, 26; ii. 2. 5; iv. 8. 28. Mytilenæans, *ib.*; i. 6. 22.
- Narthacium, iv. 3. 9.  
 Naubates Laced. iii. 2. 6.  
 Naucleidas Laced. ii. 4. 36.  
 Naucles Laced. vii. 1. 41.  
 Naupactus, iv. 6. 14.  
 Nauplia, iv. 7. 6.  
 Neandrians, iii. 1. 16.  
 Nemca, iv. 2. 14; 7. 3; vii. 2. 5; 5. 6.  
 Neptune, iv. 5. 1, 2, 4; 7. 4. The earth-shaker, vii. 5. 30.  
 Niceratus Athen. ii. 3. 39.  
 Nicias Athen. ii. 3. 39.

- Nicolochus Laced. v. i. 6, *sq.*, 25; 4. 65.  
 Nicophemus Athen. iv. 8. 8.  
 Nicostratus Athen. ii. 4. 6.  
 Notium prom. i. 2. 4, 11; 5. 12, *sq.*  
  
 Ocellus Laced. v. 4. 22.  
 Ocyllus Laced. vi. 5. 33.  
 Odeum at Athens, ii. 4. 9.  
 Œeatæ, vi. 5. 26.  
 Œeniadæ, iv. 6. 14.  
 Œenoe in Attica, i. 7. 28. Near Corinth, iv. 5. 5, 19.  
 Œetæans, i. 2. 18; iii. 5. 6.  
 Œeum, vi. 5. 24, *sq.*  
 Olontheus Laced. vi. 5. 33.  
 Olurus, vii. 4. 17, *sq.*  
 Olympia, iii. 2. 26; iv. 7. 2; vii. 4. 28.  
 Olympian games, vii. 4. 28.  
 Olympian Jupiter. See *Jupiter*.  
 Olympus, vii. 4. 14, 28.  
 Olynthians, v. 2. 13, *sq.*; 3. 1; 4. 54.  
 Olynthus, v. 2. 12, 27, 37; 3. 9.  
 Oneium, vi. 5. 51; vii. 1. 15, 41, *sq.*; 2. 5.  
 Onomacles Athen. ii. 3. 2. Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Onomantius Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Opuntian Locrians. See *Locrians*.  
 Orchomenians, iii. 5. 6; iv. 2. 17; 3. 15; v. 4. 36; vi. 4. 10.  
 Orchomenus in Arcadia, vi. 5. 15, *sq.*, 29.  
 Orchomenus in Bœotia, iii. 5. 17; iv. 3. 15; v. 1. 29.  
 Oreum, v. 4. 56.  
 Oropus, vii. 4. 1.  
 Orsippus Laced. iv. 2. 8.  
 Otys, iv. 1. 3, *sq.*  
 Ozolian Locrians. See *Locrians*.  
  
 Pactolus, iii. 4. 22. C. vi. 2. 11.  
 Pagasæ, v. 4. 56.  
 Palægambrium, iii. 1. 6.  
 Pallantium, vi. 5. 9.  
 Pallantians, vii. 5. 5.  
 Pamphilus Athen. v. 1. 2.  
 Pangæum, v. 2. 17.  
 Pantacles Laced. i. 3. 1; ii. 3. 10.  
 Panthea, C. iv. 6. 11; v. 1. 1; vi. 1. 33, 45; 4. 3; vii. 3. 4, 14.  
  
 Paphlagonia, iv. 1. 2, *sq.*  
 Paphlagonians, C. i. 5. 3; ii. 1. 5; vi. 2. 10; viii. 6. 8.  
 Paralus, ship, ii. 1. 28, *sq.*; 2. 3.  
 Parapita, iv. 1. 39.  
 Parium, i. 1. 13.  
 Parrhasians, vii. 1. 28.  
 Pasimachus Laced. iv. 4. 10.  
 Pasimelus Corinth. iv. 4. 4, 7.  
 Pasippidas Laced. i. 1. 32; 3. 13, 17.  
 Patesiadas Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Pausanias, king, ii. 2. 7; 4. 29, *sq.*; iii. 5. 6, *sq.*; v. 2. 3.  
 Peiræus, ii. 3. 11; 4. 1, *sq.*; iv. 8. 9.  
 Peiræum, iv. 5. 1, *sq.*  
 Peisander Laced. iii. 4. 29; iv. 3. 12, *sq.*  
 Peisias, or Peithias, of Argos, vii. 1. 41.  
 Peison Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Pella, v. 2. 13.  
 Pellere in Achaia, vii. 1. 18; 2. 18, 20; 4. 18. In Laconia, vii. 5. 9.  
 Pellenians, Achæan, iv. 2. 20; vi. 5. 29; vii. 1. 15; 2. 2, 11, *sq.*; 4. 17.  
 Pelles (?) Laced. iv. 3. 23.  
 Pelopidas Theb. vii. 1. 33, *sq.*  
 Peloponnesus, iv. 6. 14; vi. 2. 9; 3. 6; vii. 1. 23; 5. 1, *sq.*  
 Peloponnesians, i. 1. 6; 6. 33, *sq.*; ii. 2. 7; 4. 21; iii. 1. 4; 5. 6.  
 Percote, v. 1. 25.  
 Pergamus, iii. 1. 6.  
 Pericles Athen. i. 5. 16; 6. 29; 7. 16.  
 Ferinthus, i. 1. 21. Perinthians, *ib.*  
 Perseus, C. i. 2. 1.  
 Persia, C. i. 3. 3; ii. 1. 1; vii. 5. 67.  
 Persians, iii. 4. 24, *sq.*; iv. 1. 30. C. i. 2.; 3. 2; 4. 27; v. 2. 16; vii. 5. 67; viii. 3. 1, 11; 8.  
 Perseidæ, C. i. 2. 1.  
 Phædrias Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Phantias Athen. v. 1. 26.  
 Phanosthenes Athen. i. 5. 18.  
 Pharax Laced. iii. 2. 12; iv. 5. 6; vi. 5. 33.  
 Pharnabazus, i. 1. 6, *sq.*; 2. 16; 3. 5, *sq.*; 4. 1, *sq.*; iii. 1. 9, *sq.*; 2. 1. *sq.*, 9, 13; 4. 10; iv. 1. 1, 7

- 15, *sq.*; 3 11; 8. 1, 3, 6, *sq.*; v. 1. 28.  
 Pharnabazus, son of, iv. i. 38, *sq.*  
 Pharnuchus, C. vi. 3. 32; vii. 1. 22; viii. 6. 7.  
 Pharsalians, iv. 3. 3; vi. 1, 2, *sq.*  
 Pharsalus, vi. 4. 34.  
 Phea, iii. 2. 30.  
 Pheidon Athen. ii. 3. 2  
 Phæræ, iv. 8. 7.  
 Phæreans, ii. 3. 3; vi. 4. 31.  
 Pheraulas, C. ii. 3. 7; viii. 3. 2, 6, 31, 35, 49.  
 Philiscus, Abydenian, vii. 1. 27.  
 Philocles Athen. i. 7. 1; ii. 1. 30, *sq.*  
 Philodices Athen. i. 3. 13.  
 Phliasians, iv. 2. 16; 4. 15; v. 2. 9, *sq.*; 3. 10, *sq.*; vi. 4. 9; 5. 14, *sq.*; vii. 1. 1; 2. 1; 4. 1, *sq.*  
 Phlius, iv. 4. 15; 7. 3; v. 2. 8; vii. 2. 4, 11, *sq.*  
 Phocæa, i. 3. 1; 5. 11; 6. 33.  
 Phocians, iii. 5. 3, *sq.*; 4. 3. 15; vi. 1. 1; 2. 1; 4. 9, 21; 5. 23, 30; vii. 5. 4.  
 Phocis, iii. 5. 4; vi. 1. 1; 4. 27  
 Phœbidas Laced. v. 2. 24, *sq.*; 4. 41, *sq.*  
 Phœnicia, iii. 4. 1.  
 Phœnicians, C. i. 1. 4; vi. 2. 10.  
 Phœnicus, iv. 8. 7.  
 Phrixa, iii. 2. 30.  
 Phrygia, iv. 1. 1.  
 Phrygia, Lesser, C. ii. 1. 5. Phrygia on the Hellespont, vii. 4. 8; viii. 6. 7.  
 Phrygia, Greater, C. vii. 4. 16; viii. 6. 7.  
 Phrygians, C. i. 5. 3; vi. 2. 10.  
 Phthia, iv. 3. 9.  
 Phyle, ii. 4. 2, *sq.*  
 Phyllidas Theb. v. 4. 2, 4, *sq.*  
 Pisans, vi. 4. 28, *sq.*  
 Pityas Laced. i. 6. 1; ii. 3. 10.  
 Plateæ, v. 4. 14, 48; vii. 1. 34  
 Plateans, v. 4. 10; vi. 3. 1, 5.  
 Pleistolas Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Plynteria, i. 4. 12.  
 Podanemus Laced. iv. 8. 11; v. 3. 13.  
 Pollis Laced. iv. 8. 11; v. 4. 61.  
 Polyænidæ Laced. vii. 4. 23.  
 Polyantes Corinth. iii. 5. 1.  
 Polyarchus Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Polybiades Laced. v. 3. 20, 26.  
 Polycharmus, Pharsalian, iv. 3. 8  
 Polydamas, Pharsalian, vi. 1. 2, *sq.*  
 Polydorus, vi. 4. 33.  
 Polyphron, vi. 4. 33, *sq.*  
 Polytropus Corinth. vi. 5. 11.  
 Polyxenus Syracus. v. 1. 26.  
 Potamis Syracus. i. 1. 29.  
 Potidæa, v. 2. 15, 39; 3. 6.  
 Potniæ, v. 4. 51  
 Pras, iv. 3. 9.  
 Prasæ, vii. 2. 2  
 Praxitas Laced. iv. 4. 7; 5. 19.  
 Priene, iii. 2. 17; iv. 8. 17.  
 Proænus Corinth. iv. 8. 11.  
 Procles of Phlius, v. 3. 13; vi. 5. 38; vii. 1. 1. Of Teuthrania, iii. 1. 6.  
 Proconnesus, i. 1. 18; 3. 1; iv. 8. 36; v. 1. 26.  
 Promethæus of Thessaly, ii. 3. 36.  
 Prothous Laced. vi. 4. 2.  
 Protomachus Athen. i. 5. 16; 6. 30; 7. 1.  
 Proxenus Syracus. i. 3. 13. Of Tegea, vi. 5. 7.  
 Pygela, i. 2. 2.  
 Pylus in Elis, vii. 4. 16, 26.  
 Pylians, *ib.*  
 Pyrrhæolus, Argive, i. 3. 13.  
 Pythian games, vi. 4. 30.  
 Pythodorus Athen. ii. 3. 1.  
 Red Sea, C. viii. 6. 20, 21; 8. 1.  
 Rhambacas, C. v. 3. 42.  
 Rhamprias Laced. i. 1. 35.  
 Rhathines, iii. 4. 13. C. viii. 3. 32.  
 Rheomithres, C. viii. 8. 4.  
 Rhium, iv. 6. 14; 8. 11.  
 Rhodes, i. 1. 2; 5. 1, 19; 6. 3; iv. 8, 20; v. 1. 5.  
 Rhodians, i. 6. 18; iv. 8. 20.  
 Rhœteum, i. 1. 2.  
 Sabaris, C. iii. 1. 2.  
 Sacians, C. v. 2. 25; 3. 22, 38.  
 Sacian, cup-bearer, C. i. 3. 8, 11.  
 Sacian, a private man, C. viii. 3. 25, 31, 35.

- Salaminian ship, vi. 2. 14.  
 Salamis, ii. 2. 9.  
 Sambaulas, C. ii. 2. 28.  
 Samians, i. 6. 25, 29; 7. 30; ii. 2. 6; 3. 6.  
 Samius Laced. iii. 1. 1.  
 Samos, i. 4. 8, *sq.*; ii. 1. 12; 3. 3.  
 Sardes, i. 1. 10; 5. 1; iii. 4. 25; iv. 1. 27. C. vii. 2. 3, 11; 4. 12.  
 Sardinian territory, iii. 4. 21.  
 Saturn, hill of, vii. 4. 14.  
 Satyrus Athen. ii. 3. 54.  
 Scepsis, iii. 1. 15, *sq.*  
 Scelluntians, vi. 5. 2.  
 Scioneans, ii. 2. 3.  
 Sciritæ, v. 2. 24; 4. 52, *sq.* C. iv. 2. 1.  
 Sciritis, vi. 5. 25.  
 Scolus, v. 4. 49.  
 Scopas, vi. 1. 19.  
 Scotussæans, iv. 3. 3.  
 Scyros, iv. 8. 15; v. 1. 31.  
 Scythes Laced. iii. 4. 20.  
 Scythians, C. i. 1. 4.  
 Selinus, i. 1. 37.  
 Selinuntians, i. 2. 8, 10.  
 Sellaia, ii. 2. 13, 19; vi. 5. 27; vii. 4. 12.  
 Selybria, i. 1. 21; 3. 10.  
 Sestos, i. 1. 11, *sq.*; 2. 13; ii. 1. 20, 25; iv. 8. 3, *sq.*  
 Seuthes, iii. 2. 2, 9; iv. 8. 26.  
 Sicily, i. 1. 37; 5. 21; vi. 2. 9.  
 Sicilians, ii. 2. 24.  
 Sicyon, iv. 2. 14; 4. 1, 7, 14; vii. 1. 18, 44; 2. 11, 15; 3. 1; 4. 1.  
 Sicyonians, iv. 2. 16; 4. 10; vi. 4. 18; vii. 1. 22; 2. 1, *sq.*, 11, 20.  
 Sidus, iv. 4. 13; 5. 19.  
 Sisyphus, iii. 1. 8.  
 Socleidas Laced. vii. 4. 19.  
 Socrates Athen. i. 7. 15.  
 Sophocles Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Sostratidas Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Sparta, iii. 2. 20; 3. 1; iv. 8. 7; vi. 4. 16; vii. 5. 9. C. vi. 2. 11.  
 Spartans, iii. 3. 5, *sq.*; v. 1. 11; vi. 4. 15; 5. 21, 25.  
 Spartolus, v. 3. 6.  
 Sphagiæ, vi. 2. 31.  
 Sphodrias Laced. v. 4. 15, *sq.*, 23, *sq.*; vi. 4. 14.  
 Spithridates, iii. 4. 10; iv. 1. 2, 20, *sq.*  
 Stages, i. 2. 5.  
 Stalcas, vii. 4. 15.  
 Stasippus Laced. vi. 4. 18; 5. 6, *sq.*, 36.  
 Stesicles Athen. vi. 2. 10.  
 Sthenelaus Laced. ii. 2. 2.  
 Stratolas, vii. 4. 15, 31.  
 Stratus, iv. 6. 4.  
 Strombichides Athen. vi. 3. 2.  
 Struthas, iv. 8. 17, *sq.*  
 Susa, C. viii. 6. 23.  
 Syracuse, i. 1. 29, 31; vi. 2. 35; vii. 1. 22.  
 Syracusans, i. 1. 18, 26, *sq.*; 2. 8, *sq.*; ii. 2. 24; 3. 5.  
 Syria, (Assyria,) C. v. 4. 51; vi. 1. 27; 2. 19, 22; viii. 3. 24; 6. 20.  
 Syria, Lower, vi. 2. 11.  
 Syrians, i. 1. 4; 5. 2.  
 Tanagra, v. 4. 49.  
 Tanagræans, v. 4. 49.  
 Tanaoxares, younger son of Cyrus, C. viii. 7. 11.  
 Tegea, iii. 5. 7, 25; v. 1. 33; 4. 37; vi. 5. 9, 15, *sq.*; vii. 4. 36; 5. 7, 14.  
 Tegeans, iv. 2. 13; vi. 4. 18; 5. 9, *sq.*; vii. 4. 36; 5. 5, *sq.*  
 Teleutias Laced. iv. 4. 19; 8. 11, 23, *sq.*; v. 1. 2, *sq.*; 2. 37; 3. 3, *sq.*  
 Temnus, iv. 8. 5.  
 Tenea, iv. 4. 19.  
 Tenedos, v. 1. 6.  
 Teuthrania, iii. 1. 6.  
 Thalamæ, vii. 4. 26.  
 Thambradas, C. v. 3. 38.  
 Thammeria, ii. 1. 13.  
 Thasos, i. 1. 12, 32; 4. 9; v. 1. 7.  
 Thebans, ii. 2. 19; iii. 2. 21; v. 4, *sq.*; iv. 3. 17, *sq.*; 5. 10; v. 1. 32, *sq.*; 2. 25, *sq.*; 4. 2; vi. 1. 1; 2. 1; 3. 1, 19, *sq.*; 4. 3, *sq.*; 5. 22, *sq.*; vii. 1. 15, *sq.*; 2. 5; 3. 4, *sq.*; 4. 1, *sq.*  
 Thebes, ii. 4. 1, *sq.*; iii. 5. 3; v. 2. 25; 4. 19; vi. 3. 1; vii. 4. 31.  
 Thebes, plain of, iv. 1. 41.

- Themistogenes Syracus. iii. 1. 2.  
 Theogenes Athen. i. 3. 13; ii. 3. 2.  
 Theognis Athen. ii. 3. 2.  
 Theopompus of Miletus, ii. 1. 30.  
 Theramenes Athen. i. 1. 12, 22; 6. 35; 7. 4; ii. 2. 16, *sq.*; 3. 2, *sq.*  
 Therimachus Laced. iv. 8. 29.  
 Thersander Laced. iv. 8. 18, *sq.*  
 Thespiæ, v. 4. 15, 38.  
 Thespians, iv. 2. 20; v. 4. 42, *sq.*; vi. 3. 1; 4. 10.  
 Thessalians, iv. 3. 7, *sq.*; vi. 1. 8.  
 Thessaly, ii. 3. 4, 36; vi. 1. 2.  
 Thibrachus Laced. ii. 4. 33.  
 Thibron Laced. iii. 1. 4, *sq.*; iv. 8. 17, *sq.*  
 Thisbæ, vi. 4. 3.  
 Thorax Laced. ii. 1. 9, 28.  
 Thoricus, i. 2. 1.  
 Thrace, i. 4. 9; ii. 2. 5; iii. 2. 9; iv. 8. 26.  
 Thracians, iii. 2. 8. Bithynian, i. 3. 2. Odrysian, iii. 2. 5.  
 Thracium, i. 3. 20.  
 Thrasonidas, vii. 4. 15.  
 Thrasybulus of Styria, i. 1. 12; 4. 9, *sq.*; 5. 11; 6. 35; ii. 3. 42, *sq.*; 4. 2, *sq.*; iii. 5. 16; iv. 8. 25, *sq.*  
 Thrasybulus, Collytian, v. 1. 26.  
 Thrasydæus, iii. 2. 27, *sq.*  
 Thrasyllus Athen. i. 1. 8, 33, 34; 2. 1, *sq.*; 3. 5; 4. 10; 5. 16; 7. 2, 29.  
 Thraustus, vii. 4. 14.  
 Thræ, v. 4. 21.  
 Thyamia, vii. 2. 1; 4. 1.  
 Thymbrara, C. vi. 2. 11; vii. 1. 45.  
 Thymochares Athen. i. 1. 1.  
 Thyrians, vi. 2. 37.  
 Tigranes, iv. 8. 21.  
 Tigranes, elder son of the king of Armenia, C. iii. 1. 7, 14, 36, 41, 42; v. 1. 26; 3. 42; viii. 3. 25; 4. 1, 24.  
 Timagoras Athen. vii. 1. 33, 38.  
 Timocrates Athen. i. 7. 3.  
 Timocrates Laced. vii. 1. 13.  
 Timocrates, Rhodian, iii. 5. 1.  
 Timocrates Syracus. vii. 4. 12.  
 Timolaus, Corinthian, iii. 5. 1; iv. 2. 11.  
 Timomachus Athen. vii. 1. 41.  
 Timotheus Athen. v. 4. 63; vi. 2. 2.  
 Tiribazus, iv. 8. 12, *sq.*; v. 1. 6, *sq.*  
 Tisamenus Athen. iii. 3. 11.  
 Tisiphonius, vi. 4. 37; 5. 1.  
 Tissaphernes, i. 1. 9, 31; 2. 6, 8; 5. 2, 8, *sq.*; iii. 1. 3, *sq.*; 2. 12, *sq.*; 4. 1, *sq.*  
 Tithraustes, iii. 4. 25; 5. 1.  
 Tlemonidas Laced. v. 3. 3.  
 Torone, v. 3. 18.  
 Toronæans, ii. 2. 3.  
 Trachinia Heraclea. See *Heraclea*.  
 Tralles, iii. 2. 19.  
 Tricarantum, vii. 2. 11; 4. 11.  
 Triphylian cities, iii. 2. 30.  
 Triphylians, iv. 2. 16; vi. 5. 2; vii. 1. 26.  
 Triptolemus, vi. 3. 6.  
 Tripyrigia, v. 1. 10.  
 Trœzen, vi. 2. 3.  
 Trœzenians, iv. 2. 16.  
 Trojan chariots, C. vi. 1. 27; 2. 8.  
 Troy, iii. 4. 3; vii. 1. 34.  
 Tydeus Athen. ii. 1. 16, 26.  
 Tyndaridæ, vi. 5. 31.  
 Venus, temple of, at Megara, v. 4. 58.  
 Vesta, ii. 3. 52; vii. 4. 31. C. i. 6. 1; vii. 5. 57.  
 Xenias, iii. 2. 27.  
 Xenocles Laced. iii. 4. 20.  
 Xerxes, ii. 1. 8.  
 Zacynthus vi. 2. 3.  
 Zenis Dardan. iii. 1. 10.  
 Zeuxippus Laced. ii. 3. 10.  
 Zoster, v. 1. 9.

## NOTANDUM.

IN the "Notanda" appended to the volume containing the *Anabasis* and *Memorabilia* of Socrates, a reference is given to Mr. Ainsworth's *Geographical Commentary*, "p. 226." It should have been p. 323. The passage of the *Anabasis* to which allusion is made, is iv. 6. 4.

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